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A SUDANESE KINGDOM



THE KING OF THE JUKUN

A SUDANESE KINGDOM

An Ethnographical Study of
The Jukun-speaking Peoples of Nigeria

By

C. K. MEEK

B.A., F.R.A.I.,

Anthropological Officer, Administrative Service, Nigeria.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

H. R. PALMER, C.M.G., C.B.E.

*Governor of the Gambia, and lately Lieutenant-Governor
of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria.*

With 2 Maps and 147 Illustrations

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groups, used as a substitute for the actual body. Again, the Jukun king, like Pharaoh, is associated with the corn, and he carries out, as priest on behalf of the people, a daily secret ritual, by which he feeds his ancestors and holds communion with them. He himself is a divine being; and if it cannot be said definitely that he is, like the Pharaoh of Heliopolitan times, a son of the sun-god, he is at least a son of the gods, and the Sun was the principal god of the Jukun. The purification of the King before the daily ritual, the use of mounds of sand in connection with sun-rites and the personation during these rites of the tutelary deities by men wearing animal-headed masks, the ceremonial removal of footprints from shrines, the thigh-birth of some of the heroes or gods, the envisaging of the creator-god as a potter, the doctrine of a second soul which may be reborn, the description of the upper air as "Shu", of the lower world as "the House of Truth," and of the souls of the dead as "aku" are all strongly suggestive of the religious complex of Ancient Egypt. It is even possible that some of the Jukun data, as for example the views held regarding "dying a second death," will throw light on features of Egyptian belief and practice which are not yet clearly understood. It may be added that the evidence of Egyptian influence is most clearly traced along the valley of the Benue River, as will be apparent from a series of short studies of Northern Nigerian tribes which will be published in the near future.

The photographs shown are, with the few exceptions indicated, my own. One or two have, by the kind permission of the Clarendon Press, been reproduced from "The Northern Tribes of Nigeria". The sketches by the Jukun artist were obtained by Mr. Palmer.

C. K. MEEK.

KADUNA, NIGERIA.

24th May, 1929.

INTRODUCTION

By H. R. PALMER, C.M.G., C.B.E.

THE very thorough study of the Jukun peoples and peoples under Jukun influence presented by Mr. Meek in these pages is based on data obtained during a considerable sojourn among the Jukun groups of Nigerian peoples who extend more or less from the Gongola River to Iboland, but are now merely a shrunken relic of a confederation known as Kwararafa which, in the Middle Ages, dominated a very large portion of the country now called Hausaland, as well as the Benue region and further south.

A reputedly ancient local history preserved by the Alkali of N'Gaski near Yauri states :—

“ Of the interesting conversations that I have heard and which I remember—conversations which told of the histories of countries—this is the sum. The tales heard by the heart are kept in the heart, and the writing thereof is the understanding thereof.

“ You must know then that the countries of the Sudan are of three kinds, the great, the middle, and the lowly. Of the great are Bornu, Ahir and Songhay. Of the middle is the land of Hausa. This land of Hausa has, moreover, seven rulers and also seven heathen rulers. The lowly comprises the countries of the barbarous peoples.

“ Now of these rulers there was never at any time one man who ruled over all ; if he ruled over half, the other half was not his. Furthermore those of the great who did not rule over others at all were the greater number. The great rulers of these countries, so we hear, were seven.

“ The king of Bornu ruled over those of the middle, and over half of the lowly ; but he never had the rule of the towns of Ahir, Zabarma and Songhay nor even of the far-flung lowly peoples. He ruled Bargarmi and Wadai.

“ The kingdom of Kwararafa embraced the lowly and half of the middle—as, for instance, Kano, Zaria, and half of Katsina.

“ The kingdom of Zaria was that of Amina, daughter of the

Sarkin Zazzau. She warred with those towns of Kano that lay close to her and with Katsina. And she warred with the lowly countries as far as that sea which surrounds the world East and West ; but she never ruled over anything at all in the lands of the great.

“ The kingdom of Songhay was the kingdom of Askia. He ruled all the countries of the great excepting only Bornu, and over half of the middle and half of the lowly. His kingdom comprised all the large towns in the west and the towns of Ahir, near and far. And his orders were obeyed by all. The rulers of the towns of Ahir are to this day from among the descendants of his slaves who were his captains in the town of Gawo. Traders, however, referred to this town as Guga ; thus did their tongues speak its name.

“ This Askia seized the power from the people of Son Ali ; from the unbelievers whose ways were evil did he take their towns, bringing justice to the land and causing them to follow him. He was spoken of as the Sarkin Tukururu (king of the black peoples). A righteous man, he made his Pilgrimage and visited the Tomb of the Prophet. He fell in with a concourse of Mallams, among whom was Jalal ul Din Suyuti and another like him. He caused books to be written and gave them to one Magili who went around the towns of Songhay spreading the Faith.

“ Of all the rulers of the Sudan there was not one who was so powerful as Askia. He warred with Borgu but the campaign he undertook was too difficult and Borgu never passed out of the hand of the land of Jenne to which it belonged. It is said, moreover, that those who are in the land of Jenne now were at that time of the people of Kabi (Kebbe).”

As late as 1660 the Jukun and Kwararafa besieged Ali Tair the Mai (Sultan) of Bornu in his capital of N’gazargamu on the River Yobe near the modern Geidam, and about A.D. 1700 they sacked Kano.

The Jukun, it is clear, *ab initio*, were a Hamitic or half-Hamite ruling caste, in fact a sacerdotal hierarchy, who controlled a number of loosely organized tribes called by the Kanuri of Bornu Kwāna, or Gwāna ; by the Hausas and Nupes, Kwararafa ; and by other peoples, including the Jukun themselves, Apa. A Jukun may thus designate himself Apa (man), though

all Apa are not Jukun. A Jukun calls the Hausa Apa-kwa-riga, i.e. the Apa people who wear a "tobe", just as the Hausa himself calls the Jukun people in general Kwarar-apa, i.e. tribes who call themselves Apa. The Kanuri add the Berber plural "n" to the word Kwa and call the Apa Kwāna or Gwāna.

It will be seen therefore that the general African ethnographical bearing or application of this study of the Jukun people and a Jukun influence or culture which radiated through a large number of other tribes in greater or lesser degree will be largely determined by the answer to the question: Who were the Jukuns, and where did they come from? For, according not only to their own traditions but the tradition of their neighbours, they were not originally indigenous either to the Benue region their present main habitat, or in fact to Nigeria, but migrated from Kordofan and the region of the Nile, through the Fitri region, Mandara, and the Gongola region, to the Benue.

The degree of credibility which should attach to traditions of this nature must be determined by the degree in which their main details can be checked or supported from independent sources. If the Jukun or their ancestors can in fact be traced to the Nile Valley then many of Mr. Meek's cultural comparisons with Egypt gain a weight which will not otherwise attach to them.

But the proof of the Jukun's own story of their origin in fact depends largely on how far the veil which hangs over the past history of such countries as Mandara, Bornu, Bagharmi, Kanem, Fitri, Wadai, and Darfur can be pierced, and how far the composition of tribal units of the past culturally cognate to the Jukun can be ascertained or determined.

The Kanuri, as has been stated, call the Kwararafa peoples in general Kwana or Gwana, but on the other hand the Kanuri word for the Jukun proper, i.e. the ruling caste itself, is not this form Kwāna or Gwāna with a long *ā*, but Kōna or Kwōna with a short *ō*, as in the case of a certain Jebel Kwōn said to be in Kordofan where the Jukuns are supposed to have halted in the course of their migrations. In 1660, it may be noted, the Kwōna, a *section* of the Kwararafa attacked N'gazargamu. The name Jukun is the Kanuri Kwōn or Kwōna with a prefix which may be sounded as *Ju*, *Ji*, *Shu*, or *Tchu*.

This point is important since among present-day tribes of the Gongola region as well as among various tribes which once

were dominant in British Bornu itself, the title of the Chief is Gwon or Gwom, as e.g. in the name Gwom-be. In the Kanuri language also, the nobles or ruling caste are called Kokwona or Koguna; an assembly of Kokwona being called Nokena. As the Kanuri word Koguna (noble) is cognate to the Kanem title Fugu (tribal chief) and the genesis of the Kanuri from further east does not admit of dispute, it will be permissible to compare with the Kanuri Kokwona firstly the title "Khabken" found in Merotic inscriptions and translated by Professor Griffith "General", as well as the title Hogi of the Zaghawi official rain-maker in the Jebels of Wadai and Darfur. In the region of Songhay the Zaghawa Hogi is termed "Hogon". Among the Dinka and Shilluk, the supreme god analogous to Jupiter of the Romans is Jok or Juok. The Jukon themselves claim kinship not with the Kanuri-speaking peoples in general, but with the early ruling Barbar race of Kanem, the so-called Magumi who were, as we know from the Arab author Ya'qubi, of the type of Saharan Barbarians who were known to the Arabs as Zaghawa, remnants of whom with cognate peoples called Beli or Bideyat still occupy the regions to the north of Wadai and Darfur.

The origin of the Magumi rulers of the Kanem kingdom is also indicated by the southern Tuareg name for the Kanuri, which is in the plural "Izran", singular "Azri", with "Tazret" to denote the Kanuri language, i.e. Zaghawa. Leo Africanus' statement that the Mais of Kanem were descended from the "Libyan tribe of Bardoa" indicates the same fact, for the names Bardoa, Bardama, and similar forms connote these same Zaghawa races who extended in Idrisi's day (A.D. 1150) to Asben and Fezzan. This fact is reflected in the Bornu accounts of their Magumi ancestors, the Beni Kiyi or Kayi, being "masters of the Sahara".

Traditions current both in Bornu and Katsina that there was a time early in the Christian era when the greater portion of central Nigeria was occupied by races of which the names are of the type M'bum, M'butu, M'bafum, refer to tribes which have now been driven into the central part of the Cameroons and the eastern part of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. On the other hand, two main streams of Zaghawi migration extending over the period A.D. 500 to A.D. 1000 and coming ultimately from Yam (which was the name by which the ancient Egyptians

knew a part of Nubia, and in Bornu denoted the Borku region) are the real basis of the legends of Sudanese Hamitic invasions such as those associated with the hero "Kisara" and the Jukun kings.

The influence of these Zaghawa tribes, at least previous to the opening of the fourteenth century, was dominant from Darfur on the one hand to the Shari River on the other. In the Kanuri form Magumi or Magge the root is clearly the same as that in Mughar, plural Imagharen, "Tuareg nobles".

In Bornu, it is a generally accepted belief that when, about A.D. 1250, the famous Mai Dunama Dabalemi made the first Magumi expedition west of Lake Chad, the N'galaga tribes of Kanem and Fitri which settled in the Gujba region found the Kwōna already established on the Gongola River.

This Bornu tradition is not only confirmed in some detail by the traditions of all the numerous present-day Bolewa (Kwararafa) units of the Fika, Gombe, and Bauchi region, but will be seen to receive very definite confirmation from the record handed down by Makrisi (*circa* A.D. 1400) on the authority mainly of Ibn Said, who wrote about A.D. 1282, concerning the peoples of Bornu.

"And then there is another kingdom which is called Mambu and beyond it a people called Kanguma; then the Kangu, then the Abageren; then a people greater than these, whose country is called Yedi, and whose king has the title of Rabuma. There follows this another great king who is called Haudamiyu and people who are called N'gazar. These people are numerous and possess oxen and sheep; in their country are elephants. There are also the tribes of Shadi (Chad) and the Mabani and Abahama; then the tribes Atagana and the Yafalam and Magari. These are all naked and deride people who wear clothes. The Mabani are a big tribe and the greater portion of them are called N'galaga. In their country are great trees and lakes from the overflow of the Nile."¹

In this passage there is some confusion of name as would be natural under the circumstances, but its meaning is clear enough. The names Mambu, Kanguma, and Kangu refer to the same tribe, i.e. the Kanem tribe still called Kangu, a tribe which is particularly associated with the ancient Magumi tribal cult of

¹ Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi*, p. 208.

Mune or Munba, and supposed to be descended from a mythical ancestor Mani or, in other words, the Ram God "Aman" (Mani) of the Zaghawa. This deity Mani among the Kanuri became Mune (Amune) a talisman opened by Dunama Dabalemi, with the result that civil war ensued.¹

The Abargerren are the people of the Geren or Keren range in Bagharmi. Yedi or Hedi is the old name for the region west of Lake Chad where Mongonu now is. Among the Kilba tribe who live in the region south of Bornu near Biu, a tribal Wazir, said to be the counterpart of the Kanuri Kaigama, is called Hedima, the family being admittedly of Barbar (Pabir) origin. This Kilba Hedima is thus the counterpart of the Aghabuma (Rabuma of Makrisi), Agha-bu-ma being virtually the same word as Kaghama (Kaigama) "the ruler of the agha" or "servile peoples".

The Haudamiyu is the ruler (*iyu*) of the people (*hau*) known as Dama, whence the modern name Adamawa; but the name Dama is in fact the Jukun appellation for subject-peoples as, e.g. the present Idoma or Dama of the Benue region.

The N'gazar were a large half-Hamite tribe cognate to the Bedde and N'gizim who in the sixteenth century extended up to the Komadugu Yobe and down to Gujba and Deya. They came originally from the Fitri region.

Mabani (or Mafoni), it may be inferred, was a name for the warriors of the N'galagha or N'galma N'dibu. Their chief centre was the site of the present Government Station of Maiduguri.

* * * *

It is thus evident that in the thirteenth century Haudama was a name for the country stretching from the N'Dikwa region (country of the tribe (*kwa*) called N'diku or N'dina) through Mandara and Mubi to Shani and the Benue. Haudama thus in fact was the very region in which according to tradition the Jukun first established themselves within the area which is now Nigeria. In this region were the peoples attacked by Dunama Dabalemi in A.H. 650 and west of them were many tribes extending to Kaukau and the land of Adarma (i.e. Gobir or Tadamekka in Adar); but before reaching them, i.e. to the west of the Mabani and N'galagha, were "the Atagana Yafalam and Magari".

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. i, pp. 71 and 72.

Now these latter three names, as is clear from the context, ought to refer to the region of the Upper Gongola. In fact they do so for Atagana only needs a dot to make it Ata-gara ; Yafalam is merely a form of Fali (Bale) a common name, even now, for the whole region of Gombe, Shira, Katagum and Fika, while Magari is like Magumi, simply a variant of the Tuareg caste name Imagaren or Imajaran.

Among the Jukun the points of the compass are denoted by tribal names as follows : E. Anu'pan = Apa. W. Anu'zu = Songhay. N. Abie vera = Barbar. S. Abi Bafun = Fun. The Fun tribes supplied a name Fumbina to Adamawa and were much the same as the M'bum of the Bornu traditions. They were probably in part Battas and therefore allied to the substratum of such tribes as Marghi, Burra, Kilba, Wula and other tribes of to-day.

The M'bum peoples before A.D. 1400 were located mainly in Bornu well north of the Benue and only evolved into their present tribal units subsequent to the period when the Kwararafa power was greatest. The Jukuns, however, claim that the Battas are related to them.

On the other hand, the Jukuns say that when they first came to Bepi (i.e. Kwararafa, near Bantaji south of the Benue) the natives were of the same stock as the present tribes of the Ogoja region, i.e. Dama. They call these Dama "Avunu" which is the Jukun pronunciation of the Kanuri name for Hausas, i.e. Afunu (Fun). They also say that in the days when Bepi flourished its rule extended through Adamawa as far as Re Buba, the inhabitants of which are now known indifferently as Dama or M'bum.

The Dama or M'bum, according to the Jukuns, were at the time of their own advent to Bepi a people still in the family stage and unorganized. The inference therefore from Ibn Saïd's mention of a powerful King of Haudama is that the Haudama of his day, *circa* 1300, was the Jukun Kingdom of Kwararafa, and that the Bafum or M'bum were, as now, the peoples that lay to the south of it in so far as these peoples were not already subject to the Jukuns.

A generally accepted account of Kwararafa migrations states that from Balda (in Mandara) the Kisera (Jukuns) migrated to Yola (Adamawa).¹ Similarly another manuscript, that of the

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. ii.

"Kings of Fika", states that they (the Bolewa) came "to the land of Dala (i.e. Mandara) and thence to the Kilba country". Again the M'buti (Kanakuru), who are Kwararafa, give a similar account of their coming to Gabun in the Lala country, and Walama on the Hawal River. It is said that the M'buti under one Bilewati and the Bolewa spread north, after their arrival on the Gongola. Some sections are said to have moved up to Gujba and Daura and South Marghi, but were pushed back, sometime before 1470, by Pabir (Barbar) who came from Dirku (i.e. Kwararafa) and made their capital at Limtir near the modern Mandaragaru in Biu Emirate. To these Pabir the Dera and Tera are supposed to belong.

The chief of the Pabir (Barbar) of Biu was the Mai Yamta called in the Babur legends Yamta-ra-walla, who apparently fought and conquered N'gasar and N'galaga tribes of Kanem stock already installed at Deya near Gujba.

According to the traditions of these latter tribes, i.e. the N'galaga and N'gasar, the earliest known inhabitants of the Gongola region were the M'bum now found in the N'gaumdere region, who were conquered by the Kwöna tribes (Kwararafa). A possible if not probable connection of the name of these M'bum with the M'buti of Shani and M'buma and with the place-name M'bumanda in Hamarua and with M'butu, M'burum, M'burmi and other old place-names in the Bauchi region which occur in the Kano Chronicle, will be apparent.

The period of Kwararafa expansion north up the Gongola into Gombe probably preceded the period A.D. 1250-1350 and it was during this period, i.e. in the fourteenth century, that the Sarkis (Kings) of Kano are described as conquering all the pagans from "Biyri to Fanda, except the Kwararafa who fled to the rock of Atagara", i.e. the "rock of Kalam", a residence of an Ata of the Gara in those days.

During the period 1350-1450 the Bornu Kingdom was in disruption owing to civil war. But when the Kanuri came west of the Lake, *circa* 1470, the N'galaga and N'gasar reasserted themselves and were reinforced by the cognate stocks now called N'gizim and Bedde. The new Barbar-Kanuri settlement at Limtir (Yamta) also seems rapidly to have assumed leadership in these regions, and fought the Jukun kingdoms of Biyri and Kalam.

It is probably from that time (1470) that the establishment of a *Zanua* or Kanuri representative at the Kwararafa capital dated; and for the succeeding century or two, Kanuri influence down as far as the Benue seems to have been considerable, though the Kwararafa tie to Bornu was rather one of sentiment than of conquest. Mai Idris Katagarmabe, however (*circa* 1526), died at Walama in Shani.

Now Makrisi, as has been seen, not only confirms these Bornu traditions but also shows that the Kano Chronicle's notice of Kwararafa and the "Rock of Ata-gara" as situated in the Gongola region in A.D. 1349-1385 is not untrustworthy.¹

Leaving therefore for a moment the question whence came the Jukuns who were established, as it seems, on the Upper Gongola before A.D. 1250, it is of interest to note these brief notices of the Jukun contained in the Kano Chronicle which are not without significance. In one place a Jukun stronghold, which was probably Kalam, is spoken of as Ata-gara; in another place the king of the Jukun is called Ada or Ata Chiu (Adashu). Chiu is the Jukun word for "great". Atagara is a native name for Idah on the Niger, where the Ata (King) is an Apa Jukun by descent and rules over people called I-gara or Gara.

The "Ata" title of the Gongola Jukun in 1380 is thus the same title as that of the "Ata" of Idah, and the Nupe word "Ada" father. Both are clearly the same word as that used by the southern Tuareg to denote father "Ada". It would seem then that in the earliest definitely Jukun capital which we can trace, as well as at Idah now, an "Ata", father, ruled over "Gara". Gara is a class-word which in the Kanuri-Teda group of languages denotes people subject to the ruling Barbar "nobles" or Dirkiin. It is variant of the modern Teda word *agha* (*ara*) which in turn equates to the Tuareg forms *imghad* or *ighawalan*, i.e. "servile tribes".²

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 106.

² It would seem that much of the confusion which exists in regard to the ethnography of the Sahara is due to insufficient realization that so many apparently tribal names in reality indicate not separate tribes, but "castes" or grades of society common to all Barbar-Saharan tribes, and that though there are three grades of society—(1) Nobles, (2) Servile, (3) Slaves—yet the nomenclature for (2) and (3) comes in many cases from identical roots. Roughly speaking the nomenclature is as follows:—

The primitive word for man (*alis*) in these Berber tongues seems to come from a form *li* or *lghi* (*Iri*) (*s* being masculine determinative). In *Kel* (tribe) the *h* is genitival. In the plural, viewed from the standpoint of the "noble", the tribes were termed *Ilam*, *Ilala*, *Ilamtin*, or *Lamla*, while, to designate the

Just as, however, the Sudanese form "Gara" equates to the *agha* or *ighawalan* of the Sahara, so also it equates in equal degree to the Sudan tribal names N'gal, N'gir, or N'jir which were particularly used by the Kanem Magumi to denote tribes subject to them, as for instance and in primis the N'gal-*agha* who are by them considered to be the earliest half-Hamite tribe of Kanem which came originally from Baghdad. These "Gara" peoples lay in front of, or to the west of the invading Magumi. The Magumi chief who ruled them was called the N'gal-ti-ma (Galla-dima), i.e. the ruler of the land (*ti*) of the N'gal, and so "Ruler of the West".

It is then reasonably clear that towards A.D. 1250 a Jukun aristocracy or caste which was in some way of cognate origin to the Bornu Magumi was established in the Fika Biyri and Ribadu region on the Gongola and had also a capital somewhere in the Benue region of Shani and Jalingo. This caste had, according to its own traditions, made its way to that region via Kordofan, Darfur, Fitri, Balda, and Mandara. The question arises: Are there any traces of such a migration or not? It may be said at once that under the name "Jukun" no tribal unit appears in any tradition or records which have as yet come to light. On the

more servile portion of them (in general the sedentary or semi-sedentary portions such forms as *agha* (*ara*) *ighawal* (*irawalen*), and *igholan* (*ihelan*) were used

The "nobles", on the other hand, since they were the masters of the *Tar* (*Dir*) "stronghold" and *Sik* (*Sagh*) "encampment", called themselves either *Tar-gi* (sing.), *Tur-ak* (plur.) (whence the Arab plur. *Tuwarik*) or *Ma-sigh* (sing.) *imoshagh* (plur.); and again having regard to the subject members of the tribes of which they were the nobles they called themselves *Mughar* (sing.), *Imagharen* (plur.). In the southern and eastern Sahara and Sudan the last of these words for "nobles" is the most commonly used, e.g. "Magumi", the word for the old ruling Barbarians of Bornu, is a form of "Imagaren".

This terminology may even be traced in the nomenclature of the Nile Valley and Eastern Sudan at a very early period.

e.g. *Karan-og* "House of the 'garan' or rulers of the 'garan'" = Blemyes.

Taurak Takasaten.—Tribes occupying the Beja country according to a Saidic MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Quatremère Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii, p. 167). These words seem to be Greek transcriptions of *Tuareg* and *Ta.khasa-ten* (i.e. *Beni Amer*) respectively.

Keren-bes.—The last independent ruler of the Christian Dongola Kingdom.

Kersa.—Subject population of the Alwa region (Garasa of Bornu), etc., etc.

It seems not improbable that the Tuareg or Targa who are the peoples called Dir-Kiyin or Tar-owin of Bornu, draw their name ultimately from the well-watered and hilly country (Tar) between the Nile and Atbara and the Red Sea, and that they were named Tuarak or Targa in contrast to the Khas or Ta-Kasa (Ta-Khasaten) tribes (Kash or Kush) like the Beni Amar who lived "on the sand" or the plains. The Beni Amar, as Dr. Seligman has shown, correspond physically to the earliest type of pre-dynastic Egyptians and Nubians. They are also of the same general type as the Kanuri of to-day and the Teda.

A possible inference which may be drawn from these facts is that the Tuareg, as also the Hadendoa and Beja of to-day are due to an intruding strain from Asia, as is, in fact, claimed by Arab and Sudanese tradition in general.

other hand, there exist traditions, confirmed by data which may be termed historical, which suggest at least the probable genesis of the "Jukun".

The region which we now know as Mandara is the country ruled by a Barbar aristocracy called Wa-n-dala or Tumagari. This aristocracy and their language, cognate to Kanuri, is called Agha-Wandala. The Dala or "hill region" of Mandara was at an early period conquered by these Tu-magari who established themselves as a governing caste. The conquest took place according to tradition long before the Birni of N'gazargamu was founded in 1480 and also before the first Arabs arrived in the N'dikwa region. The earlier period of Wandala or Tumagari rule over Mandara was in fact more or less contemporaneous with the foundation of the so-called So or Sau towns such as N'gala and N'difu in the N'di-kwa (Dikwa) and Chad region. These tribes gave their name *inter alia* to Dala N'di-bu, one of the chief ranges of the Mandara hills where, curiously enough, there still exists a town called Atagara; and as early Hamite immigrants to the Mandara region were entirely *sui generis* with the traditionally indigenous Barbar or half-Hamite tribes of the Fitri region who also bore the same names such as N'gala and N'difu. It is stated that at some remote period in the past an invasion of Daju from the region of Fitri and Dar Sila penetrated and absorbed Mandara as far south as Mindif (Amma N'difu = N'difu people).

There is therefore little doubt that the Wandala or Tumagari rulers of Mandara were to their followers the N'gala and N'difu much as were the Jukun "Atas" of the Gongola region to their "Gara" or subject population *circa* A.D. 1350.

Concerning the Bornu Tu'magari, however, we fortunately know a good deal more than we do about the other peoples concerned. They were one of the two Barbar tribal units into which the earliest Mais, or Atas of Kanem, married, i.e. the Beni Kayi and the Tumagari. The Beni Kayi was a name of the pre-Kanuri Zaghawi tribes of Borku, while the Tu-magari were the Imagaran (Magumi) of the "Tu", i.e. hill country of Tibesti. Both tribes would be classed by the Arabs as Zaghawa, between whom and the so-called Daju, the ruling race in Fitri and Darfur, the Arab authors seem unable to draw any very clear distinction, some stating that the Daju were merely a branch

of the Zaghawa, while others draw rather more distinction between the two.

It would seem *a priori* probable that the Jukun, assuming their connection with the Magumi of Kanem to be fact, must have arisen from some unit or units of the Tu-magari or Daju, which left Kanem or the Chad region before the introduction of Islam about A.D. 1100; before the Teda or Tubu influence east of Lake Chad became so strong that the Tu-magari as a tribe came to be regarded as Teda; and before the Bulala under a leader called Jil Sukumami or Abd ul Jalil with Arab help, ousted the reigning Magumi from N'jimi in A.D. 1380.

In this connection it is of some importance to note that the Jukun tradition of their migration west from Jebel Kwon in Kordofan is similar to the Daju tradition of their tribal migration west from a certain Jebel Kedir or Gedir which lies between Talodi and the White Nile in Kordofan.¹

The Daju, there can be no reasonable doubt, were half-Hamites, or people whose ruling caste were half-Hamites. They were, in fact, as one of their local names Fininga implies, as well as the name of their country Fit-ri (Fut-ri), simply one of the class of half-Hamite Sudanese peoples known as Fun, Fung, or Hameg, among whom the principal if not sole cultural common factor was of course that derived from their Hamite ancestry, a cultural factor which is presumably that of the Abu Simin or Daju, i.e. the earliest traceable ruling caste of the Fitri region.

Fitri would seem to have been, since early in the days of the Kanem Kingdom of the Magumi, the fief of the "war chief" Kaigama, i.e. the *Kagha*, whence he took his title, and it is doubtless the first conquest of its then capital Samina (Simin), to which allusion is made by Idrisi in the passage where he states that before his day (A.D. 1150) the Sahib Pilak or Balak,² a Sahib who was "a vassal of the King of the Nubata",³ had burnt and ravaged Samina.⁴

Samina at this time was the capital of the Tajuin idolators, who, according to both Ibn Said and Makrisi, were related to the Zaghawa in some way, and must have been the cultural ancestors of the modern Daju of Darfur and Dar Sila.

¹ McMichael, *Hist. of Arabs of the Sudan*, i, 4, viii.

² Balak was a town in the Bahr-al-Ghazal, North of Lake Fitri.

³ i.e. the Mai of Kanem.

⁴ Idrisi (Dozy), *Trans.*, p. 15.

As it seems clear that the Daju were the earliest known rulers of Central and Southern Darfur and that they were supplanted by the Tunjur in Northern Darfur about the sixteenth century, it seems a fair inference that in the twelfth century the Daju power of Fitri, which according to Idrisi was coterminous with the boundary of Nubia, was cognate to that in Darfur.

El Tunisi, quoted by Mr. MacMichael, mentioned the Daju, Masalit, Mima, Kashmara and Gura'an as the five aboriginal tribes of Wadai and adds that: "The Dajo live to the south of Dar Sila (Wadai) and are neighbours of the Kuka (i.e. Fitri)." ¹

It would seem that wherever the Daju as a people originated and whatever the preponderance among them of racial traits may, at the present day, have become, they were permeated by Barbar and perhaps Egyptian ideas at a period in their tribal history which long antedated the Arab penetration of the Sudan by the Hilal and other tribes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and that before the coming of these Arabs, the position was roughly that Northern Kordofan and Northern Darfur were controlled by the Tunjur Barbar, while the so-called Daju lay to the south of them.

Now what little is known of the Abu Simin (i.e. Daju) culture of Fitri, shows that it was similar in all respects to the so-called "So" culture of the N'dikwa region under the rule of the Tu-magiri (N'dina) or Wa-n'dala. The same type of enormous earthen jars—Saharan corn bins—are found at a place called Gâlo Buram or Gebel Giri near the ancient site of Samina. The Dajo moreover like the Zaghawa and people of Um Chaka in N'dikwa used slings in warfare. The name of the "Kin-din Kel Buram", the reputed ancestors of the Tu-magiri of Mandara and the name of the Buram who gave their name to Gâlo Buram, also quite clearly denote the same people, i.e. the Zaghawa or Daju of Wadai and Darfur, or half-Hamites cognate to them.

The fact that certain peoples in these regions, e.g. the Dalla Dibu pagans even now practice pot-burial may have nothing to do with the invading Tu-magiri and probably has not.

On the other hand there are various cultural and other facts known about the Daju—which not only suggest a Hamite connection but also suggest a Jukun affinity. Among them are the "sacred fire" of the Daju, which seems to bear some relation to

¹ El Tunisi, *Voyage au Ouadai*, p. 68.

the Jukun "sun worship": the Daju tribal Wazir called Sambeyi whose Jukun counterpart is the Abon Chuo: the Daju priestess diviner comparable to the Jukun Yaku.¹

On the whole it seems improbable that a people having the characteristics of the Jukun, coming from the Mandara region into Nigeria at approximately the period they must have come, could be other than some part or branch of the peoples known as Daju, Tu-magiri, or Zaghawa to whom the Magumi of Bornu were akin.

It would appear from Imam Ahmed's history² that about A.D. 1580 or at the close of the sixteenth century the most considerable Barbar Chief in the Gongola region was the Mai of Yamta (ancestor of the present Mai of Biu). At that time the Kwararafa were also in power across the Gongola in Gombe and Bauchi. Towards the end of the next century some of these Kwana of Gombe were strong enough to attack both N'gasargamu and Kano, though they were very decisively crushed by Mai Ali of Bornu about 1660 (a victory celebrated in some Katsina verses by the famous Dan Marina).

But it seems that shortly after this Kwararafa defeat in Bornu, Fulani who had been getting numerous in Bornu from about 1570 onwards began to move down south into Adamawa and Muri and the region of the lower Gongola. They began to settle among the Jukun communities there.

There were also many Fulani at M'bumanda (Hamarua) and in Adamawa generally. Whether, as it is said, the collapse of Birnin Kwararafa or Bepi near Bantaji was due to internal dissension alone or whether it was in part due to Fulani intrigue is not certain; but in approximately the year 1755 Birnin Kwararafa was sacked and destroyed by the Fulani. About 1762 Buba Yero the Fulani who afterwards became Emir of Gombe and crushed the Jukun power in the Gongola was born at Walama.

At the outset of Buba Yero's (Gombe) career we find him (presumably with Kwararafa allies) being attacked by the Mai of Yamta, but holding his ground; while a few years later (before the Sokoto Jihad opened) he succeeds the Jukun rulers of Kalam and Kunde almost without any fighting at all, the chiefs of Kunde

¹ MacMichael, *op. cit.*, i, 4, vii.

² *Sudanese Memoirs* (Palmer, Government Press, Lagos), vol. i.

going to Bakundi (Aba-Kunde) south of the Benue. The Fulani then intermarried with the Jukuns and the Kitije Fulani were the result.

In the case of Birnin Kwararafa it is said that the Fulani of Hamarua, i.e. the Muri Fulani, were the sackers. It is in any case interesting to find that the Gobir Jihad of Othman Dan Hodio was by no means the beginning of the rise of the Fulani to ascendancy in Nigeria, but rather followed on a movement which had been going on for some time in Adamawa and in the Gongola valley.

The year 1781 when Bornu was decisively defeated by Mandara apparently marked the beginning of the wane of Bornu influence in the Gongola and Adamawa region.

The taking over of the Jukun-Gombe kingdom at Kalain by Fulani probably occurred about 1785. It is said that the Fulani had been congregating in the Nafada-Deya-Gujba region for about twenty years before their first attack on the Bornu capital N'gasargamu which took place from Gujba as a Fulani base in 1808.

* * * *

It will be clear from the above data which are drawn from the records or traditions of a wide range of peoples in the Central Sudan, that the Hamite or half-Hamite warp in the tribal web running across the Sudan belt from east to west is continuous and demonstrable. The Fung of the Nile Valley were, in composition and culture, at least *sui generis* with the so-called Daju or Taju of Darfur and Wadai. The nomenclature assigned to such tribes varies with the viewpoint or racial affinity of the speaker or writer. Thus the purer strains of Barbarians tended and tend to call the "mingled peoples" by such names as Fung and Hameg, while the mixed tribes themselves usually have a tendency to adopt an appellation which either states or connotes that they are Barbarians, in default of some obvious and flattering connection with a political or tribal unit of note.

In the region therefore which the Barbarians in general doubtless agreed to call Fitri (i.e. the land of the Fut or Fung) we find that the earliest known capital bore the common appellation of Zaghawi capital Saman or Samina¹ (Simin) the hypothetically indigenous negro population of the region being known as Kuka or Nuba.

¹ As also did N'jimi, the Magumi capital of Kanem.

There was, however, if we may trust the local traditions, a secondary population present in Fitri from a very early period known to the Kanuri as N'gazar or N'gisam, and represented by the tribal names N'dina, N'difu, N'gir and N'gal, who in 1380 or so appealed to the Bulala Sultan Abd ul Jalil; a population which are sometimes called Fellata as are their present representatives the N'gisam in British Bornu. They are portrayed by Muslim writers as tribes originally "servile" to the conquering Magumi or so-called Yamanina (Samanina). They may be designated "Kushites".

The appellation Fellata connotes of course that these tribes were pastoral, a connotation which is in fact borne out by their names, since "di" or "n'di" is in fact the Zaghawi word for camel. The name was adopted by other tribes as, for instance, the Masalit.¹ The N'dina, N'difu and N'di-bu were thus, it is clear, originally "camel-men" of the caste or stratum of Barbar society which was called Gara. They classed themselves and were classed in Mandara, for instance, as Tu-magari, i.e. of "noble" Barbar stock. But as they seem to represent the same stocks as the Daju rulers, they were in fact neither more or less noble than can be predicated of the Daju in general. Ali N'dina, the ruler of the N'dina of Fitri in the Bulala manuscripts is thus, in all respects, the equivalent of a legendary Ali N'gisami of the period of the early fights between the Magumi and Bulala in Wadai or the country to the east of it. Ali N'gisame was the "paternal uncle" of the Bulala.²

There is then every probability that the traditional invasion of Mandara by the Daju refers to the same migration which is described in detail in Kanuri manuscripts as the invasion of Mandara by the N'dina or Tumagari, who were of cognate stock to the Magumi of N'jimi. From this circumstance it must be inferred that the only real difference between the Kanem Magumi kingdom as known to the Arabs and that of the Daju in Fitri, apart from the less or more of negro blood in the veins of the respective ruling houses, was that whereas the Kanem Sultans were Moslems the Daju rulers were not.

¹ "Dirri," see MacMichael, *Tribes, etc.*, vol. i, p. 122.

² *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 52. It is significant that he was the "paternal" not maternal uncle of the Bulala, i.e. he was an *amqhi* or *aghawal* or "servile Barbar".

When therefore it is added that the title Mai (Mek) in Kanem was a title obviously adopted (we do not know when) on Kordofan and Dongola analogies, and that the older style of title of the Kanuri Mais themselves was "Ata" as in the title *Ata n'siku* (*Ata m'sighu*) "father of the nobles", it will be evident that the Ata of the Gongola Jukun was in fact a cultural, though non-Moslem replica of the Ata of the Magumi, derived as it would seem from Kanem through the N'difu or N'dibu (Tumagari) of Mandara who were originally indistinguishable from the Daju. Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the Daju are culturally and physically not unlike the Jukun and have a sort of prime minister called Sambeyi or Dingar (*N'di-N'gari*) similar to the Jukun Abon Chu(o) it is perhaps permissible to conjecture that the tribal appellation Da-ju or Ta-ju is derived from the title of the Daju monarch having been Ada-chu or Ada-ju, *chu* or *ju* meaning "great" as in the Jukun title Adashu found in the Kano Chronicle.

With regard to the exact period of the Jukuns' arrival in Nigeria and its manner, the Fika (Bolewa) written chronicle, as also the traditions of the Dera and Tera of the Shani region (who are Kwararafa) are unanimous in declaring that the Kwana (Kwararafa) came into Nigeria from Mandara, debouching from the hills in the region of Mubi and the Hawal River. In this region the rock of Walama is one of the earliest centres of the Jukun cult. Other accounts state that they came from Mandara by way of Kilba which comes to much the same thing.

It is a natural inference from these traditions—even if it were not so stated—that the line of this migration came from Fuss (Musgu) through Balda to Mubi, a route of immemorial antiquity, the eastward continuation of which would be over the hills of Abu Geren (in Bagharmi) to the Wadi Batha in Wadai. Such a route would lie to the south of the inundated areas of Lake Chad and Fitri, then, no doubt, much more extensive than they are to-day. It is, moreover, noteworthy that this route as a hypothetical divide between the Kanuri or Kanem Magumi and the early Jukun castes on the Yedseran and Gongola Rivers gains considerable support from the tenaciously held Kanuri beliefs concerning the expeditions of the legendary Mai Dugu Bremmi to the famous city of Yari Arbasan in the region of a Congo tributary, the River Masa, about 5° N. 15° E. The Kanuri

name Yeri Arbasan means the place of the Ye or Yam, and of the Agha called Fasa or Basa, i.e. the Fuss or Musgu who are also known as Māsa.¹

To the east of the Dalla Diba range is a town still called Atagara, with a chief whose dress and manners are much more reminiscent of Benin and Wukari, than of the region in which he lives. He states that his ancestors moved to Dalla Diba from further south in Mandara.

In the Bornu histories of the sixteenth century the "servile" peoples or "Gara" are always contrasted with the "Ahel Dirk" who were the Tuareg "imagan" or nobles. The Tumagari from whom sprang in part the early Kanem dynasty on the mother's side were thus also "imagan", i.e. nobles of the "Tu" (hills). The Mandara Tumagari, who were the ancestors of the present Wandala rulers of Mandara, also, according to their chronicles, traced their descent from Kindin Kel Buram, i.e. Tuareg nobles.

The inference is therefore that the name of the old Mandara capital Karawa might as well be spelt Gara-wa; that the title of the present Mais of Mandara, i.e. "Takse", is the equivalent of the Tuareg word for "successor" (son of a sister), i.e. "Tegasi" (Hausa "Magaji"), and hence that originally the ruler of Mandara was an "Ata" succeeded by a "Tegasi" (Takse).

We may thus perhaps postulate an original Atagara in the Balda region, and suppose that the name moved with the people south-west as e.g. to an Atagara which in the fourteenth century was possibly the present "Holy hill of Bima" in Gwani near Biu, and then to the "hill of Kalam" on the Gongola.

It will be recalled that the Jukun of to-day group themselves with the Fellata and that the Fellata are commonly said to be "cousins" of the Berri-Berri (Kanuri and Zaghawa). Mr. Lethem has conjectured that a traditional invasion of the N'dikwa region centuries ago by Fellata was really an invasion of Kwōna (Kwararafa).

In the Mandara Chiefs' own account of their origin it is said that their ancestry were originally Christians who escaped from

¹ See Barth, *Travels and Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. ii. Barth wrote "The inhabitants of Logone belong to that great race of the Masa, being the brethren of the Musgu and the kinsmen of the inhabitants of Mandara (the Agha Wandala) and the Kotoko (or Magari)," Barth, vol. ii, ch. ii, p. 21.

the Judaizing Dthu Nuwas in Yaman, and came to Mandara from Wara in Wadai via Bornu.¹

* * * *

Taken together, these traditions from many different sources seem to indicate that the Tumagari ruling race of Mandara were entirely cognate to and affiliated to the Magumi rulers of Kanem and Fitri. Their half-Hamite subject population such as the N'dina and N'gala and N'difu, and the ruling chiefs of the old Ndi-kwa towns, known as So towns, with their huge pots of Saharan type for storing water, were also "servile" tribes of Tu-magari stock. Other subject populations with whom is associated pot-burial were the so-called M'bum races. Tumagari would then be a convenient general term for the kind of Hamite or half-Hamite caste which was known when it moved further west and south as Jukun. Concerning the date of the migrations which may be specifically considered Jukun, the only direct evidence we have is that provided by the records or traditions of the Bolewa of Fika on the one hand, and by those of the so-called "So" towns of Dikwa on the other. We may thus perhaps date the Jukun advent to the regions associated with their name as about A.D. 900-1000 which, incidentally, must be the approximate date of the famous Mai Dugu Bremmi of Yari Arbasan fame, or, at least, the date of the events for which the name stands. But in any case, and even if this dating is wrong by a century or so either way, the subsequent movements of the Jukun tribes seem, in rough outline, clear enough.

There were two main stocks of Jukuns which may be termed respectively the Kilba branch of Jukun and the Kalam branch of Jukun.

The former were the main migration; and after coming from Mandara to Marghi and on to Kilba, they spread south to Shani and the Benue and north to Ribadu, Biyri, and Fika. To this stream belong the present ruling classes of Wukari and the present ruling Bolewa of Fika. The other branch was probably slightly later in date and came from the south-east corner of Lake Chad through Damaturu, Daura and Deya in Bornu to Kalam on the Gongola. This stream was never subject in any way to the Mais of N'jimi and N'gasargamu, but was probably the branch of the Kwararafa which was responsible for most

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 96 and 101.

of the early attacks on Hausaland—though the Pindiga Jukon are said to have been the invaders of Kano in A.D. 1700.

The hill of Ata-gara which Sarki Yaji of Kano failed to take about A.D. 1350 was almost certainly Kalam. This Sarki was, according to the Kano Chronicle, master of the other Jukons who "extended from Biyri to Fanda" on the edge of the Tangale country,¹ and who even in later times were in part subject to N'gasargamu.

In an official report on the Bolewa group of Kwararafa compiled in 1928, Capt. R. C. Abraham writes:—

"Just as an infusion of foreign blood into Egypt swamped the apathy of the indigenous hordes and led them to irresistible conquests, so did the irruption of the Bolewa into Eastern Nigeria lead to the carving-out of the powerful confederacy of Kalam and the kingdoms of Kafarati, Kwararafa and later Pindiga, themselves to be soon afterwards swallowed up by a further wave of immigrants still more virile than themselves.

"All accounts, whether emanating from the Jukons or the Bolewa agree that in the first place Jukon and Bolewa were of one blood and formed part of the same immigrating wave; further, the Jukon accounts show that they themselves were few in number and were a ruling caste, who under the pressure of other immigrants too preponderating in number for effective resistance to be made, were forced to migrate Benue-wards. In view of the fact that they were a ruling caste, it is interesting to compare the name 'Jukon' with the name given by the Tuareg to their ruling-caste, i.e. Imajegan, two words which are clearly very similar. In the light of the comparative fewness of the original immigrating Jukons, we should expect to find absorption of these rulers into the conquered populations, and surrender of their language for that of the masses. This agrees with what we do find, and in fact, the physical type of the Jukon is indistinguishable from that of the Benue peoples and his speech utterly distinct from the Bolewa group. The Benue Jukon call themselves 'Yihone'² but this is no doubt a phonetic change in their present language from the primary 'Jukon'. It is, however, the plural form of a singular 'Mhone'. The plural is not

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. III, p. 106.

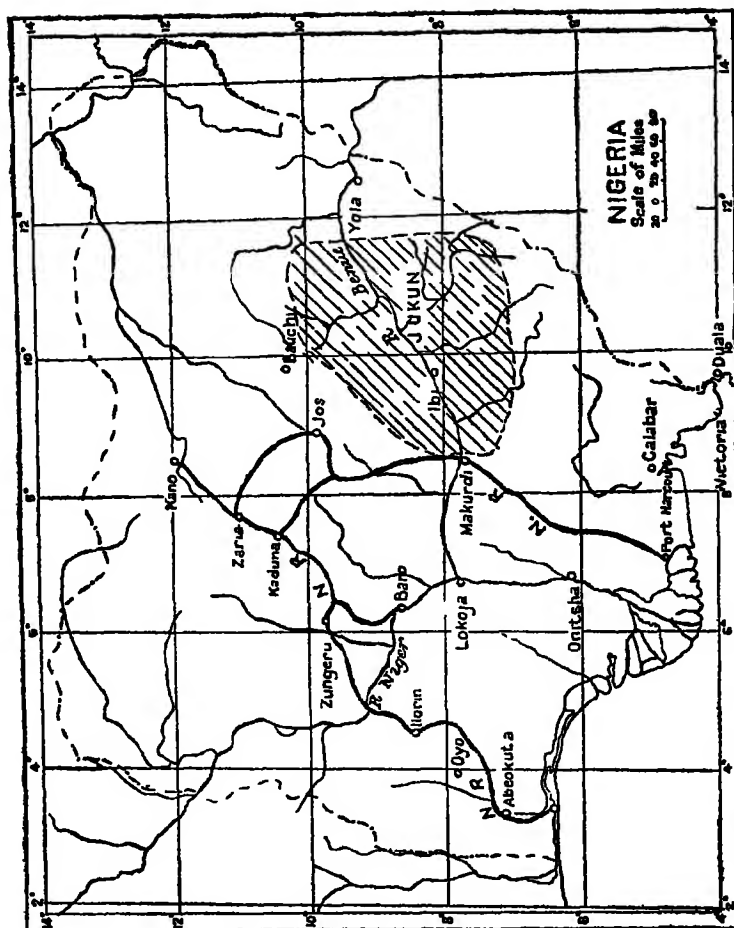
² This term is not, as far as I know, used by any of the Benue groups of Jukun.—C. K. MEEK.

formed in other cases by adding 'Yi', so that I am of opinion that the form for the singular has been created out of the original plural, the 'M' being an abbreviation for 'Mpere' (Bari) meaning 'man' as e.g. 'Mpere Wukari' a Wukari man, and 'Je Wukari' people of Wukari. Both 'Jukon' and the constantly recurrent forms 'Kwana, Gwana, Kanem and Kanembu' seem to me to be nothing more than variants of a word having the same root as 'Imajegan' in the same sense, viz. 'Rulers'. Father de Foucauld holds that 'Imajegan' is derived from the root 'Aheg' meaning to raid or to be free, and Mr. Rodd states that the word is also used to denote the Arab aristocracy and Europeans."

While it is probable that as regards the names Kanem Kanembu, Kwana and Gwana, Mr. Abraham is mistaken, since the two former are compounds of the Teda word *Anum* "South", and the two latter are Barbar plurals of *Kwa* "people", yet it seems tolerably certain that the name Jukun is related to the Tuareg forms Imagharen and Imajegan, which are equivalent to Magumi on the one hand and Magari in Tu-magari on the other.¹

H. R. PALMER.

¹ In dealing with ancient Sudanese traditions it is to be observed that some well-known names of peoples and places do not always bear the same meaning as that generally ascribed to them in Europe. Thus KIPTI in Hausa tradition does not mean Copts or Egyptians, but bears the older meaning of Ptolemaic times, viz. Palestinians, Phœnicians, or Cretans. Similarly, when the Kanuri and other peoples say that they came from YAMAN, the YAMAN originally envisaged was not the Arabian principality of that name but the whole region of Abyssinia and the Eastern Sudan, the home of the sun and fire worship, and of the incense trade.



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Traced by V Williams,
Survey Dept., Enugu, 13 12 30

A SUDANESE KINGDOM

CHAPTER I

THE JUKUN TRIBE, ITS ENVIRONMENT AND HISTORY

The Jukun-speaking peoples of Nigeria, numbering some twenty-five thousand people, occupy in scattered groups that part of the Benue basin which is bounded by Abinsi to the West and Kona to the East, Pindiga to the North, and Donga to the South, a stretch of country which roughly represents the confines of the Jukun kingdom of Kororofa as it existed at the end of the eighteenth century. At the present time the Jukun are not a corporate whole under one administration. The main body, known as the Wapá, is located in and around Wukari, and forms, under the king of Wukari, an independent unit of the Benue Province. The Jukun of Abinsi, of the Awei District, of Donga and of Takum are also included in the Benue Province, but are not under the administration of the king of Wukari. The Jukun of Kona and Wase Tofa are situated in the Adamawa Province and recognize the suzerainty of the Fulani Emir of Muri. Those of Pindiga and Gwana on the north bank of the Benue are included in Bauchi Province. This absence of tribal cohesion is due to the disintegration which followed the Fulani conquests at the beginning of last century.

Linguistics.—Linguistically there is a similar absence of uniformity. There are six dialects of Jukun, viz. (1) Wukari; (2) Donga; (3) Kona; (4) Gwana and Pindiga; (5) Jibu; (6) Wase Tofa. The dialects of Kona, Gwana, and Pindiga differ so little that they may be regarded as one. A study of the following table, however, will show that there is a remarkable differentiating feature between the dialect spoken at Wukari and the dialects of the other groups. For while the former is characterized by the use of a pronominal prefix “a-”, the other dialects use suffixes instead, *-na* being the commonest suffix among the peoples of Donga, while *-ni*, *-ri* and *-ru* are those in use among

the peoples of Kona, Gwana and Pindiga. Jibu vacillates between the two systems (i.e. of prefix and suffix), but on the whole inclines to the suffixial type used at Donga. Wase Tofa also vacillates, but drops the final vowel of the suffix and makes considerable use of the Wukari pronominal prefix.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SOME ROOTS IN THE VARIOUS JUKUN DIALECTS

N.B.—Symbol η = ng as in English sing. δ = neutral vowel.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Wukari.</i>	<i>Donga.</i>	<i>Kona.</i>	<i>Gwana.</i>	<i>Jibu.</i>	<i>Wase Tofa.</i>
head	a-chi	shi-na	ki-ni	ki-ni	shin	shin
hair	a-ji	hwe	hwaɪ	ji-ni	a-jin	mwan-jin
tooth	a-nyi	ɲa-na	ɲa-ri	ɲi-ri	ij-en	ij-in
leg	a-be	ba-ra	(saɪ)	(tsaɪ)	i-bar	bar
man (person)	a-pa	pe (or, pe-re)	mper	mper δ	pere	aper
chief	a-ku	ku-ru	ku-ru	a-ku-ru	kur	nkir
moon	a-sô	sô-na	sa-nu	sa-no	so-an	a-sô
water	a-jape	zape	zaper	zapere	za	japer
salt	a-ma	ma-na	ma-na	ma-na	i-man	a-man
house	a-tâ	ta-na	ta-nu	ta-nuɲ	ta-na	a-tuɲ
pot	a-pe	pa-ra	pa-ri	—	pa-ra	a-par
knife	a-kwi	ku-na	kwi-ni	kwi-rî	ku-na	a-kun
gun	a-pyu	pyu-ra	pi-ru	pi-ru	—	a-pyu
war	a-kê	ka-na	ka-rî	kâ-ri	ka-na	a-kan
buffalo	a-wi-ji	ɲ-wi-ji	wu-ji-ri	wi-gi-ri	wu-je	a-wojir
goat	a-bi	bi-na	bi-ni	bi-ni	bi-na	a-bi
bird	a-nyi	nyini-bu	ahini	aɲyi-ni	nyim-bwa	a-nyen
fowl	a-kwi	ku-na	kwu-ni	kû-ri	ku-na	a-kun
horse	a-vî	vu-na	vâ-ri	vî-ri	vu-na	—
tree	a-hî	hi-na	ni-ni	hi-ni	nyi-na	a-nyin
oil	a-byu	byu-ru	bi-ru	bi-ru	bi-ru	a-byu

It would be difficult to find a parallel for so striking a difference between dialects of the same language, and the instance before us is a good illustration of the evanescent character of prefixes and suffixes and of the relativity of the method of classifying languages on the basis of affixes. The ease with which borrowing may take place is demonstrated by the Mosi language, which has taken over wholesale the suffixial system of the Fulani.

It is not suggested, however, that Wukari Jukun belongs to the type of languages usually described as prefixial, i.e. those

languages which, like the Bantu, and, to a lesser extent, the Semi-Bantu, employ definite systems of class prefixes. Wukari Jukun is markedly monosyllabic, and in structure resembles Nupe and Ewe, so that it may be provisionally included in the so-called Kwa group of the Western Sudanic division. All the languages of this group have some form of prefixial system, but not a system of class prefixes. In Wukari Jukun there is a single prefix only, and it would appear that the prefix has the quality of the personal pronoun. Nevertheless the distinction between Wukari Jukun, with its pronominal prefix, and the other Jukun suffixial dialects remains; and the question arises as to which system is anterior in time. It is a matter of historical interest.

On the one hand it is possible to suppose that the Kona group of dialects are the most ancient, and that at Wukari the suffixes became worn down as a result, perhaps, of contact with peoples like the Ibo, Okpoto and Ekoi. In favour of this view it is to be noted that the *ni* and *na* suffixes of the Kona group are frequently represented in the Wukari dialect by a nazalization of the final vowel.

On the other hand the Wukari dialect, unlike the other dialects, has a highly developed tonal system which can hardly have been evolved during the hundred years or so of separation between the Jukun of Wukari and those of Kona. *Per contra*, a system of suffixes could be acquired in this time.

On the whole it seems probable that the Wukari dialect is the more ancient, and that, as a result of contact with suffix-using peoples like the Kanuri, Fulani, Hausa and Chamba, the other Jukun-speaking groups acquired the suffixial habit, while the more isolated Wukari group maintained its former system. It is noteworthy that *-na*, *-ni* and *-ri* suffixes are a feature of the Chamba language, and we shall see later that the final disruption of the Jukun kingdom of Kororofa was brought about by groups of Chamba who, as the precursors of the Fulani, ravaged the whole of the Benue basin.

The following table shows the general connection between Jukun roots and those of other members of the Sudanic family, the instances being taken from Westermann's *Westliche Sudansprachen*, N. W. Thomas's *Specimens of Languages*, Struppell's vocabularies, and vocabularies collected by the writer:—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Other Sudanic Languages.</i>
they	be	a-be-n (Twi). -ba- is the common Sudanic (and Bantu) root.
salt	ama	oma (Yala), ema (Egedde). This root is common among the Semi-Bantu-speaking tribes of Togoland.
black	pepe	bibi (Edo), bebe (Delo). The root is bi.
breast	a-mi	le-mi (Likpe), e-vie (Edo). a-me (Yala Okpoto).
(female)		
excrement	a-mi	mî (Ewe), a-mi (Gbari), u-mi (Kposso).
to come	bi	bia (Ibo), be (Gbari, Nupe, Okpoto), bia (Sar and Kanyop).
place	bie	bie (Gâ), ibe (Yoruba), ebe (Ibo), ebiet (Efik), bie-ya (Dagomba).
dog	aba	aba (Nupe), obia (Igara), ba (Dagomba, Delo, Nagumi, etc.), o-va (Kposso).
egg	akwi	a-zi (Ewe), ε-zi and e-dzi (Nupe, etc.), dži (Avatime).
market	ati	
blood	asa	e-dža (Nupe), ubu-dza (Lefana), obi-dza (Ahlô), ɛɛ (Yoruba and Ebrôbolo).
pot	ape	gbe (Gâ), bakpe (Kana).
to kill	buâ	gbe (Gâ, Yoruba, etc.), gbwe (Ake).
water	jape	The Sudanic root is gi or gia, e.g. o-gi (Yoruba), dji (Malinke), yi (Mano), yia (Mende), ya (Kpelle), ja-ma (Fali), ja-mi (Duli), njab (Mbudikum).
to steal	vyu	džu (Gâ, Ekoi, etc.), yu (Tobote, Likpe, Akassele, Gurma, etc.).
to go	ya	ya (Gâ, Edo, Kulango, Delo, Bola, Kpelle, Mende, etc.).
death	aki	ki = to die in Dagarti, Birifo, Gban-yang, Lobi, Dyan, Mosi, etc.).
sun	nyunu or anu	nyui (Akwa), eyu (Efik and Ekoi), eyue (Abure), eyi (Nupe, Basa), oyi (Igbira, Okpoto), unyu (Fali), ano (Ibo), eno (Okpoto), ɔnu (Yeskwa).
charcoal	a-kâ	aka (Ewe and Yeskwa), eka (Nupe and Logba), na-ka (Gbari), etc.
moon	a-sô	o-su (Yoruba), o-tsu (Igara and Okpoto), tsyo (Djida), tšu (Dagarti), nam-ɔsɔ (Ekoi), soa (Kolbila and Chamba Lekon), tso-tu (Fali).
neck	a-hwâ	kwâ (Guang), e-koñ (Twi), kañ (Vai, etc.). The root is kua or kuan.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Other Sudanic Languages.</i>
to be	di and ri	di (Ewe, Twi, Lefana, etc.), di (Igara, Adele, Kebu, etc.), ri (Yoruba, Bulom, etc.).
to eat	ji	di (Twi and numerous others), dji (Kwa and Tobote), dži (Adjukru).
knee	a-kunu	lu-ku (Ahlô), a-du-ku (Kposso), du-nu (Kandjaga), u-kbunu-ko (Ibo).
to bite	dzô	ḍoñ (Adele, Delo, Guang), djuñ (Tobote), džume (Gurma).
not	mba	ma = not is universal in Sudanic languages.
I	a-mi	mi = I is universal in Sudanic languages.
road	a-nya-cho	ò-nà (Yoruba, Igara), na-ba (Dagarti), na-ya (Atjülo), na-le (Siti), u-na (Agni), etc.
elephant	awi-nyi	nî (Ewe), e-ni (Igara), i-ñi (Yala), o-nî (Avatime), e-nyi (Ibo, Akunakuna), o-nyi (Apiapum), etc. The prefix word awi in Jukun means animal.
water	a-nu (river)	nu (Gâ, Djida), nu-mu (Dyan), mu-nu (Akassele), nò (Bidjogo), mu-nung (Mboa). Ni is, however, the more widespread form.
man	a-wunu (male)	nu (Dahome, Gâ, Mende), u-nu (Gbari, Likpe), wu-ni (Temme). The Sudanic root is nu or ni. Among Bantu-speaking peoples the forms nuni and nuna occur.
excrement	a-mi	The common Sudanic and Bantu stem is nia, but the form u-mi occurs among the Kposso.
mouth	nu	nu (Ewe, Manyang, Barba), e-nu (Yoruba, Igbira), o-nu (Ibo, Adele, etc.), onyo (Ekoi). Bantu = nua.
to bite	dzwâ	ñwua, ñwa (Kussassi, Songai).
nose	a-shine	nue, niwe (Susu), ni-e (Dagomba), li-none (Avatime).
black	pepe	o-pipi (Okam), pi (Bozo), fi (Vai). Pi is both the Sudanic and Bantu root.
belly	a-mifu	a-funu (Twi), e-fu (Igara), a-fò (Ibo), di-fu (Uyanga), i-fu (Okpoto), e-fò (Ekoi), fu-ro (Ijò). Pu is both the Sudanic and the Bantu root.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Other Sudanic Languages.</i>
to rise,	pwa	pu-e (Twi, Gà, etc.), pu-a (Guang).
appear		
white	mbumbum	pupu (Gwa), fufu (Ewe, Twi, and numerous others).
bow	ahin-to (Kona = tau)	to-bu (Dagomba), to-m (Kandjaga), bo-tò-bo (Tobote), bu-to-m (Konkomba). Ta is the most widespread stem. The Jukun prefix ahin means "wood", and it is interesting to note that the Gbari use the same word as a suffix, bow being ta-hi.
father	ata	ata (Ewe, Igara, Edo, Nki, Nde, Uwet, Djola, etc.). Ta is also the Bantu stem.
hand	tata -vo	a-ta (Logba), ka-ta (Tɛmme). tata-bo = palm of hand in Edo.
head	a-chí	e-chi (Ekoi), i-shi (Ibo and Nde), di-si (Likpe and Santrokofi), rchi (Hiji).
hair	a-jí	jia (Kana), iloji (Igara), jokji (Niam Niam), njeo (Nagumi).
eye	a-zo	ozu (Yoruba), asu (Yeskwa), miso (Nagumi).
ear	a-tsô	esô (Igabo), oton (Ibibio and Nde), otoñ (Ekoi), cho (Tugum), su (Mbum).
nose	a-shine or nuan	chine (Kobochi and Holma), nshi (Hiji), china (Mubi), shin (Dari), anu (Yala), n-nui (Ekoi).
tooth	a-nyi	anyi (Akpa and Munshi), enyi (Igara), angyi (Igbira), ungyi (Yeskwa), ini (Guang), ení (Alagiang), aní (Ebe), nyin (Suga).
tongue	a-nene or nami	anebi (Nde), anem (Abua).
arm	a-vo	abo (Ewe, Yala, and Okpoto), ubo (Igbira), obo (Edo), bo (Suga and Kaka), obo (Ijò), obò (Ibibio, Nde), ubòk (Yeskwa), kabo (Nagumi), avo (Munshi).
leg	a-be	ave (Igabo), ku-be (Dama), kpe (Gagu).
one	a-zung	song (Mbum).
two	a-piena	pen (Manyañ and Nde), pe (Manyañ), pai (Manyañ), bae (Ekoi).
three	a-tsara	sa (Ekoi), sae (Jassing), sai (Mboa and Mberre).

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Other Sudanic Languages.</i>
four	a-nyena or nyie	nyie (Ekoi), nyan (Mberre), a-nañ (Twi), i-nan (Efik), e-na (Ewe), neng (Laka).
five	a-tsuana or soaning	sian (Mboa), suin (Muturua), som (Gisiga), tana (Suga).
six	a-shinje or sunje.	jei (Mbum).
ten	a-dzue or dup	e-ðu (Twi), i-du (Guang), u-du (Lobi), duop (Ibibio), diop (Akunakuna).
arrow	a-bo	ɔbo (Ekuri), obo-bo (Ndajanawe), obowok (Oderiga), mbom (Ekoi), do-bu (Fali).
goat	a-bi	bi-o (Durru), bi-u (Fali), ebi (Igbo Imaban), ebia (Akunakuna), abia (Igara), ebili (Okpoto).
bone	a-ke	nke (Mbudikum), ekeb (Nde), ekip (Ekoi).
ant	a-kô	ako (Nde).
war	a-kê	ekɔn (Ibibio), ekon (Ibo), okɔ (Wepa), ekɔ (Akunakuna), lekô (Ekuri), ekan (Efik).
child	a-nwu	nwa (Ibo), nwe (Kana), nwon (Ololumo), nwan (Akunakuna).
house	a-ndo	o-dɔ (Ibo), don (Akunakuna).

As a corollary to the above table it is of interest to compare Jukun roots with those of the Bantu languages south of the Equator. The following table serves this purpose and also illustrates the extent to which both the Bantu and Sudanic families have drawn from a common source of Nigritic roots. One hundred and fifteen words were available for comparison, and it will be seen that sixty-nine of these are common to Jukun and one or other of the Bantu groups south of the Equator. The proportion of 57 per cent of connection is high for a language of the Jukun type which grammatically has so little in common with Bantu.

TABLE SHOWING SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SOME JUKUN AND BANTU WORDS

The Bantu references are taken from Johnston's *Comparative Study of the Bantu Languages*. A few Sudanic forms taken from Westermann's *Westlichen Sudansprachen* are also shown.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Bantu.</i>	<i>Sudanic.</i>
1. arrow	abo	bau (101)	
2. beard	aswi	yeswi, beswi (90)	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Bantu.</i>	<i>Sudanic.</i>
3. beer	achê	tyema, cema (54, etc.)	
4. belly	amifu	fumo (42), fumu (184)	The root pu is common to Sudanic and Bantu.
5. bird	anyi	onyi, unyi (1, etc.)	
6. blood	asa	kisa (38), sau (17)	Compare Nupe edža, Guang, obu-dža, Lefana ubu-dža.
7. body	adi	idi (70), bidi (104)	
8. bone	ake	kepa (94)	ku is the commonest Sudanic root and kupa the Bantu root.
9. bow	ato	hetq (3a), eitq (39)	ta is the root common to Sudanic and Bantu.
10. breast (male)	ago	gono (11)	
11. canoe	ako	koko (150)	
12. charcoal	akâ	aka (14)	ka is also the common Sudanic root.
13. chief	aku	kuu (21), kuru (6, 178)	
	or kuru	kuma (127, etc.)	
14. country	ajê	señge (139), nji (194), penje (186)	
15. egg	akê	ke (145, etc.)	Compare Igara e-ge. The sudanic root is gi.
16. excrement	ami	mi (129, etc.)	Compare mi in Ewe, Yoruba, Gbari, and other Sudanic tongues.
17. eye	azo	zq (11), izq (14), isq (numerous)	
18. father	ata	ta' (119), atar (121), tata (numerous)	
19. finger	angyi	nyi (114, etc.), nywi (18), ñgqe (63)	

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<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Bantu.</i>	<i>Sudanic.</i>
20. fire	apyu	pyu (193)	
21. fish	aje	jue (120, 179, etc.)	
22. forest	ahyu	hua (89), kuwa (74), ihu (13)	
23. fowl	akwi, akun, kuna	ku (numerous)	
24. frog	adzuŋ	dzuq (178)	
25. goat	abi	bui (10)	
26. grandparent	yaku	nyakq (83)	
27. hair	aji	ji (17), jui (18)	
28. hand	avo	bo (151, etc.), voko (71, etc.)	The common Sudanic term is bo; the Bantu root is voko.
29. head	achi	tciu (119), tui (7a)	Compare Igara adzi, and Okpoto odzi.
		twi (19, etc.)	A common Sudanic root is ti.
30. hide	geho, ho	hu (2, 2d, 2e), howa (129), hobq (199)	
31. hill	gôdô	goŋq (2f, etc.), aŋgu (94), gonyq (69)	
32. house	ando	anda (14, 15, etc.)	
33. island	atswi	si (44b, etc.), ciwi (64, etc.)	
34. leg	a-be	libe (161), -be (152), kipe (150)	
35. leopard	afyi	gwi (14)	The Sudanic root is gui.
36. lips	anu	nua (7, etc.), nu (1), no (85)	nu is the common danic root, e.g. Yoruba = enu, Edo = unu.
37. little	titi	didi (28), tigi, titi (208), tutu (17), etc.	
38. magic	ako	loko (5), doko (193)	
39. man (homo)	apa, mpere (Kona and Gwana)	npa (145), pa= male (28, 40), pele (159, 166, etc.), mpele (167)	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Bantu.</i>	<i>Sudanic.</i>
40. man (male)	wunu	lume-nhu (91), nuni (100), nuna (69, etc.)	
41. moon	asô	sonye (109), soñge (159), soñ (202)	Compare Yoruba, Igara, Okpoto, otsu.
42. mother	ayo	nyo (27, etc.), iyo (10, etc.)	
43. mountain	akwê	kwenzi (123)	
44. name	azê	zina (numerous)	
45. navel	achukû	cuku (139), suku (142, etc.)	
46. oil palm	aya	ya (100), iya (195)	
47. old	riko	ku (numerous)	ku is the common Sudanic root.
48. rat	afyi	phu (124), pi (178), pui (204), buyi (184)	
49. shame	pâ sine	sonye (101). The most widely dis- tributed Bantu term is soni.	Sudanic root is pali.
50. sheep	adô	doño (175), do (12, 20, etc.)	
51. snake	angnyô	yo (numerous)	
52. soul	dindi	dinadina (187), didi (199), diñgi (189)	
53. spear	atso	sumo (45), sônga (56), sori (268, etc.)	
54. star	atswi	ezi (2b), nyesi (75)	
55. stick	aga	saga (38), noñga (69), toñga (75), honga (71), doñ- ga (35)	
56. sun	nyunu	inyo (101), nyi (103), nyenyi (109)	Yi is the root in Nupe, Igbira, Basa, etc., yu in Ekoi, yui in Akwa.
57. thief	avyu	yu (112a), ivi (48), etc.)	Yu is the common term in the Togoland and Gur groups.

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<i>English.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>	<i>Bantu.</i>	<i>Sudanic.</i>
58. thigh	sû	so (44b), sowu (17), sosi (123), sufu (73), solo (79)	
59. to-day	jina	inu (17), jeno (73)	
60. to-morrow	akyê	eñkya, eñkea (2)	
61. tongue	anene	leme, neme, meni, (187, 193)	
62. tooth	a-nyi	inyo (1), ini (162, 185, etc.)	Ni or nin is the Sudanic root.
63. town	atswen	tseñge (38), etc.	
64. tree	ahî	hi (13, 16, etc.)	
65. well	ashi	lushi (56a), fushi (98)	
66. white	mbumbum	pumpu (166), pum- apum (183)	The common Su- danic root is pu.
67. wind	awo	ewo (133), pewo (4), wo (77), guwo (78)	
68. wood	ahî	huni (64), huinyi (97), hio (195)	
69. yesterday	ana	ane (120), yana (21b), etc.	

The above table would seem to indicate that the Jukun language was influenced by Bantu to a very much greater extent than, for example, Kanuri ¹ to the north, or Yoruba to the west ; and that this is so is further suggested by the extent to which alliteration is prevalent in Jukun.

To take a few examples :—

nwo wa owa = girl.
banchi ba owa = girls.

m da m ku mba = I did not strike him.
u da u ku mba = you did not strike him.
be da be ku mba = they did not strike him.

uwa wa gôgô = the tall woman.
bauwa ba gôgô = the tall women.

¹ A comparison between Kanuri and Bantu roots shows a maximum percentage of connection of 35 as against 57 for Jukun.

or (Gwana dialect) :—

wura gôgô = the tall woman

ba wurup ba gôgô = the tall women.

" Make the boy untie the goat " is not

" yi ngwu ku ya fê bî,"

but " yingwu *ra* ka ya fê bî *ra*,"

or " yi angwu wara kwia fê bina " (kwia being the equivalent of ku ya = he goes).

This stone is not heavy = abâ wara wa ndanda mba.

" My children are ill," is either

" ajê mi fo be via mba,"

or " *ajenjemi* be fo *be* via mba."

" This man is bad " may be expressed by " apa ra sâ mba ", but a Jukun would prefer to say " apa ra *sa* sâ *sa* mba ".

Jukun does not, however, possess even the rudiments of a class prefix system. There is a possibility that the universal prefix *a-* found in the Wukari dialect has taken the place of a variety of prefixes, but of this there is no evidence, and the prefix *a-* is probably nothing more than the definite determinative. There is a feature,¹ however, in Jukun which suggests an elementary form of class prefixes. This feature is the use of duplex stems. Thus *wi* is a common prefix word for the animal class. Elephant is *wi-nyi*, buffalo is *wi-ji*, antelope is *wi-tswi*, and so on. *wi* by itself means animal. *bie* = place is commonly prefixed to indicate locality in a manner reminiscent of the *li-* class in Bantu. Thus *bieko* = the chief's sacred enclosure, *biene* = sleeping apartment, *bieta* = house, *bieli* = market. The town of Wukari is called either Uka or Bioka (i.e. *Bie-uka*), the town of Kororofa is either Api or Biepi. The various species of tree are indicated by a prefix stem *hi-*, which itself means tree or wood. This prefix word appears in the word for bow, viz. *hinto*. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Fulani language the same word *hi* is used as a suffix to denote the various species of trees.

¹ Mr. N. W. Thomas has drawn attention to this in a paper entitled " Duplex Stems in Sudanic Languages ".

Pa = man, plural *ba*, is also used as a prefix in a manner suggestive of the Bantu personal class. Thus doctor = *apa sê ganti*, while doctors = *ba sê ganti*. Dyer = *pa wobu*, dyers = *ba wobu*.

The use of compound words is not, however, confined to nouns; it extends to verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Thus the verb *dzu* = to go, or come out, is commonly employed as the suffix portion of a composite verb in order to convey the meaning of "from". The verb to escape, for example, is *pwê-dzu*, to break off is *ge-dzu*, and so on. Similarly the noun *nde* = voice is used as the suffix half of such verbs as *gbwende* = to abuse, *bande* = to be silent, *kunde* = to wail. A feature of these compound verbs is that when there is a direct object the object is frequently inserted between the two halves of the verb. Nupe also follows this rule. Examples of composite adverbs and prepositions are:—

ki bie ri = there (literally = at that place).

ki dô = up (lit. = at above).

ki chi = above (lit. = on head).

ki fi = in (lit. = in belly).

Another feature of Jukun grammar is the use of plural verbs, i.e. a different verb is sometimes used when plural things are indicated. Thus (in the Kona dialect) "bring a horse" is *zag vini bai*, but "bring horses" is *ho vini bai*. "He received me" is *ku zag mwi*, but "he received us" is *ku ho yai*.

The passive voice is expressed actively by making the agent the subject of the verb and the subject the object. Where there is no specified agent the third personal plural pronoun is used as the subject. Thus "I was beaten" would be expressed by saying "They beat me".

Grammatical gender does not occur in any of the Jukun dialects, but it will not be surprising if the use of a third personal feminine pronoun soon makes its appearance in the dialects of Pindiga, Gwana, and Kona, as a number of neighbouring tribes in this area appear to have adopted the use of this pronoun within recent times.

As regards the position of the dependent genitive this follows the normal rule of placing the genitive after the noun on which it depends. In this respect Jukun differs from the Agni-Twi languages with which it has otherwise so much in common.

In the Wukari dialect tones are significant, i.e. homonyms are distinguished by differences in tone. Thus *ākū* = chief, *ākū* = he, and *ākū* = religious cult. *Kwī* = chicken, *kwī* = knife, while *kwī* with middle tone = calabash. *Ajī* = hair, but *ajī* = dirt. On the other hand some homonyms appear to be tonally identical. Thus *ako* meanseit her witch or canoe, *ami* = breast or excrement, *aki* = heart or white hair, and *kwī* with middle tone means either calabash or grinding stone. The meaning has to be determined by the context. This would seem to suggest that the tonal system of Wukari Jukun is of recent introduction. The same phenomenon has, however, been observed in other Sudanic languages with a highly developed tonal system, and the absence of tonal distinctions in certain homonyms is probably to be ascribed to the unlikelihood of any confusion arising as regards these particular homonyms.

The *kp* and *gb* sounds characteristic of the Sudanic languages are more prevalent in the Wukari dialect than in any of the other dialects. Palatalization of *p*, *f*, and *n* is common in all the dialects. As already noted, nasalization is frequent in Wukari but less so in the other dialects, owing to the use of *-ni* and *-na* suffixes. On the other hand the velar voiced fricative occurs in the Kona and Gwana dialects, but not in that of Wukari.

The schedules of words and phrases given in the Appendix illustrate the main features of grammar and phonology.

There is no literature, but the Jukun are noted for their proverbs, a number of which are recorded at the end of the last chapter.

Nomenclature.—The term Jukun or Jukū, by which the Jukun-speaking peoples are generally known, is derived from the Jukun compound word for "men" or "people", viz. *apa-jukū*. The first word in this combination has all the appearance of being the equivalent of the Bantu plural prefix for the human class, viz. *ba*. But actually the singular form of the word *apa-jukū* is *apa* by itself. We have seen, however, that Jukun frequently employs prefix nouns in a manner suggestive of the pronominal class prefixes of the Bantu-speaking peoples.

The root *pa* = man (human being or person) is found among the Kuamba of Central Africa in the form *ba*, pl. *pa*; among the Seke-Bulu in the form *-mba-*; as *-kba*, pl. *-gba*, among the Kibira of Upper Ituri; and as *-pa-* among the Pogoro and

Mahege of Upper Rufiji. Among the Guha of Tanganyika the word for male is *pa-lume*, i.e. person-male. *Pa-lume* becomes contracted to *-pami*, *pele*, and *mpele* among the tribes of Congo-land, and it is this contraction which appears in the Kona, Gwana and Pindiga dialects of Jukun in the form *mpere* (and not *apa*) = man (person).

The use of the prefix *pa* in tribal designations was apparently common in Ancient Egypt, for in a hieratic ostrakon found by Hall at Dair al-Bahri in 1904, and probably of the reign of Hatshepsut, there is a reference to the *pa-Assur*, i.e. "the Assyrian".¹

It may be noted in passing that the Jukun of Wukari call themselves "Wapâ"² and not "Jukun", i.e. they use the first half of the compound term *apa-jukun* = men. The term Jukun is the generic title for all Jukun-speaking peoples.

It is clear then that *apa* means person or (in the plural) people. It may now be asked, what is the significance of the word "Jukun"? The general meaning of this term would also appear to be "people". It is not uncommon in Bantu and some Sudanic languages for stems to be compounded of two roots of identical meaning. But it would seem that originally the word Jukun bore the meaning of man in the sense of "male". The word for male in both the Sudanic and Bantu languages commonly embodies a root signifying testicles or penis. In Nigeria most of the tribal titles mean "the men", and many of these titles clearly embody a root signifying penis or testicles. Thus Bola and Bura, which are tribal titles not only in Nigeria but in other parts of Africa, include a root which occurs all over Southern Africa, as *bolo*, *bola*, *bora*, in the sense of penis. The Bachama call themselves the Gbare, and this title means "penis" in the neighbouring Kanakuru language. Numerous other instances can be given in which tribal titles, the names for man, and those for penis or testicles, are identical.

The word for penis among the Se-cuana, Civenda, etc., of South Africa is *ncuku* or *cuku*; it is *yokô* among the Duala, Subu and Bakwiri of West Africa; *yuku* among the Lefana; *nsuk* among the Barondo (Spanish Guinea); *kun* among the

¹ See *Geographical Journal*, May, 1927, p. 472, and Sir W. Budge's *Egyptian Dictionary*, p. 964.

² Wapâ = men among the Namshi of the French Cameroons.

Pangwe ; *ɲkon* among the Bulu ; *jo* and *joka* among the Njiem and Gundi. The same root is in other areas used for testicles, e.g. *nji-kun* among the Korop and Okoyon of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. *ndu-ku* = man is found among the Tera of Nigeria, and *njuk* (pl. *njukri*) = man among the Mbum of the French Cameroons. *nji* or *nju* is a common root for man among a number of tribes of the Benue basin, and occurs in the name by which the Kona Jukun call themselves, viz. Jibã. It is also the first half of the title Jibu or Jubu which is borne by one of the Jukun sub-tribes, the second half of the word, viz. *-bu*, being a common plural suffix in the region occupied by the Jibu. There is a tribe known as the Adjukru situated to the extreme west of West Africa.

The Jukun of Wukari, Dampar, Wase, etc., call themselves the Wapã and are known to many of their immediate neighbours by some form or other of this term. Thus by the Kam they are called the Apang, and by the Chamba of Donga and Jibu of Takum the Kpãzo. The Hwãye and Kpwâtê call the Jukun the Kpãzo or Nyufô. The Lufum term is Ake. There is a tribe on the Gold Coast known as the Apa. Akpa is a tribal designation in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, and the Hwãye and Kpwâtê of the Northern Provinces call themselves Akpã ; in the Northern Provinces also (and in Central Africa) there is a tribe known as the Afawa. Part at least of the former Jukun dominions was known as Apa, viz. that in the neighbourhood of Abinsi.¹ In Tanganyika there is a tribe known as the Wapari.²

The Jukun of Kona call themselves the Jibã (*dʒibã*), but are generally known to their neighbours as the Kwana. The Mumuye call them the Kpê, and the Jæn the Kwê. There is a tribe known as the Kwonna on the Gold Coast, and one of the Bushman tribes is known as the Kona.³ The Jukun of Gwana call themselves by their clan title of Jæmtuk. The Tigong call the Jukun "Ndama". Dama is a tribal title in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria and in the Cameroons.⁴

The name by which the country of the Jukun was known to the Hausa and Fulani during the first half of the nineteenth century was Kororofa⁵ or Kwararafa. This is the name used also in the manuscripts of these peoples, which purport to give

¹ See Allen, *Expedition to the River Niger*, p. 377.

² See Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, p. 173.

³ See *Man*, April, 1927.

⁴ The Yakoro are called Dama Kura, the Nkum Dama Ibi (by the Hausa), the Yala Odama (by the Munshi).

⁵ Also pronounced Kororafa or Korarafa.

the record of historical events prior to the nineteenth century, when referring to the wars between themselves and Southern peoples whom they now identify as the Jukun. The term Kororofa was applied also to the capital city of the Jukun.

The meaning of the term Kororofa has not been explained in any satisfactory way. The present-day Jukun are ignorant of the word, and unable therefore to offer any suggestions. The Hausa, who are always ready to give fanciful derivations of any word, tell us that Kororofa received its name because the Jukun "crawled" on to their country, the Hausa word for crawl, viz. *kololofa*, being similar to "Kororofa"; or because the Shehu of Sokoto likened the numerous Jukun groups to "teals" (*kwarra*). We are left therefore to our own resources, and the following suggested origins of the term are merely surmise:—

(a) Kororofa may be = Kwana Apa, i.e. the people of Kona.

(b) It may be = Kuru Apa, i.e. king of the Apa or Jukun.

In favour of this view it may be said that it is not uncommon for Nigerian peoples to describe their principal town or district by the title of the paramount chief of the district. Among the Mumuye, for example, Panti lapu, the name of a town, means "the chief (Panti) of the Lapu". Duke Town or Calabar was known as "Atakpa" or "king of the Akpa", "just as Ida was and is known as Atagara or "king of the Gara".

(c) Kororofa may mean "the salt people". The Jukun country was distinguished for its salt-bearing qualities, and the salt won was distributed all over the Northern Provinces in measures which were known both to the Hausa and to the Jukun as "kororo".

(d) Kororofa may be = the river or water people,¹ i.e. the Apa of the Kworra. The Niger River was known as the Kworra, but Kworra was apparently a term for any river (e.g. the Kurama word for river is "kworra"), and the Hausa and other Northern peoples believed that the Benue River was a continuation of the Niger. In favour of this view it may be noted that Denham

¹ If Kororofa means "the River People", I would suggest as a parallel the tribal designation of Nupe. The suffix *pe* means "people" and *nu* is a common root for river. *A-nu* = river in the Jukun tongue. The Jukun of Abinsi are known as Abanu, i.e. people of the river or water. Possibly the word Barnu (Bornu) also had this significance originally (from one of its geographical features, viz. Lake Chad). On the other hand, the term Nupe may be a compound word for "men", like Apa-Jukun, as *nu* is a widespread Sudanic root = man.

speaks of the Niger as the Quolla or Quana.¹ Kwana or Kona is the name by which the Jukun were known to the Kanuri.

None of these interpretations may be right, for the name Kworra occurs elsewhere by itself as a place name. Clapperton, for example, mentions a town called Kworra near Sokoto and another in Zaria.² The tribal groups known as the Kwole and Kwolla (the former a section of the Irigwe and the latter located near the Ankwe, north of the Benue) may derive their title from the same root as is contained in Kororofa. There was also an important Jukun centre called Kwolla in the region of Pindiga.

The name Kororofa, which was used to designate both the country and the ancient capital of the Jukun, is not known to the Jukun themselves. But it would appear that the city of Kororofa, the remains of which can still be seen, was known to the Jukun as Pi or Api, or, to use the compound Jukun term, Bie-Pi. The meaning of the word *api* cannot be determined. One informant stated that the city was called Api from the famous war "medicine" of the ancient Jukun, which caused worms (*pi*) to destroy the shafts of the spears and arrows of their enemies. The medicine was lost by the people of Wukari. This interpretation is obviously fictitious. More probable is that of another informant that *bie-pi* means the place of leaves or grass. *Pi* is a widespread Sudanic root meaning grass. On the other hand, *-pi* is also a common root for house or home, and *bie-pi* would therefore have the significance of town or city. *api*, for example = home among the Gbari, *pi* = home among the Mussu, and *o-fi* among the Twi. *Api* occurs as a place-name elsewhere in Africa (e.g. in the Belgian Congo).

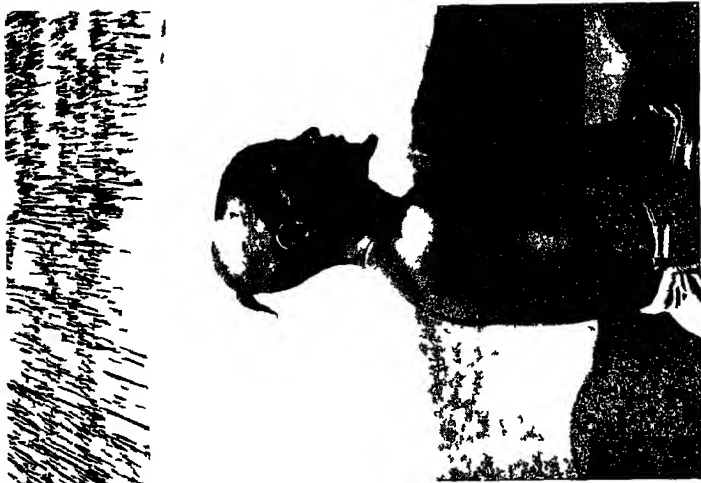
Physical Appearance.—The physical appearance of the Jukun varies considerably among the different groups. The two characteristic types are firstly the relatively tall, heavily built, muscular type seen most commonly in the Wukari area. Bodily hair is frequently present to an extent seldom seen elsewhere in Nigeria. The second type is markedly dolichocephalic, less heavily built, lighter in colour and frequently displays features which might be roughly described as Mongolism. This type bears a close resemblance to that seen among the Nupe tribe

¹ Denham, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, p. 145.

² *Second Journey*, p. 232. The Kora of Clapperton (p. 133) is the modern Koton Kora.



A JUKUN OI CWANA



A II KUN OI WUNARI

and suggests that the Nupe and Jukun drew from a common stock. It is seldom seen along the Kona Jukun. All Jukun of the Wukari area wear a characteristic plaited hair-lock, and no one is admitted to any sacred enclosure unless he displays this hall-mark. The Kona and Gwana have abandoned the hair-lock within recent times. All Jukun senior men wear a beard and a sparse moustache. Many also wear side-whiskers. The physical appearance of the people is best illustrated by the various photographs.

Tribal Marks.—Many varieties of facial and bodily marks are affected by the Jukun at the present time. Among the Kona, girls have their ears pierced at the age of fifteen, and this ceremony is intimately connected with the marriage system.¹ No girl may have sexual relations until her ears have been pierced. The custom would appear to have had originally some religious significance, for in some Jukun communities there is a rule that no girl may sleep with a male for the three or four weeks following the piercing of the ears, though she may have done so before.

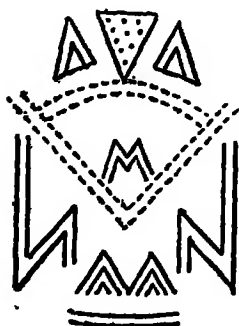
When the ear is pierced a wisp of grass is inserted, but is replaced after a few days by a very small disc of guinea-corn stalk. This disc is in its turn replaced by a larger, until the final disc may have a diameter of an inch or more. Some of these discs are made of hard wood with burnt-in designs, usually of triangles resembling a Maltese cross. Kona women do not, like their Mumuye neighbours, pierce the nasal septum or wing. They singe the hair on the sides of their heads with the smouldering pod of the monkey-bread tree. They smear their heads with oil, and many adorn their hair with porcupine quills.

A woman receives her bodily and facial marks soon after her ears have been pierced. The marks are first drawn with a wisp of straw, the tip of which has been smeared with charcoal. The lines are incised with a lancet which has a triangular blade. The operator then smears his hands with charcoal, which he rubs into the cuts. The patient has to sit still until the blood dries. She then washes her face and rubs in shea-butter. If it is found that certain of the lines are indistinct the operator makes fresh incisions on the defective area. In some cases it is necessary to repeat the whole process. Many women undergo re-cicatrization before important festivals.

¹ See page 377.

The bodily designs are as follows :—

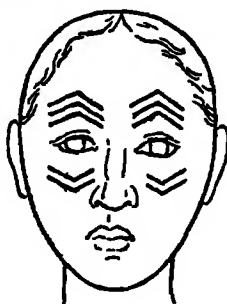
(a) *Frontal.*



(b) *Lateral.*



The facial designs are :—



There is great diversity of opinion as to whether the Jukun of ancient times practised cicatrization or not. Some Jukun assert that facial and bodily marks are a new-fangled idea and that in former times Jukun men and women merely pierced their ears, and wore discs. Others assert that the old Jukun marks were a single line down the forehead (*akeje*), a single line on the left cheek (*gbe sheme*), punch marks (*atsi atsunki*) at the sides of the eyes, and four or five strokes at each corner of the mouth.

The men of Kona have given up tribal marks, but state that Kona men used to have (a) marks similar to those worn by their women to-day, or (b) three rows of elliptical punch marks on the cheek between the eyes and ears. The former were adopted after their capital was removed from Akuro during the first half of the nineteenth century. Abdominal marks resembling an inverted Egyptian cross were worn above the navel, as well as

dorsal marks consisting of chevrons enhanced by external repetition.

Among the Jibu, women pierce the lower lip and left wing of the nose, inserting wisps of grass. But this custom is going out of fashion. In former times it was customary for members of both sexes to pierce the ear-lobes and insert discs of guinea-corn stalk. The upper incisor teeth were chipped. At the present time three types of tribal mark are commonly seen among the Jibu, viz. :—

- (a) The single line down the centre of the forehead.
- (b) A short line under the left eye.
- (c) Three sets of triple marks at each corner of the mouth, accompanied sometimes by sets of punch-marks.

The subject of tribal marks was not pursued further. The customs seem to have varied in the different groups. It is certain that the piercing of the ear-lobe was the main characteristic of the Jukun, for this fact was noted by Dr. Barth with reference to the Kona ¹ and by Dr. Baikie with reference to all Jukun.²

History.—The Jukun were not accustomed to preserve written records of historical events, like the *girgams* of the Hausa and Fulani States. There are at any rate no such records in existence (apart from the recently composed list of the kings of Wukari). Nor has the recollection of important historical events of the past been preserved in the memory of the people, with the exception of a few meagre traditions. The singular absence of interest or pride in the past, or of any knowledge of events prior to the beginning of the last century, is remarkable, and is apparently to be ascribed to the disintegration caused by the conquests of the Chamba and Fulani during the first half of the nineteenth century. But it is possible that disintegration had already begun during the previous century, for there are indications that the centre of the Jukun kingdom, the "Kororofa" of the Hausa chronicles, was at one time situated north of the Benue. Indeed Mr. H. R. Palmer, who has given a close study of the whole question of Jukun origins, is of the opinion that prior to A.D. 1550 the Jukun occupied the whole of South-Western Bornu.

¹ *Travels in Central Africa*, ii, p. 581.

² *Exploring Voyage*, p. 451.

It is stated by the Abakwariga, i.e. by those groups of Hausa-speaking peoples who have lived intermingled with the Jukun for several centuries that the city of Kororofa, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the south bank of the Benue, was essentially a city of Abakwariga, and it is implied that the famous kings of Kororofa were of Abakwariga origin, i.e. belonged to the same stock as the founders of the Hausa states. It is quite possible that this is so, or that they were Kanuri from Kanem or Bornu¹; but on the other hand it is equally clear from the widespread character of the Jukun language and religious system that the kingdom of Kororofa was essentially a kingdom of Jukuns. Wherever the original Kororofa was situated it was probably, even at the height of its power, merely a centre of a loosely-knit confederacy which began to fall to pieces in the eighteenth century and was finally disrupted by the Chamba and Fulani incursions at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

It is the fashion among most of the more important West African tribes, Muslim or pagan, to claim Arabia, or sometimes Egypt, as the original home of the tribe, the tradition usually being, in Nigeria, that a mighty magician-king named Kisira² was driven out of Arabia by the Prophet and founded a succession of pagan states throughout the Western Sudan. The Jukun, though they state that they have been told that their forefathers came from the East, from Birnin Masr, Mecca, or East of Mecca, have no knowledge of the Kisira tradition. But in districts where the tradition exists or is recorded in writing, Kororofa and Wukari are usually mentioned as having been founded by descendants of Kisira. The tradition is apparently a Muslim reflection of the days of the first clash between Muhammadanism and paganism in the Western Sudan, and Kororofa is mentioned as being one of the typical pagan states.

The Jukun, however, have inherited a number of stories which are commonly associated with the Kisira tradition. Thus there is the story of the Jukun king who, when pursued by his enemies, came to the Benue. By using a magical charm he caused

¹ See footnote 1 on p. 26.

² In some cases Kisira is identified with "Lamerudu", or is described as a father or brother of "Lamerudu", i.e. of Nimrod. I have suggested (p. 184) that the term Kisira is a variant of the Hausa word "sarki" or "seraki", and that both words are the equivalent of "Se Ra" (son of Ra), which was a royal title in ancient Egypt. The "ki" is merely an affix.



A. JUKIN OF GWANA



the waters of the river to part asunder, and he and his followers crossed the river-bed in safety, the waters rolling back afterwards and preventing the passage of his enemies. A similar tale is told of Kisira.¹

The Wukari, Pindiga, and Kona tradition appears to be that the Jukun came from the East, the Yemen in particular being sometimes mentioned, in company with the Kanuri, with whom they travelled (via Wadai) to Ngasrgomo,² a former capital of Bornu. Here a quarrel on the subject of the succession to the kingship led to a partition of the tribe, the Kanuri remaining in Bornu and the Jukun passing on to Pindiga, Kona, Kororofa and Wukari. There are numerous variations of this story. It is asserted, for example, that the chiefdom of Biu was founded by members of the Jukun group which seceded from the Kanuri, and the Pindiga tradition would have it that the various Bolewa states were also of Jukun foundation. On the other hand, the Kona tribe claims that the chiefs of the Bata and Bachama belonged originally to the same tribal stock as the Jukun, who, after separating from the Kanuri, proceeded down the Benue to Kororofa, some elements even proceeding later to Ida, whence they drove out the Yoruba rulers and established the kingdom of Igala. Among the Jibu group of Jukun the tradition is that the Jukun (including the Jibu) formed part of a great migration from the East in which the Chamba were included. Eastwards of the Benue the migrants divided, the main body of the Jukun entering Bornu, while the Jibu and Chamba worked their way south-west.

Another account (viz. that contained in an Argungu manuscript) would have it that the Jukun of Wukari were a backwash from Zaria, the state of which had been founded by an Eastern people who entered the Western Sudan by way of Wadai and established colonies at various places north of the Benue, including Bomanda and Keffi. The later Arago city-states of Doma and Keana were founded from Wukari, as also the Igala kingdom of Ida. The Abakwariga of Wukari, on the other hand, state that the original stock of Jukun kings belonged to the same group as the Kutumbawa, who were kings of Kano from the earliest times.

A manuscript in the possession of the Alkali of Fika, which

¹ See Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 638.

² Ngasrgomo or Ngasrgamu was not the earliest capital of Bornu.

purports to record the history of Kano, also suggests a connection between Kano and Kororofa. For it is stated that Kano was founded by "remnants of the people of Lamerudu", and that some of these people, under the leadership of Aku Mabu, went and founded Kororofa. Another manuscript obtained by Mr. Palmer at Fika relates that descendants of the children of Tuba ul Awal came out of the land of Yemen and established themselves at Ngasrgomo, the former Kanuri capital of Bornu. A quarrel relating to the royal succession led to widespread dispersion of these immigrants, some going to Bagirmi, some to the Mandara hills, some to the Pabir country, some to the land of Gombe, and some to Daniski (the former Bolewa capital). Others went to Biyri and Kalam; and from among these "three families arose and crossed a river and entered a country beside the water of the river, the name of the place being Wukari. There they found the chiefs of the pagans and a sultan. The people were cannibals. The newcomers heard this in the night, and one of their number fled to the rock, leaving his brethren among the pagans. He was saved, and his children are the kings of Wukari to this day, though they are not aware of it".

There is a tradition at Akiri that the chiefs of the Kanuri, Jukun, Shuwa Arabs, and the Sulebawa Fulani were all of the same stock, and that the founders of each group were personally presented by the Prophet with a copy of the Koran; but the Jukun chief lost the habit of reading the Koran; and finally adopted the pagan rites of the "Kishira" peoples.

Some of these written records may embody genuine tradition and be based on historical facts, but it is obvious that no reliance can be placed on the details given. Any imaginative Muslim who can write is capable of manufacturing history for the benefit of the unlettered.

The earliest reference to Kororofa within historical times is contained in the Kano Chronicle, which has been translated by Mr. H. R. Palmer. This Chronicle has the appearance of being a bona fide list of the kings of Kano from A.D. 1000 onwards, and of the principal events which occurred in the reign of each. The statements of the Chronicle must, however, be received with reserve, as there are indications that it was composed in comparatively late times. It is stated that in the reign of Yaji (1349-85) "all the pagan tribes from Biyri to Fanda were subject

to him. The Kwararafa alone refused to follow him, so he went to their country. When he came to their country they were afraid to fight and all fled up the hill at Tagara. The Sarki (i.e. king of Kano) camped there also for seven months. At last the pagans paid him one hundred slaves. It is said that he died at Kwararafa."

If there is any truth in this story it would appear that Kororofa was an important state as early as the latter part of the fourteenth century. By "Tagara" the Chronicle apparently means Ida, on the Niger, and it may be that the mention of Ida is due to his hazy ideas of geography. On the other hand it is possible that even in those early days the kingdom of Ida formed part of the larger kingdom of Kororofa. The statement, however, that all the pagan tribes from Biyri to Fanda paid tribute to Yaji must be regarded as a *façon de parler*, as Fanda did not come into existence until some five centuries after Yaji's death. But possibly the chronicler refers to some other Tagara and Fanda than those which were so well known at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Kanajeji, son of Yaji, king of Kano c. A.D. 1390-1410, is said to have demanded tribute from Kororofa and to have received two hundred slaves. It is added that Kanajeji sent horses to the king of Kororofa, while the latter continued to send slaves to Kano.

The next statement of the Chronicle is that in the reign of Dauda (1421-38) Zaria, under queen Amina, conquered all the towns as far as "Kwararafa and Nupe". Amani, it is said, first introduced kola-nuts into Hausa-land. It is not known who Amina was, but it is possible that the Amina tradition represents an invasion of some Gold Coast tribe, perhaps from Elmina, and possibly provided with European firearms.¹ The conquests of Amina are stated to have covered a period of thirty-four years. The next notice of Kororofa is in the reign of Muhamma Zaki, who ruled Kano from 1562-1618. It is stated that the chief of Kororofa came to attack Kano, and that the people of Kano left the city and went to Daura. The invaders consequently "ate up the whole country". Again, in the reign

¹ Amina, according to the Hausa tradition, took a new husband every night, and had him put to death in the morning. Among the Ashanti the queen-mother was accustomed to take numerous husbands whom she put to death at will (see C. Barter, "Notes on Ashanti" in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, xii, pp. 415 seq.).

of Muhamma Kukuna (1652-60) Adashu,¹ king of Kororofa, came and attacked Kano, battering down the gates and driving out Kukuna. Finally in 1671 Kororofa once again assaulted Kano. It is said that Dadi, the Muslim king of Kano, sought to stem the attack by seeking the assistance of the ancient Kano pagan cult of Chibiri. But this proved of no avail. Dadi fled to Daura, and the Kororofa forces devastated the land. After this date there are no further references to Kororofa.

The important position assigned to Kororofa by the Kano Chronicle, especially during the latter part of the seventeenth century, is borne out by the records of other Northern States. It would appear that Zaria at one time fell definitely under the suzerainty of Kororofa. The pagan tribes of the Bauchi Plateau have still a dim recollection of Jukun domination, for some of these tribes assert that their country was at one time overrun by the "Ankpwasang", a name which is, no doubt, a variation of Akpa or Wapâ, i.e. Jukun. There is a tradition at Misau, to the east of Kano, that the original inhabitants there were wiped out by an army from Kororofa towards the close of the seventeenth century. The records of Katsina assert that Korau, king of Katsina c. A.D. 1260, made war on the Kororofawa, and that at some date between 1670 and 1684 Katsina was attacked by Kororofa. It is even asserted that the forces of Kororofa penetrated as far North as Gobir.²

These notices make it difficult for us to believe that the Kororofa of these early times was the same Kororofa which flourished on the south bank of the Benue during the eighteenth century.

When we turn to the records of Bornu there is no definite mention of the Jukun until the reign of 'Ali ben el Haj Omar. This prince ruled Bornu, c. 1645-84, i.e. at the time when, according to the Kano and Katsina records, Kororofa was at the zenith of its power. It is related that 'Ali was once besieged in his capital of Ngasrgomo by Tuareg from the north and Kwana, i.e. Jukun from the south. In his quandary he managed

¹ This name, which occurs frequently in Jukun tradition as a royal title, is composed of Ada (i.e. father or lord) and Shu. Shu was one of the names of the pre-Muslim or Duguwa kings of Bornu (A.D. 1078-82). See Barth's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 639. It may be, therefore, that the Jukun kings belonged to the same stock.

² See Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 545.

to set the Kwana against the Tuareg, and then himself attacked the Kwana.¹

This defeat of the Jukun by 'Ali is apparently celebrated in a poem written by Dan Marina, a mallam resident at Katsina in the seventeenth century, and translated by Mr. Palmer in a paper on the history of Katsina.²

"Ali has triumphed over the heathen, a matchless triumph in the path of God.

Has he not brought us succour? Verily, but for him
Our hearts had never ceased from dread of the unbelievers.
Narrow had become to us the earth pressed by the foe,
Till Ali saved our children and their children yet unborn.

He drove back to their furthest borders the army of the Jukun,
And God scattered their host disheartened.
I heard that Ali, the Amir ul Muminin,
Went to the land of the heathen and there lay in wait for them.

Lewufaru worked iniquity in the Sudan, in his overweening pride,
Stalking forth with the stride of a tyrant, and
Setting his promises at nought.

He and his people spared not rivers nor cities;
The Kwararafa followed the track of his doom,
And their hour too
Passed to the grasping palm of the fortunate Prince
The pious Haji to the holy cities.

Give thanks again for what our Mai Ali has wrought;
For he has ransomed the whole Sudan from strife."

There are no further references to Kororofa in the chronicles of Bornu available at the time of writing.

Kororofa is not, as far as I know, mentioned by any of the earlier African historians or travellers, though the name appears in maps of the eighteenth century. Leo Africanus makes no reference to the Jukun State. Pereira writing in 1505³ possibly refers to Kororofa when he says that in the interior of Benin there is a chief whose power amongst the Negroes is like that of

¹ See Barth, *Travels, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 659.

² See the *African Journal* for November, 1927.

³ *Esmiraldo de Situ Orbis*, p. 72.

the Pope in Europe. This would have been an accurate description at any period of the religious autocracy of the head of the confederacy of Jukun-speaking peoples ; but Pereira probably refers to Ife, the holy city of the Yoruba.

The term Kororofa as a description of the country of the Jukun has now fallen into disuse, but it was still in existence during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. In the geographical description of the Sudan, which was given to Clapperton in 1827 by Bello, the Fulani Sultan of Sokoto, there is the following passage : " Among the provinces of Bow-sheer the following are the most considerable . . . And ninth is Kornorfa (*sic*) which embraces about twenty divisions, ruled by one king, who often sallied forth upon Kanoo and Barnoo, and caused much desolation. A gold mine is found in it, as likewise one of salt and another of antimony. Near to this province there is an anchorage or harbour for the ships of the Christians, who are sent by two sovereigns to traffic or trade with the people of the Sudan. The province of Atagara or Atagher is likewise one of the most extensive in the territory of Zag-Zag ; and near it there is also an anchorage for the ships of the said Christians. Both these places are on the coast of the ocean." In the map accompanying this description Kororofa (which is spelt Kora-raffa by Clapperton) is shown as being on the south bank of the Benue River. The mention of the gold mine and sea anchorage suggests a confusion of thought between Kororofa and some region on the Gold Coast such as Elmina. But the anchorage was probably a more easterly port such as Calabar or Bonny, and the statement of Bello may be a recollection of days when the influence of Kororofa extended to the sea. Indeed, it is possible that a main incentive to the Jukun kings in carrying out war into distant regions such as Kano and Bornu was the acquisition of slaves, who could easily be disposed of to European dealers. If Calabar was the port to which the Jukun consigned their slaves it may be remembered that this port was known locally as Atakpa, or " king of the Akpa " or Apa. For the Ekoi of those regions bore the same title as the Jukun further north. It may help us to understand the military success obtained by the Jukun in distant northern regions if we remember that the Portuguese and other European traders supplied the local rulers with guns and powder which enabled them to overcome all

opposition in the quest for slaves. It was in this way that the Aro Chuku of the Southern Provinces established their suzerainty,¹ and it is probable (as Mr. Palmer has suggested) that the Aro Chuku were in touch with the Jukun on the Benue. It is to be noted that the widespread use as currency at the present time of "manillas", or copper bars, in the Benue regions is directly due to trade with Europeans, and Pereira states that in A.D. 1505 a slave was obtainable for eight or ten manillas. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the export of palm-oil at Calabar began to displace the export of slaves, and this circumstance may have been a contributory, if not a main cause, of the downfall of Kororofa.

Turning now to the traditions of the Jukun themselves, the most striking point is the comparative absence of any suggestion that the Jukun were ever anything but an unwarlike collection of peoples whose sole interest was the maintenance of innumerable religious cults under the presidency of a spiritual potentate. But there is at Pindiga a tradition of conquests in Hausaland. It is asserted that when Rumpa was king of Kano he sent a message to the king of Kororofa that he would no longer recognize the suzerainty of the latter, or in other words that Kano would not, in future, pay tribute to Kororofa. The king of Kororofa directed his lieutenant, the chief of Pindiga (Riselu by name), to take action against Kano, the unaided strength of Pindiga being considered sufficient for the purpose. The Pindiga army, proceeding via Kirifi, Shongo, and the country of the Warji tribe, encamped at the western gate of Kano and, after making nine breaches in the walls, overcame the city and reduced the people to their former state of subservience.

According to the Kano records Rumpa or Rimfa ruled from c. 1463-1499, and no mention is made of any Jukun assaults at this time. But the Pindiga account may refer to the latter part of the following century, when the Jukun, according to the Kano records, "ate up the country." The Jukun of Wukari claim that the Abakwariga² or pagan Hausa-speaking residents of Wukari and other Jukun towns are the descendants of Hausa peoples who were carried away by the Jukun from their homes

¹ See Talbot's *Southern Nigeria*, vol. i, p. 184.

² The Abakwariga are known to the Jukun as Bakpa, or Mbakpa, terms which seem to be reduplications of the word Akpa.

in the North several centuries ago. This is denied by the Abakwariga, who assert that their association with the Jukun was voluntary, and that they introduced among the Jukun the arts of weaving and dyeing. In support of this claim they point to the circumstance that the Abakwariga leaders have always been exempt from the rule which requires all subjects of the Jukun king to salute him by throwing dust on their shoulders. Whatever is the truth of the matter the presence of the Abakwariga among the Jukun is clear evidence of close contact in the past between Kororofa and the Hausa states.

There are also one or two Jukun traditions relating to the wars with Bornu. A common story records how on one occasion the army of the Jukun succeeded, by a ruse, in extricating itself from certain defeat during a Jukun invasion of Bornu. Finding himself confronted by superior forces and learning that the Kanuri were delaying their attack pending the arrival of all their reserves, the king of the Jukun decamped in the night, leaving the camp shelters adorned with burnouses and flags. When the Kanuri attacked several days later, they found that the Jukun had obtained a start which made pursuit impossible. The name of the Jukun king of whom this story is told is sometimes given as Adi Matswen, and it is said that when he went on a campaign he was accompanied by hundreds of servants carrying millet and corn rubbers, in order that a fresh brew of beer might be set each day (for the king's sacred repast).

Another story records the manner in which the Jukun and Kanuri decided to become friends. One of the Jukun kings, whose name is sometimes given as Katakpa the founder of Wukari, and sometimes as Adi Matswen, once went against Bornu and fought an inconclusive battle with his ancient enemies. The king of Bornu, hard pressed, called on the assistance of Allah, and immediately the Jukun found themselves surrounded with a circle of burning grass. When they were about to fly in disorder the King of the Jukun rallied them by reminding them that the control of the rains was his, and he proceeded to carry out the rain-making rites. A storm of rain extinguished the fires, and the kings of the respective armies, perceiving that the power of each was commensurate with that of the other, withdrew to their capitals. When the king of Bornu heard of Katakpa's arrival at Wukari, he put some cotton in a basket and in the middle of

the cotton a piece of live charcoal. Covering the basket with a tray of plaited grass he sent it with his compliments to the king of Wukari as a reminder of his ability to call down fire from heaven.¹ When the basket arrived the charcoal was still alive and the cotton unburnt. Katakpa returned the compliment by sending to the king of Bornu an "iwa" (water-tight basket) filled with water, saying "The king of the rains sends you some water with which to quench your thirst".²

This exchange of pleasantries led to a treaty of peace between the two sovereigns, and the king of Bornu sent to Wukari an official known as the "Zanua" to be his permanent representative at the court of the Jukun king. The latter sent an "Ajifi" to act in a similar capacity at the Bornu capital. The descendants of the original "Zanua" are still to be found at Wukari. They no longer speak their aboriginal tongue (Kanuri), and have freely intermarried with the Jukun.

This story appears to be coloured with Jukun *amour propre*, for the presence at the Jukun capital of a "Zanua" from Bornu would really imply that the Jukun had become subservient to Bornu. It is more than likely that, prior to the rise of the Fulani, Kororofa had indeed become a vassal of Bornu, and it is even possible, as Mr. Palmer has suggested, that the centre of Jukun government had to be transferred from somewhere in the Gongola valley to the site known as Kororofa on the southern bank of the Benue.

There is no clear tradition among the Jukun of the foundation of this Kororofa, or Biepi as it is called by the Jukun, which was situated a few miles away from the present site of Wurio. Some Jukun assert that Adi Matswen, and others that Agbu Kenjo, was the builder of Biepi. On the other hand, both these names are given as kings of Kororofa immediately prior to its dissolution.

The extent of the Kororofa dominions can best be gauged by considering (a) the traditions of the local groups; and (b) the distribution of the Jukun language and religious cults. A short summary may, therefore, be given of such information as we possess in this direction. Beginning with Pindiga, which was

¹ A variant has it that the King of Bornu's message was: "On the day you ran away from Bornu you got thoroughly wet with rain. So I send you something to warm you up."

² Water-tight baskets are not used by the Jukun, but are common in the Cameroons, e.g. at Banyan water is normally carried in vessels of tightly-woven fibre.

situated on the northern bank of the Benue about 125 miles north-east of Kororofa, it is claimed that this state was founded by the elder son of a king of Kororofa, who abandoned his father's city because his younger brother was chosen as his father's successor in preference to himself. This chief, who was known as Jeo or Zangkar, is said to have been followed by twenty-nine chiefs prior to the Fulani jihad, i.e. prior to the foundation of Gombe by Buba Yero, c. 1824. The rule of these twenty-nine chiefs is reckoned to have covered a period of 931 years, an obvious absurdity. It is possible, however, that Pindiga was already in existence at the time when the Jukun of Pindiga are stated to have attacked Kano during the reign of Rimfa of Kano, i.e. during the latter half of the fifteenth century. It was certainly in existence during the latter part of the seventeenth century when the Jukun power was at its zenith, and it would appear to be clear that Pindiga at that time exercised a suzerainty on behalf of Kororofa which included neighbouring peoples such as the Bolewa, sections of the Tangale, Waja and Tera tribes, and various other isolated groups. The influence of Kororofa seems to have extended through Pindiga as far east as the Pabir of Biu. On the decline of Kororofa, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, Pindiga asserted its independence of the mother city, but was eventually, c. 1850, forced to accept the suzerainty of the Fulni Emirs of Gombe, who had on more than one occasion directed attacks against this outpost of paganism. Most of the peoples of Pindiga are now Muslim, and little is to be gleaned from them of the pagan customs of the past. But the cult of former chiefs, typical of the Jukun, is still maintained, and the cult of ancestors, represented (as usually among the Jukun) by stones, has not yet been consigned to the limbo of the past. Other relics of the former paganism of Pindiga will be noticed in due course.

Some thirty or forty miles south of Pindiga is the Jukun settlement of Gwana. It is stated in some quarters that Gwana was founded by a son of a Kororofa king, who on account of illness was left behind at Gwana while his father proceeded to attack Bornu. (A similar story, incidentally, is told of the foundation of Pindiga.) But it is quite clear that the Jemtuk of Gwana are a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century offshoot of Pindiga which proceeded to Pittuk and was eventually driven by the Fulani

to Gwana. It has already been noted that the dialect of Gwana bears a close resemblance to that of Pindiga. The Gwana people are of more interest, anthropologically, than their brethren of Pindiga, as they have not yet become Muslims. An account of their institutions is given elsewhere,¹ and it need only be noticed here that the supreme authority of Wukari (i.e. of Kororofa) over all Jukun is admitted in the story of the deposition of several kings of Gwana at the instance, not of Pindiga, but of the king of Wukari. The religious cults and customs, including the daily liturgy, are similar to those of the Wukari Jukun, and there are clear indications also at Gwana that society was organized on the matrilineal basis characteristic of the Jukun.

To the west and south of Gwana there were, in the past, many large Jukun communities, most of which were destroyed by the Fulani. The Jukun were the real founders of Muri, for they were the owners of the saltings of Bomanda from prehistoric times. There are still, it is said, a few Jukun left at Bomanda; and at Jenwi, close by, there are upwards of one hundred Jukun inhabitants.

In the Wurkun² district to the south-east of Gwana there are no Jukun-speaking peoples, but there is a traditional connection between some at least of the local groups and the Jukun on the south bank of the Benue.

This tradition is supported to some extent by the circumstance that a number of Jukun cults are found among these groups. Thus the inhabitants of Karim, who call themselves the Kiyu, state that they came into the Wurkun country from Kororofa, or Wukari. Whether this is so or not, it is certain that they were at one time under Jukun influence, for they possess the typical Jukun cult known as Kenjo. Their word for God, moreover, is Mwa, and there can be no doubt that this is the Ama of the Jukun, for Mwa is conceived of primarily as the Creator deity. In the north of the Wurkun district the Wallo, who are a sub-tribe of the Pero, have two cults, viz. Aku (əku) and Kindu Ma, which are Jukun in name, if in no other respect. It would seem then that if the present Wurkun district was not directly controlled by the Jukun in pre-Fulani times it was certainly very much under Jukun influence.

¹ Among a number of studies of pagan tribes which will shortly be published.

² Wurkun is a Jukun term meaning "The people of the hills".

Crossing the Benue we come to Kona, which is situated some twenty miles or so from Lau on the south bank of the river and about eight miles from Jalingo, the present headquarters of the Fulani Emir or Muri. The Kona speak the same dialect of Jukun as the people of Pindiga and Gwana, and it is noteworthy that in the Bornu records the Jukun are referred to as Kona or Kwana, and not as "Kororofa". Kona is situated some eighty miles or so north-east of Kororofa, and it is difficult to understand why the Kona dialect should have differed from that of Kororofa (assuming that the dialect of Wukari most nearly resembles that spoken at Kororofa). The presumption would be that the kingdom of Kororofa was, at least in its later stages, a loosely-knit confederacy, and that each of the component sections enjoyed an extensive measure of self-government. On the other hand, it will appear later that there was a regular chain of Jukun towns situated between Kororofa and Kona, the remains of which can still be seen by any traveller from Wurio to Jalingo. It may be, therefore, that the dialectical differences have come into being within the last one hundred and fifty years.

There is little to be gleaned at Kona of any events prior to the Fulani jihad. But it is apparent from the scanty historical notes obtained at Kona that the conduct of the chiefs of Kona was closely scrutinized at Kororofa, and that the king of Kororofa could, at pleasure, order the deposition of any unsatisfactory vassal. The institutions and religious cults of the Kona are typically Jukun, and will be described at length later. It need only be added here that, as far as can be judged at the present time, the dominion of Kororofa did not extend further east than those sections of the Mumuye country which were adjacent to Kona. There is a Kona community as far east as Gengle, in the Adamawa Province, but it was not founded until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Still further east, in the territory of the French Cameroons, there is a people known as the Mbum, who display certain linguistic¹ and cultural features which suggest that they were in close contact with, if not related to, the Jukun on the Benue. But it would be unsafe to suppose that the Mbum were ever, at any time, an integral part of the Kororofa dominions; the linguistic

¹ The Mbum word for "man" is *njuh*, and for "maize" is *nang kona*, i.e. the guinea-corn of the Kona.

similarities may be due to the common inheritance of Nigritic roots, while cultural features such as the divine nature of the king, the conception of the king as the medium for securing rain and successful harvests, and the custom of king-killing, were by no means confined to the Jukun.

Scattered up and down the Benue between Lau and Abinsi there are groups of fishing peoples known as Wurbo.¹ These speak Jukun and have evidently been in long association with the Jukun. Some of them claim to be Wapâ from Wukari, but others have an Arago origin. In culture they are Jukun. The people of Lau (and the surrounding towns of Bandawa, Kwinini, Minda, etc.), though located within twenty-five miles of Kona, do not speak Jukun as their mother tongue. Their language is of a primitive monosyllabic type, but the vocabulary shows a number of resemblances to Jukun, and their close association with the Jukun is evident from the number of religious cults which they share with the Jukun of Kona. The same remarks apply to the riverain Jen, who, like the Jukun, worship Ma as the Creator deity, and a tutelary genius Kue, who is the Aku of the Jukun. Further down the river the people of Jiru and Chomo, though speaking a tongue which makes an extensive use of prefixes, have clearly long been influenced by the Jukun. The Chomo, for example, segregate menstruous women in the Jukun fashion, and have the characteristic Jukun cults of Kenjo and Akwa.

As we proceed south-west from Kona we come to the hill people known as the Kam. These people again have their own tongue, but claim that their chiefs came originally from Bornu, and that the first kings of Wukari and of Kam were twin brothers. They are unaware of the name of Kororofa or Biepi, but speak of an ancient Jukun city called Akule, though unable to indicate where Akule was situated. The chief of the Kam is regarded as a divine person and speaks in a whisper in order to maintain this character. He is subject to numerous tabus, and partakes of his meals in the ceremonial fashion common to all Jukun chiefs.

Kundi,² on the banks of the Taraba River south of the Benue, was an ancient Jukun stronghold, and according to the Jukun of Bando-Yaku (which is situated some fifteen miles from Wurio),

¹ Wurbo is a Jukun term meaning "the people of the water".

² Kundi is shown on the maps as Bakundi.

was the original capital of the Jukun, for the king of Kundi was grandfather of Kenjo, the builder of Kororofa. It is related that the kingship of the Jukun passed from Kundi to Kororofa in the following manner. One of the kings of Kundi, being old and near to death, summoned his son to hear his counsel. But the son was negligent and went after his own pursuits. So the aged king summoned his daughter's son and conferred on him the royal insignia, saying "I make you king of all the land. Go and abide in the town of your father". Now the lad's father was a Ba Pi, i.e. one of the inhabitants of Api or Kororofa, and it was in this way that the kingship of the Jukun passed from Kundi to Kororofa. The story continues that the aged king then addressed his disobedient son, saying, "You listened not to my counsel and I have therefore conferred the kingdom on my daughter's son. But you shall be Ku-za and Ku-chu (king of the corn and rains), i.e. you shall be the chief priest. You shall not wear a gown round your neck, but shall bind your loins with a cloth. You shall not wear a cap or straw hat, and you shall not mount a horse. If the crops do not mature, it is to you that the people will come; you shall be the Tsô-Kundi" (a priestly title which is to this day conferred by the Ba Pi of Wukari).

This story occurs among the Jukun, as we shall see later, in other forms strongly suggestive of the Jacob-Esau legend of the Bible. It is commonly current throughout the Sudan, and it is à propos to quote here a portion of the "Mandingo" tradition relating to the founding of the ancient Soninke kingdom of Wagadu, the successor of Ghana, as the most powerful state in the Sudan. The particular interest of the Wagadu tradition, in the present connection, is that, though the "Esau" of the story lost his temporal power, he continued to be the spiritual head of the community. We shall see that there is a curious likeness between the fortunes of the Jukun kings and those of the Pope of Rome.

The Wagadu tradition (which is taken from Delafosse's *Traditions du Soudan Occidental*) is as follows:—Digna, as descendant of David, had become the founder of Wagadu in the Sudan. Being old and blind he summoned his eldest son Tere-Khine and said: "If you will give me some roast meat I will bestow on you the royal talisman." Tere-Khine accordingly went out hunting. But the chief magician had overheard the aged king's directions to his son, and he informed Maghan Jabe,

a younger son, who straightway went and slew an ox and clothed himself in the skin in order to simulate the appearance of his elder brother who was a hairy man.

When he presented himself before his father the latter said "Your voice is the voice of Jabe, but your body is that of Khine". Digna then ate of the meat provided by his son, and when he had finished he conferred the royal insignia on Jabe. But when Khine returned and discovered how he had been outwitted he received as compensation the power of withholding or inducing rain. There can be little doubt of the relation of this story to the Jacob-Esau tradition of the Bible, but whether it obtained currency as a result of Muslim influence or some pre-Muslim Semitic influence in the Sudan is a matter of speculation.

Two further points in the Bando Yaku story are worthy of notice. Firstly there is the suggestion that the Jukun kings had lost some of the priestly functions which they had formerly enjoyed ; and secondly the story of the inheritance of the kingship may be a confused recollection of a former system of matrilineal succession. It is admitted by all Jukun that succession to property until recent times followed the matrilineal principle, and that membership of the family was reckoned through the mother. But it is expressly denied that inheritance of the chieftainship was ever anything but patrilineal, for it is said that if a sister's son were allowed to succeed to the throne, lions would invade the town. The very use, however, of such a saying would seem to imply that at one time it was the rule that the chieftainship was heritable by sisters' sons. It might be contended that the story before us indicates, if it indicates anything, a change from patrilineal succession to matrilineal and not vice versa ; but a more likely interpretation is that the story is an attempt by people who had in later times become accustomed to the patrilineal rule of succession to explain the known fact that one of the kings of Kororofa was a patrilineal descendant of one of the kings of Kundi. The false conclusion is now drawn that the kingship of the Jukun had passed from Kundi to Kororofa.¹

Continuing our review of the extent of Jukun influence in pre-Fulani times we come to the western regions of Donga and

¹ An alternative explanation has been suggested to me by Mr. H. R. Palmer, viz. that the story is an account of the transference of the Jukun kingship from another more ancient Kundi, the Kundi in Gombe north of the Benue, to Kororofa, south of the Benue.

Takum. Here among heterogeneous tribal groups possessed of languages of their own the most striking feature is the widespread use of the Jukun language as a *lingua franca* and the wide distribution of Jukun cults. The Hwâye and Kpwâtê in particular have been so influenced by the Jukun that they class themselves as Jukun, though they have still preserved their mother tongue. They have no knowledge of historical events prior to the early years of the nineteenth century, but they have priest-chiefs who carry out the daily Jukun liturgy. As far as can be gathered from the local traditions, these peoples at no time occupied a position of political subservience to the Jukun king of Wukari or Kororofa. They regarded him as their spiritual chief and the head of all Jukun-speaking peoples. But no doubt the dominance of the Chamba and Fulani during the last century has induced forgetfulness of the former political authority of the Jukun kings. It is somewhat surprising, however, that the pagan tribes on the hills around Takum known by the Jukun title of Zompere, or Cannibals, display so few traces of close contact with the Jukun; for if Kororofa owed much of its power to its traffic in slaves it might be presumed that every local source would have been tapped before seeking slaves in distant regions. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the Zompere do not display any feelings of hostility to the Jukun, such as would be expected had the Jukun been their ancient conquerors. But possibly the sufferings of both peoples during the nineteenth century have erased the memory of enmities in a more distant past.

There is a small group of people at Takum known as the Jidu. They appear by their language to belong to the Bute tribe located near Banyo, whence they were driven by the Fulani about the middle of last century. They are only mentioned here because they stated that in pre-Fulani times the Bute tribe was on friendly terms with the Jukun, from whom they received regular supplies of salt. It would appear to be probable that in the latter days of the Kororofa empire the Jukun found more profit in the manufacture of salt than in the capture of slaves.

It is a striking fact that among most tribes of the Benue basin the word for mineral salt is a compound of the word for ash salt plus the word for Jukun. Thus, to take a few examples, the Bali word for mineral salt is *ta Kona*, i.e. "the salt of the Kona"; the Kumba word is *ta Konan*; the Kugama word is

ta Kpwam (*Kpwam* = Akpa or Apa); the Chamba word is *num Yeba* (*Yeba* = Jiba = Kona); the Jen word is *Jukwé* (i.e. Jukun), and so on. As a corollary it may be added that the word for maize among numerous tribes is also a compound meaning "the guinea-corn of the Jukun". Thus among the Yukutare, Batu, and Nyam Nyam of the British Cameroons maize is *ajo Kwana* and *aku Kwan* and *Kwonga* respectively; among the Mbum it is *nang Kona*; among the Chamba of Donga it is *Kpankara*, i.e. "the guinea-corn of the Akpa"; among the Kanakuru it is *Apwenen*; among the Hona *Panu*. Even as far north as Zaria Province we find among the Kagoro tribe that maize is *silok Akpat*, i.e. "the guinea-corn of the Akpa." It is but fair, however, to add that the people of Calabar were also known as Akpa, and that maize was probably introduced into the Benue valley from Calabar. Nevertheless the Jukun appear to have been the centre of distribution for North-Eastern Nigeria. It is probable also, as has already been indicated, that Kororofa and Calabar were in close communication, and it is even possible that the terms Kororofa and Akpa were ¹ general terms applicable not only to the Jukun, but to the peoples of the sea-coast.

Across the Nigerian border in the triangle of the British Cameroons formed by Bakundi, Gashaka and Takum there are three tribal groups known as the Tugum, Ndoro, and Jibu. Of these the first two are classed by Mr. Talbot ² as "clans" of the Jukun, by which presumably "sub-tribes" is meant. This classification is hardly accurate, for neither the Tugum nor the Ndoro speak Jukun as their mother tongue. The term "Tugum" or "Tigong" is not, in fact, a correct tribal title at all, as it is applied indiscriminately to a number of groups, some of which speak a language of Bantoid type. But two of the Tugum groups, viz. those centred at Ashaku and Nama, speak a language which is fairly closely related to Jukun, and they have a traditional connection with the Jukun. The chiefs of Ashaku, indeed, claim to be descendants of one of the kings of Wukari, and to have been subject to Wukari prior to their conquest by the Chamba tribe in the middle of last century. They are known by the Jukun title of "ku" (= "aku"). The Nama chiefs also claim to be of Jukun origin and to have observed in former times the daily rites which all

¹ It has been suggested on page 17 that the word Kororofa may mean "The peoples of the river, or water".

² *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii, p. 6.

Jukun chiefs are bound to perform. As among the Jukun there is an earth diety, who is known as Giô, and there are annual sun-rites which are carried out with the typical Jukun ritual.¹ The Jukun cults of Aku-ahwâ and Akuma are also found.²

The Ndoro, on the other hand, have no traditional connection with the Jukun, nor does their language display any close affinity with Jukun. They have, however, been influenced to some extent by the Jibu, who are a Jukun sub-tribe and, like the Jibu, are, or were until recently, a mother-right people.

The Jibu, who inhabit the area between Bakundi and Gashaka, do not describe themselves as Jukun, but they speak a Jukun dialect, and those who have not become converts to Islam observe most of the more characteristic features of the Jukun religious complex. They identify the sun with the Supreme Being and have definite sun rites,³ they describe the creator-god as Mam,⁴ and they practise the typical Jukun ceremonies of releasing the mouth cloth of the dead.⁵ In some respects they might be described as more Jukun than the Jukun themselves, for they alone among all the Jukun sub-tribes (with the exception of a few groups of Wurbo) have retained the mother-right principles which formerly governed all Jukun society. They have now completely lost touch with the centre of Jukun government as a consequence of their subjection first by the Chamba tribe and later by the Fulani governors of Kundi and Gashaka.

Retracing our steps to the Northern bank of the Benue we find numerous groups of Jukun scattered here and there between Gwana in the east and Keana in the west, the remnants of the peoples of Kororofa who occupied these regions for the purpose, it would seem, of exploiting the saltings in this region. A striking feature of this area is the seeming absence of the remains of large Jukun towns such as are found on the south bank of the Benue, and also the absence of any claim that the Jukun settlements in these areas belonged to ancient times. It would appear to be probable, from the local traditions, that the exploitation of the salt-bearing areas was a late development of Jukun activity, following on conditions, external or internal, which hindered slave-getting.

¹ See pp. 184-8.

² See p. 187.

³ See pp. 231 and 252.

⁴ See pp. 238-64 and 272.

⁵ See pp. 191 and 197.

In the neighbourhood of Wase there are the "Abasuin", or "people of the cotton grass". They state that they are the descendants of one Sagwum and his followers, who left Wukari in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century owing to a dispute over the succession. The villagers of Kumbir, however, claim to have been established in the Wase region long prior to the arrival of Sagwum. They state that they were joined at one time by fugitives from an ancient Jukun centre known as Tabuka, from which the Jukun were driven by Muslim invaders. I am unable at present to gauge the value of this tradition, but no doubt some light will be thrown on the subject later (possibly by administrative officers in the Bauchi province). In support of the Kumbir story there is the difference between the dialect spoken at Wase and that at Wukari, which is so considerable that it would appear to be antecedent to the Fulani jihad.

Proceeding further west we come first to the few remnants of Jukun at Gerkawa,¹ and then to the isolated Jukun communities of the Awei district. Details of these peoples are given elsewhere,² and it need only be remarked here that the traditional records of the occupation of the salt-bearing areas of Awei do not indicate a date prior to the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In regions further north I have no first-hand evidence, not having visited those areas. The Montol cannibal tribe was clearly never subject to any effective external control, and its language belongs to a linguistic group which has no relation to Jukun. It is possible that some Montol groups have received some religious cults from their Jukun neighbours, but too little is known about these people to say anything further. The Ankwe neighbours of the Montol, however, have so long been in touch with the Jukun that an Ankwe will even describe himself as a Jukun, though there is no justification for this from the linguistic point of view, as the Ankwe language belongs to the Central Sudanic linguistic group. As far as it is possible to gauge on the insufficient evidence of conversations with one or two Ankwe, it would appear that this tribe came directly under the influence of the Jukun to the extent that sections of the Ankwe

¹ The general body of the people at Gerkawa are not Jukun (as is stated in the *Muri Gazetteer*, p. 51). They were joined by a few Jukun immigrants from Dampar Rimi.

² In a paper which will be published in due course.

acknowledged the supremacy of the Jukun by paying a regular tribute of cloth and salt to the Jukun king, that there was inter-marriage with the Jukun, and that the religious ritual closely resembles that of the Jukun. The Ankwe use mud pillars as religious symbols; menstruous women are taboo, and men avoid eating food in front of women. Former chiefs are worshipped as deities. Many Ankwe also wear the hair-lock characteristic of the Jukun.

North-east of the Ankwe there are a number of communities among the Burumawa who claim to be of Jukun origin. Thus the people of Gumshir and Nyonyon came to their present habitat about two centuries ago under a Jukun leader named Boi, whose skull is still preserved at Gumshir. The villages of Kwamkwiem and Bowas are also Jukun, but of recent foundation.

Situated to the west of the Awei district on the north bank of the Benue there is the tribe known as the Arago. The language of these people is not closely connected with Jukun, but in the past the Arago were associated with the Jukun. The Arago chief of Keana in fact paid tribute to Wukari until fairly recent times.¹ He carries out a daily liturgy like the Jukun king of Wukari, and it is said that most of the Arago cults were originally obtained from the Jukun. The cults are not called by their Jukun names, but some at least are functionally identical with some of the Jukun cults; and the use of stones and clay cone symbols is common. The Arago also segregate women and regard the chief as a divine person or the embodiment of a deity. On the other hand it is clear that the Arago have an independent culture, and it does not appear that the tribe was ever directly administered by the Jukun.

It will have been gathered that a horror of menstrual blood is one of the most characteristic features of all tribes affiliated with the Jukun. The political consequences of the common possession of this taboo have been great, for those who shared the taboo could visit each other without the fear that they would be eating food cooked by menstruous women, a gross offence against the gods. Jukun, Ankwe and Arago could have free dealings with each other, but none with peoples who were ceremonially impure on account of the non-observance of the

¹ Barth speaks of Keana as being a "birnin Kororofa", i.e. a town of Kororofa. See his *Travels, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 575.

taboo. Cases came to my notice of towns belonging to tribes which do not observe the taboo adopting it in order to attract trade with the Jukun ; a good example of the way in which one tribe may impose its culture on another.

Across the Benue on the southern bank there is the Jukun-speaking town of Abinsi, or Abisse as the word is pronounced locally. The inhabitants describe themselves as Wapa (i.e. by the same title as the Jukun of Wukari), but state that although they now speak Jukun they were not originally a Jukun-speaking people. They claim an Igbara origin, having been subjects of the old kingdom of Panda, which was destroyed about the middle of the last century. However this may be, when they settled at Abinsi, they came directly under the authority of the Jukun king of Wukari, to whom they sent annual tribute in the form of cloth. Most of their official titles are Jukun, and so also are their religious cults. I am inclined to think that, as the neighbourhood of Abinsi was once an Apa centre, the present inhabitants are a fusion of Igbara immigrants with an aboriginal Jukun stock.

This review does not cover the whole area of former Jukun influence, for there is a traditional connection between Ida on the Niger and the Jukun on the Benue. The Kakanda chiefs of Budon also claim to be Apa of the Benue region. But sufficient has been said for the present purpose of indicating the general nature and extent of the Jukun domination in the Benue basin prior to the advent of the Fulani at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some account may now be given of the history of the Jukun during the latter part of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century.

There is nowhere in the records of the Muslim states of Nigeria any reference to the fall of Kororofa ; and, what is more surprising still, there is no clear tradition among the Jukun themselves relating to the destruction of their principal city. It is even a matter of doubt as to whether the " Api " of obscure Jukun tradition is to be identified with the site pointed out by local Fulani and Hausa as " Kororofa " ; and one might go further and say that there is no absolute proof that the site indicated as " Kororofa " ever bore this name. There is some ground for thinking that Kororofa was a general term applied to the country occupied by the Jukun. It was certainly employed

in this way during the middle of the nineteenth century. I paid a visit to the site of the city which was said to be Kororofa. It is situated between longitude 10 and 11 and latitude 8 and 9. The remains of the city and fosse could still be seen, though the wall was almost level with the ground. I reckoned the circumference of the wall to be about four miles (as against the twelve of the city of Kano). Numerous fragments of pottery were picked up on the surface. Most of the pottery designs were of the type common among the Jukun to-day, but one design, a lozenge impression, was not observed on pots in any existing Jukun community. It is commonly seen, however, on the sacred knives and armlets used by the Jukun in connection with religious rites. The dye-pits of the Abakwariga section of the community were easily seen, the mouths of the pits being still level with the surface. Fragments of pottery nozzles for bellows were also found. The general impression left was that the city had not been abandoned much more than a century ago.

The reasons assigned for the sudden disappearance of this city, which is presumably the Kororofa of ancient days, are numerous. The generalized version of Fulani and Hausa Muslims is that Kororofa broke up because the Shehu of Sokoto prayed to Allah for its destruction, as the king of Kororofa refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sokoto. In the words of a Jukun informant, the Shehu sent devils to Kororofa. The prevalence of this tradition would seem to indicate that the break-up of Kororofa synchronized roughly with the early Fulani conquests of the first decade of the nineteenth century. This is borne out by the local tradition at Wurio. It is never asserted that Kororofa was ever subjected to direct attack by the Fulani, but it is implied that the inhabitants of Kororofa fled when the Fulani assailed and conquered Jukun towns in the neighbourhood of Kororofa. The Fulani of Muri claim that among other towns they conquered and burnt a large Jukun town situated close to the present site of Wurio, known as Akâ or Biekâ. It is related that the Jukun of this town, like the Carthaginians of old, realizing that they were faced with inevitable defeat, collected their wives and children in huts and, having entered themselves and barricaded the doors, set fire to the roofs, in order that no living Jukun should fall into the hands of the enemy. Some Jukun at least must have

PLATE IV



WASE ROCK



THE SITE OF KOROROFA

escaped, for it is stated by the present Fulani chief of Wurio that his grandmother was a Jukun survivor of Akâ (Akâ having been destroyed about 1833). Another large Jukun town which fell a victim to the Fulani was Nawo or Bie-nawo, the remains of which are still visible some thirty miles south of Wurio.¹ It is asserted by some that it was the fall of Nawo which led to the break up of Kororofa, but by others that Kororofa had by that time long ceased to exist. One aged Malam at Wurio said that he had been told as a boy that Kororofa broke up as a result of internal dissension in the same year that Gobir fell a prey to the Shehu dan Fodio (c. 1805). This remark, coupled with the tradition that Kororofa broke up as a result of the Shehu's prayers, raises the suspicion that there has been some confusion between Kororofa and Alkalawa the Gobir capital.

Alkalawa was commonly pronounced as Kalalawa,² which is not unlike the Hausa pronunciation of Kororofa, viz. Kwararafa.

Other informants assert that Kororofa broke up in consequence of a pestilence, the same pestilence, perhaps, which devastated Bornu during the reign of Ahmed of Bornu (1793-1810).³

Among the Jukun of Bando-Yaku (15 miles from Wurio) it is stated that Kororofa waged an unsuccessful war with Bornu, and that when the Jukun returned to their capital they were plagued by a snake which kept biting the people, and that when hundreds had died the remainder rose up and scattered in all directions. Kenjo was king of Kororofa at this time. Others state that Kororofa broke up in consequence of a famine, and others in consequence of early attacks by "Dingyi" or groups of Chamba invaders. There may be something in this latter tradition, for it is certain that the Chamba devastated the whole of the southern side of the Benue between Yola and Katsina Ala many years before the Fulani had succeeded in establishing their suzerainty over this region. These Chamba built walled towns wherever they went, and not far from Kororofa the remains of a Chamba town can still be seen, the inhabitants having been

¹ I was told by the present Emir of Muri that the Jukun of this town put up a splendid defence against the Fulani, but were severely handicapped by having no other arms than spears. During the fight the Jukun chief kept swinging an antelope's tail as a talisman. He was hit by an arrow, but pulled it out and continued swinging the charm until he was killed outright by a second arrow. These events happened during the reign of Ibrahim of Muri.

² Denham speaks of Alkalawa as Kalalawa.

³ Barth, vol. ii, p. 661.

driven out by the Fulani. The Wurbo of Kundi sought refuge from the Chamba, c. 1800, by building a town on piles in the middle of Kundi lake. The remains of these piles are still visible. The Jibu sub-tribe of the Jukun so far fell under Chamba influence that many of their towns are called by Chamba names and the Jibu chiefs adopted the official Chamba title of "Gang". I have suggested, elsewhere,¹ that the use of suffixes among the Jukun may be due to Chamba influence. The name of the principal Chamba leader is still remembered as "Damashi". Incidentally the Chamba chiefs were, like the Jukun kings, known as "Lords of the corn".²

Finally, a number of Jukun maintain that the break-up of Kororofa was due to internal dissension; and it is in this connection that we meet with the series of local traditions according to which the scattered communities of the Jukun were founded by elder sons of kings of Kororofa who had left their fathers' city owing to disputes over the succession. Examples of these stories are given in an account of the Jukun of the Awei district which will be published shortly. It is even stated in a manuscript obtained by the Alkali of Fika from the son of a "liman" of Shira that when Kororofa broke up a large number of Jukun migrated to northern regions, settling and becoming chiefs in the country of the Butawa, Warjawa, Shira and Misau. It is said that they were the descendants of Wapa Waku, son of Akitapa Adaiko, "and some say that they were of the family of Akumagbu."³ If this manuscript represents any real tradition the Jukun occupation of the area indicated must have occurred long prior to the break up of Kororofa, as Misau is said (in the manuscript) to have had nineteen pre-Fulani kings, Warji to have had eighteen, and Shira fifteen, all descendants of these Jukun immigrants. The event described probably occurred during the seventeenth century when Kororofa was at the height of its power. But another manuscript, also furnished by the Alkali of Fika (*viz.*, that referred to on page 30), gives a different account of the foundation of Shira, Misau, and the other localities mentioned.

Dampar Rimi, a Jukun settlement on the north bank of the Benue, is said to have been founded from Api or Kororofa about the time that Kororofa broke up. The story goes that the King

¹ See page 3.

² *I.e.* King Agbu.

³ See Barth, *Travels, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 579.

of Kororofa, being old, warned his eldest son Ajiku to give up hunting in distant regions lest Ajiku should be absent at the time of his father's death. But Ajiku listened not to his father's advice and went off hunting north of the Benue river. The king, feeling that his end was near, and enraged at the conduct of his eldest son, summoned his younger sons and handed over to them the royal insignia, or, in other words, revealed to them the secrets of the royal cult. He then went outside the town and shouted at a tree. The tree straightway jumped out of the ground, and the king of the Jukun entered the cavity. He then gave another shout and the tree resumed its normal position. In this way the last king of Kororofa disappeared from the earth. It may be noted, in passing, that it is a normal feature of Jukun tradition to speak of ancient kings disappearing into the ground. A main reason for legends of this character is, doubtless, that the Jukun king, being a divinity, or at least the embodiment of deity, never "dies". He merely fades away to join the gods. Ajiku, returning from his hunting expedition, found the city of Kororofa well-nigh devoid of inhabitants. An old man told him that his father had disappeared into the ground and that his younger brothers had run off with the sacred royal emblems. Ajiku followed in pursuit, and, overtaking his brothers, hurled a stone, which became the well-known sacred hill near Bantaji and is known as "Matan Fada". Ajiku continued the pursuit, but the dung of his brothers' horses turned into a marsh and their water into a river, so that Ajiku was compelled to give up the chase, having finally thrown at the fugitives a shea-tree which landed on the ground upside down and is to be seen growing in that position to-day. He then returned to Kororofa, and, collecting the little property that was left, crossed the Benue and took up his abode at Agau, or Bie-Ku, where he died.¹ The younger brothers became the kings of Wukari and the surrounding country. Ajiku was succeeded as chief on the north bank of the Benue by Agi, who obtained recognition from Wukari (i.e. he was given a royal cult). Agi was succeeded by Adashu, Agadu, Gabi, Aji, Angyu, Agbau, Ashumwutsi, Agbu, and Atau. It was in the time of Atau that Dampar first became tributary to the Fulani. If this story is to be taken as implying that the Dampar communities were founded

¹ A variant says there were two brothers, one of whom settled at Bando and the other at Dampar Rimi.

after the fall of Kororofa, then it would appear that Kororofa broke up at a date long antecedent to the rise of the Fulani at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the story need not be construed in this way; and, in any case, lists of early chiefs of local groups can seldom be accepted, as the old men who furnish them hardly ever agree among themselves.

The story of the transference of the kingship of the Jukun from Kororofa to Wukari is, at the latter place, given as follows. Agbu Kenjo¹ was king of Kororofa, while Ajôwudu and Katakpa, his eldest sons, were established at Akwana. Atê and Abe, twin brothers, lived with their father at Kororofa, but they were negligent and disrespectful. So Kenjo, being old and near to death, summoned Katakpa, at the same time sending his younger sons off on a hunting expedition. On Katakpa's arrival Kenjo revealed to him the mysteries of the royal ritual and handed over also the secret symbols and other appurtenances of the kingly office. He also replaited Katakpa's hair; for it is customary among the Jukun for chiefs, as it was among the princes of Ancient Egypt, to wear a hair-lock of special pattern. He then summoned the people and bade them follow Katakpa across the Bantaji River. Left alone with his acolyte, the aged king proceeded to the outskirts of the town and struck a "kiriya"² tree. The tree opened and Kenjo entered it, the tree closing behind him. The same evening Atê and Abe, the younger sons of Kenjo, returned from their hunting, and when they heard from the acolyte that their father, before leaving the world, had handed over the kingly office to his eldest son they started in pursuit and overtook Katakpa and his followers at the Donga River, near Bantaji. Katakpa's followers had already crossed the river, but Katakpa himself had only reached the middle of the stream. Atê and Abe called on the canoeman to return, but he took no notice as he was deaf. So Atê hurled a stone at the canoe, and this stone landed at Nando and became the hill there. He hurled another, and this is the rock of Matan Fada, which the Jukun of Wukari call Angwu Yaku, or "The source of our ancestors". The younger brothers then returned home, but nothing is recorded of their subsequent fortunes. There are numerous variants of this story, one of which has already been given in connection with the

¹ Kenjo is sometimes referred to as "Ada" Kenjo. *Ada* = father is a variation of *Ata*, the title borne by the Igala kings of Ida (Idah).

² *Prosopis oblonga*.

foundation of Dampar. In another it is said that Kenjo possessed two famous horses, one The Wind and the other The Whirlwind. When he handed over the royal symbols to Katakpa he advised him to fly on The Wind. Atê mounted The Whirlwind to pursue, but The Whirlwind could make no progress, and kept pulling up under every large tree. (It is a Jukun belief that whirlwinds and large trees are a centre for spirits.) The story of Atê (or Ajiku) throwing stones which turned into hills is common in African folklore. The Jukun tale reminds us of the Mandingo legend of the two brothers who went out to free the land from a dragon, which was in reality a sister of the ruling chief. When pursued by the dragon the brothers threw stones behind them, and the stones became intercepting hills. Later they threw an egg, and the egg turned into a marsh, in the mud of which the dragon became so entangled that the brothers were able to cut off its tail.¹ Both tales would seem to indicate a change from matrilineal succession, for it is definitely asserted in the Jukun tradition that Katakpa was the eldest son of Kenjo, so that there would be no reason for the attitude taken by Atê and Abe, unless they were sisters' sons who, after the change in the mode of succession, came to be described as "younger" sons.

The history of Wukari during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century cannot be traced with any certainty, and the following account is little better than an arbitrary selection from the jumbled and contradictory memories of the older men.

Katakpa, having succeeded in making his escape with the regalia, established himself at Uka (the present site of Puje, near Wukari). It is related that while on his way to Akwana he camped at Arufu and there left his chief wife, Angwutsi Agyi, because she was tired of journeying. At Akwana his second wife also complained of exhaustion, and was left there when Katakpa returned to Uka. Her name was Wanga (*wanya*), and it is for this reason that Akwana is known to the Jukun as Anga (*anya*) or Bienga (*bienga*). These statements imply that the so-called "wives" of the king became local chieftainesses. It is said that Katakpa detailed a number of his followers to assist Wanga in the government of Akwana. Among these were Agabude who was given the local title of San Gari, Atsi Nyikpa who was given

¹ See Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 4.

the title of Tatswê, Adi who became Singa (*siya*) or chief of the salt workings, and Abi who became Tisho, another title conferred in connection with the saltings. Atsi Nyikpa is credited with the discovery of the salt in these regions, and it is recorded that when the discovery was reported to Katakpa the latter sent his chief minister, the Abô Achuwu, to Akwana with a "fetish" which would secure an adequate supply of salt. No king of Wukari may pay a personal visit to the saltings, for if he did the salt would, it is believed, disappear. It was during the reign of Katakpa that, according to some informants, the stories told of the Jukun *entente* with Bornu were supposed to have occurred.¹

The next king of the Jukun is said to have been Agwabi, son of Katakpa. (But as the late king of Wukari informed me definitely that Agwabi succeeded his own ancestor, Angyi, little reliance can be attached to any of the lists of kings given.) It is recorded of Agwabi that he was a man of such enormous dimensions that no horse could carry him, and so he always rode a roan antelope. Similar stories are told of other Jukun chiefs, and it may be noted that the Jukun who is said to have founded Awei was also called Agwabi or Agabi and that he is also said to have ridden a roan antelope. According to some informants it was this Agwabi who carried out the last Jukun attack on Kano and brought back with him to Uka those groups of Hausa-speaking Wangara, Kutumbawa, Maguzawa, and Gwandara who are known to-day as Abakwariga. These, with a number of Kwotto from the north bank of the Benue, were assigned quarters at the present site of Wukari under two leaders named Mallam² Sambo and Mallam Diko. Agwabi placed one of his own representatives, the Akû Chika, to dwell amongst them and report on their conduct. Agwabi was succeeded by his son Dawi, who had apparently a peaceful reign and amassed great riches. Dawi was followed by his younger brother Agyi gbi, who was in turn succeeded by Nani To, son of Dawi. The name Nani To is of interest, for it is a name found at Benin; and among the Jukun at the present time it is the title of the official who supervises the burial rites of the kings of Wukari. It is confined to the Ba-Nando kindred. The name is found also in a neighbouring tribe with the meaning of sister's son, and it is possible, therefore, that Nani To was the last Jukun king to inherit according to

¹ See page 3.

² A title given to a Muslim teacher.

matrilineal rules. The Ba-Nando claim that they once held the kingship of the Jukun.

Of the days of Nani To, it is recorded that ill-feeling sprang up between the Jukun and the Abakwariga. The latter ceased to make their customary offerings to the Jukun king, a sign, perhaps, that the power of the Jukun had begun to wane. Nani To had recourse to stratagem. He sent a black cow as a gift to the Abakwariga. The leaders of the latter, Mallam Sambo and Mallam Diko, directed their followers to kill the cow and eat it, but in killing the cow they were to avoid breaking any bones. So they killed and ate the cow; but when they had done so a messenger arrived from Nani To to say that the black cow had been sent by mistake; they must return it at once, and he would, in return, send a white cow as a substitute. Perceiving that the Jukun chief merely wished to pick a quarrel, the Abakwariga prayed to Allah; and immediately, it is said, the bones of the cow they had eaten were reclothed in flesh, and the animal, restored to life, was sent back to the Jukun king. The Abkawariga then decided to abandon Wukari, but when they reached the river at Suntai they were overtaken by Nani To's messengers, who ordered them to return at once. The majority of the fugitives were seized with fear and obeyed, but their leaders prayed to Allah, and the waters of the river rose up on either side so that the Mallams were able to cross dry-shod. Mallam Sambo is said to have died at Ashabu, in the Lafia district, and Mallam Diko at Kokwana, near Keffi. The former was buried outside the village (of Ashabu), and it is said that the natives of the village were greatly disturbed for many nights because lights were seen hovering over his grave. This was taken to be a sign of the deceased's displeasure at his extramural burial, so they decided to transfer his walking-stick, if not his body, to the town. But when they touched the stick it turned into a rock. Nani To was succeeded by Daju, son of Agyi gbi and Daju by Zike, son of Nani To. Zike was succeeded by Kuvyû. This name is said to be a contraction for *aku avyu* or "the king (*aku*) who gathered his relatives (*avyu*) around him". This may be so, but the name resembles the title Kuyu, which was borne by the ancient kings of Kororofa, and is still held by the Ba-Pi, who in Wukari are the modern representatives of the Kororofa dynasty. Kuvyû appears to have reigned at Uka or Puje towards the middle of

the eighteenth century. He was followed by Adi Matswen, who was reputed to be son of Daju. The name of this king lingers among the Jukun as a person of renown, and it would seem, therefore, that in his time the clouds of Fulani aggression had not yet begun to gather. He is said to have made a tour of his dominions and founded many towns. His name in fact means "The Creator of towns". He extended his authority southwards as far as Katsina Ala, but it is not clear if he was recognized as king over the Jukun communities in the region of Kororofa, for it is possible that even before the advent of the Fulani the ancient Jukun State had broken up into a number of independent communities. It is probable, however, that he exercised some suzerainty over districts as far west as Keana, for Dr. Baikie, writing in 1854, states that Keana had formerly been to some extent tributary to Wukari.¹ Indeed, the same writer says that Dagbo, on the Agatu-Basa border, was reported to have paid tribute to Wukari.² Matswen is stated variously to have died at (1) Angwoi, opposite Sinkai, (2) at the village of Agbu, son of Angyu, (3) at Usebuhu, near Ibi, (4) at Use, in the Awei district, and (5) at Kororofa. He is sometimes said to have been the last king of Kororofa. He was followed by his brother, or reputed brother, Ashu Manu the first, and it is only at this stage that we begin to enter the realm of reliable history. For it is even a matter of doubt whether the events hitherto recorded do not apply to Kororofa rather than Wukari, and whether the list of kings given is not a garbled list of kings of Kororofa. It is noteworthy that the late king of Wukari, Ali or Ashu Manu the third, who appears in the official list as a direct descendant of Matswen, stated that he was a descendant, not of Matswen, but of Kitako, a king who is often mentioned at Wukari by the older men. Kitako, it is said, was given the kingship of Uka when he was an old man, and was the son of Angyi, who was also a king, though his name, too, does not appear in the recently composed official list of kings.

Of Angyi there is a story told which reminds us of the "dan Auta" of Hausa tradition.³ It is related that he was carried off as a child by one of the larger hawks, which made a nest for him in the branches of a tree and fed him every day on fish. When the king of the Jukun died the divining apparatus was

¹ *Exploring Voyage*, p. 112.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

³ See Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 483.

consulted with a view to finding a successor. The diviner was seized by the spirit and guided to the base of the tree. He climbed up and found the child, who was forthwith proclaimed as the future king of the Jukun.

When Ashu Manu came to the Jukun throne, presumably about the beginning of the nineteenth century, we enter the realm of reliable history, and it will clarify matters if we digress for a moment to summarize shortly the history of the Fulani of Bauchi, Gombe, and Muri, who succeeded between them in reducing the Jukun to a disorganized group of scattered villages.

When Usuman dan Fodio began the Fulani Holy War at the beginning of last century he appointed lieutenants throughout the territories of Northern Nigeria to reduce the local inhabitants. In the region of Bauchi, Yakubu, one of his former pupils, was given the chief command; while in the lower reaches of the Gongola River, and subsequently at Gombe, Buba Yero, another pupil of Usuman's, became his master's representative. Further south, Hamarua surnamed Modibo, a younger brother of Buba Yero, took control of operations in the region of Muri.

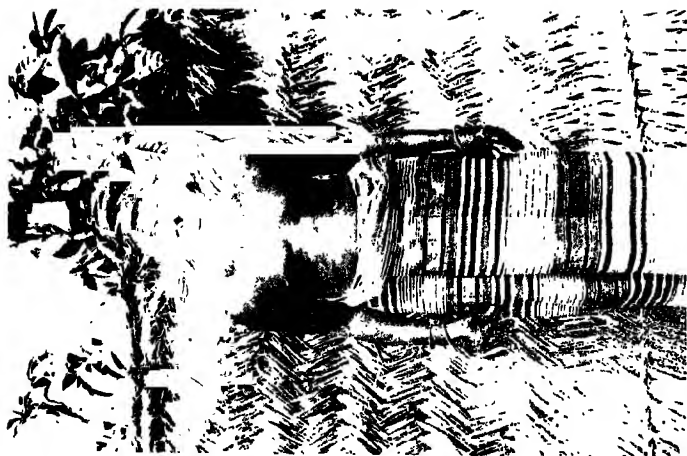
Yakubu ruled at Bauchi from 1805-43, and during this period conquered the whole of the country between Bauchi and the Benue. With the aid of his lieutenant, Madaki Hassan, who was posted at Wase, the Jukun communities in the region of Akyekura, Dampar, and Wase were brought under Fulani subjection; while further east, with the assistance of Buba Yero (1826-41), the Jukun towns of Pindiga, Gwana, Yangkari, etc., were also successfully brought within the Fulani pale. The Muri Fulani under Hamarua (1817-33) attacked Kona and swept off the map those numerous Jukun towns which had studded the country in the region of the abandoned city of Kororofa. These onsets reduced the once powerful tribe of Jukun to the few scattered remnants which we now see, and there can be little doubt that large numbers of Jukun who had escaped death in war found their way as slaves to Sokoto and other northern regions.

Ashu Manu appears on the scene as a wanderer on the northern banks of the Benue. It is suggested that he was driven there by the attacks of groups of Chamba, acting independently or in concert with the Fulani of Muri. It will be remembered that one of the explanations given for the disappearance of Kororofa was that it was unable to withstand the assaults of Chamba

cavalry. It is also added that there was a severe famine during the reign of Ashu Manu, and famine is also said to have caused the disruption of Kororofa. It may, therefore, be that Ashu Manu was the last king of Kororofa. He may have fled from Kororofa in order to avoid the penalty for a famine which the Jukun were wont to exact from their kings. He is said to have founded most of the more important Jukun settlements in the district of Awei ; but Use, at least, was in existence long before the days of Ashu Manu. Ashu Manu established his court at Use, and is believed to have died (or been put to death) there, his body, after the usual interval of nine months, being taken to Nando, the burial place of the kings of the Jukun.

About the time of the death of Ashu Manu I, c. 1820, the influence of the Bauchi Fulani had begun to make itself felt strongly in the Benue regions. Angyu surnamed Zikenyu had been appointed king in Ashu Manu's place. He is said by some to have been a son of Kuvyû and to have occupied the position of Tsôkwa at Takum, where he had made friends with the Chamba who had invaded that region. By others he is said to have been a son of Audu Kapa, who had lived at the court of Ashu Manu.

Owing to the presence of the Chamba on the southern bank of the Benue, Zikenyu continued to reside at Use on the northern bank, but he was compelled to beat a retreat across the river on the arrival, in the Awei district, of Madaki Hassan, who had been established by Yakubu at Wase as supervisor of the southern sections of the Bauchi emirate. The local Jukun chief of Use, Agbu or Ago by name, entered into an intrigue with Madaki with a view to the expulsion of his overlord Zikenyu, whose position as king was becoming weak owing to a repetition of famine conditions. Zikenyu, learning of his subordinate's intrigues, resolved to take his departure. So he collected a number of gifts and sent them to Yakubu at Bauchi by the hands of Agbu. During Agbu's absence Zikenyu and all his people fled across the river via Sintai to Akwana, and it is said that in their hurry they forgot to take with them the royal "fetish" or war amulet. Zikenyu sent back messengers to recover the fetish, but the messengers found that it had split in two, one half having become the hill of Akiri, and the other a boiling salt spring. According to another account Zikenyu only succeeded



A JUKUN CHIEF



AN OFFICIAL OF DANPAR

in escaping from Use on the day that Madaki Hassan entered it, and the familiar story is told of how the Benue opened to enable the Jukun to escape from their pursuers. Those Jukun who remained on the north bank became subjects of the Fulani, and it would appear that as early as 1820 most of the Jukun groups south of the Benue had also been compelled to accept, in some measure, the suzerainty of Bauchi, for in the Bauchi chronicles it is claimed that Yakubu conquered "Wukari" in this year.

Zikenyu, however, continued to exercise some authority over the scattered Jukun groups south of the Benue, and he obtained some control also over Munshi groups which had taken up their residence in the vicinity of Akwana. From Akwana he sent two of his officials, the Ashu Kinda and Atsikaku, to look for a new site near the old town of Uka. On receiving their report he resolved to build a new Uka on the site formerly occupied by the Abakwariga, and it is this town which is the modern Wukari.¹ Zikenyu appears to have been well-liked by his people and to have had a long reign, for Dr. Baikie, writing in 1854, evidently refers to Zikenyu when he says that Anju (i.e. Angyu) was the popular king of Wukari.² He managed to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Chamba of Takum and Donga, but apparently his relations with the Fulani were those of complete subservience. The old Jukun towns in the neighbourhood of Kororofa had been completely destroyed by the Fulani of Muri, Kona alone surviving the repeated attacks. It is asserted that Wukari secured immunity from attack by entering into direct relations with the Shehu of Sokoto, but we have seen that Yakubu of Bauchi had conquered all the Jukun towns north of the Benue, and in 1854 it is stated by Baikie that Wukari paid tribute to Hamarua as having been conquered by the brother or uncle of the governor of Muri. The tribute consisted chiefly of slaves, and "the amount varies according to the amount of success met with in their annual predatory excursions. In what they look on as a productive year Wukari sends thirty-five to forty slaves, carried off mostly from the Mitshis (Munshi) or from the barbarous nations living beyond Kororofa".³ There can be little doubt of the truth of

¹ Uka is said to mean "You excel"; a philological after-thought. *Ka* means "wall", and "Uka" therefore means "The walled town", the word being used in the same way as the Hausa use the word "birni".

² Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

³ Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

this statement for, c. 1850, civil war broke out between the son and nephew of the Emir of Muri, the former having accused the latter of appropriating the annual tribute of Wukari while on transit to the governor of Muri. The extent of the Fulani domination of the Jukun can be gauged by the fact that towns, like Jibu, Ibi, Gandiko, and Bantaji, all within a day's journey of Wukari, recognized the authority of Muri and not of the king of the Jukun. The present inhabitants of Jibu are descendants of Jen and Mumuye slaves of Hamarua, who drove out the Jukun-speaking sub-tribe which bears the name of this place. According to Baikie, Gandiko, near Ibi, originated in the mission of a Fula force, chiefly composed of slaves, who were sent to attack Wukari. They were not very successful in this, and instead of returning home they settled at Gandiko and even intermarried with the Jukun.¹ A Chamba adventurer established himself as chief of Ibi, c. 1854. Baikie also records that the town of Anyishi further down the river was founded by Jukun who had been driven out of Sundubi by the Beri-beri of Lafiya.²

It is claimed both by the Chamba and Fulani that they never had any serious fighting with the Jukun, for the latter were no longer a fighting people in the nineteenth century. They sought to preserve their lives and property by strict devotion to their cults and king, whom they believed to be a divine being and a guarantor of the fertility of the surrounding country. To this belief the invading groups of half-Islamized peoples were not unready to give assent, and it is true to say that it is largely owing to the doctrine of divine kingship that the Jukun have continued to exist as a separate tribe. The Jukun of Wukari were not organized for war; and during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when they were subjected to raids from every direction, they suffered more than was necessary by their inability to accommodate themselves to circumstances. When a raiding force appeared it is said that the ritual of announcing the news to the king was carried out in full detail. The Kinda Bi had first to be informed, and he conveyed the news to the Kinda Achuwo; the latter informed the Abô Zike, and the Abô Zike informed the Abô Achuwo, who finally informed the king. In the meantime the raiders had carried out their purpose and departed!

Zikenyu was succeeded about 1854 by Agbu Manu, a son of

¹ Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

² Baikie, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

Matswen. This king had some difficulty in stemming the further advance of the various groups of Chamba which had settled at Takum, Suntai, and Donga. These peoples, trained in the Fulani method of warfare, carried out periodic raids in the country surrounding Wukari, and one group finally settled at the village of Rafin Kada, which is only fourteen miles from the Jukun capital. So restricted was the power of the Jukun king that he was compelled to admit the presence at his very gates of a local chief who acknowledged no superior but the governor of Muri. The Chamba of Takum under Boshi also made raids on Wukari, but were forced to retire. On returning to Takum their town was assailed by lions and leopards, and as this was regarded as a visitation of God for their attack on the sacred city, they tendered their apologies to the Jukun king and requested him to perform rites which would free them from the plague. It is said that in Agbu Manu's time Gakye, another leader of a Chamba group, took up his abode at Fiayi, on the road to Akwana, and after defeating the Jukun under the Abô Zike was driven out by the Abô Achuwo. Gakye then went to Ibi and settled there for a year or two, finally returning to join his son at Donga. Baikie records a meeting with this chief at Ibi in 1854 during the reign of "Anju", i.e. of Zikenyu, so that the events described above may have occurred a year or two before Agbu Manu came to the throne. Wukari was also about this time subjected to siege by the combined forces of Haman, the Fulani governor of Wase, and Usuman, governor of Misau. The Jukun were successful in beating off this attack, owing in some measure to the support of the governor of Muri, who was afraid that, if Wukari fell, the Fulani chiefs of Wase might encroach on the territories of Muri further east. The besieging forces, having run short of supplies, were compelled to retreat across the Benue, after having sacked Ibi. As a result of this experience Agbu Manu decided to extend the walls of Wukari so as to include the water supplies of Marmara, the possession of which had enabled the invaders to continue the siege for a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. It was this foresight which enabled the Jukun in the early sixties to drive off an attack by the followers of Hamadu, the fourth Fulani governor of Muri. It is not clear why this attack was made, as the Jukun kings had long previously accepted the overlordship of the Muri Fulani, and after the attack they continued to occupy

their former position of inferiority. In token of his subservience the Jukun king gave one of his daughters in marriage to Hamadu, and it is interesting to note that one of the children of this marriage was Buba, chief of Wurio.

Agbu Manu was succeeded in 1866 by Ashu Manu II, a son of Zikenyu. In 1871 this king, exasperated by the constant raids made up to the very walls of Wukari by the villagers of Jibu, Bantaji and Nyankwola, requested the assistance of the Chamba chief of Donga in making a combined attack on Nyankwola. It happened that at this time one Bayero, a son of the Sultan of Sokoto, who had been carrying out marauding expeditions on his own account on the north side of the Benue, had crossed to the southern bank at Ibi. His assistance was immediately sought by the people of Jibu in order to meet the threatened assault of the kings of Wukari and Donga. Bayero and his new-found allies, well supplied with horses, made a sudden attack on the rear of the Jukun and Donga forces, who were encamped in front of Nyankwola, and completely defeated them, driving the remnants into the river. The chief of Donga managed to escape, but Ashu Manu was hit by an arrow and drowned in the river. This catastrophe marked the lowest stage to which the fortunes of the Jukun had ever fallen. Hundreds of Jukun women fell into the hands of their enemies, and the entire country was ravaged by Bayero. During one of his raids Bayero made an assault on the town of Nike (near Wukari), which was peopled by settlers from the Zompere tribe. It is said that the inhabitants defended themselves by setting poisoned stakes round the town and emptying pots of human excrement on the assaulting forces. When any of the latter was killed his body was dragged inside the town, and the skull set on the wall to add terror to the enemy.

Before returning to the north bank of the Benue Bayero intimated to the people of Wukari that he was prepared to appoint a new king in room of Ashu Manu. Some say that Agudu, or Audu Manu, was sent to Jibu in answer to this request; others say that he went on his own account and demanded the kingship from Bayero. Bayero asked him for the customary presents, and when he replied that he had none Bayero threatened to put him to death. Agudu, however, promised that he would send gifts as soon as he was able, and in this way he was given the kingship of the Jukun. Agudu belonged to the Ba Ma kindred, his father

being Agbu Kinne, who had occupied the position of Abô during the reign of Zikenyu. It is this kindred which has supplied the last two kings of Wukari.

Agudu Manu, immediately on receiving the kingship, sent large gifts to Burba, the Emir of Muri, in order that the latter might restrain the people of Jibu and Bantaji from continuing their attacks on the Jukun. In this he was successful, and an alliance was established between Wukari and Jibu and Bantaji, the Jukun king giving two of his daughters in marriage to the chiefs of the latter towns.

The expanding Munshi tribe was at this time becoming a new source of anxiety to the Jukun, and the assistance of Burba was sought in order to carry out an expedition against the Munshi. Burba brought this assistance in person, and attacks were carried out without achieving any permanent results, as another expedition had to be undertaken later, Agudu Manu being again assisted by the governor of Muri, who on this occasion was Nya, the conqueror of the Kona Jukun.

In his early periodic attacks on the Munshi, Agudu Manu had secured the assistance of Dankoro, who had been one of Bayero's principal lieutenants. This soldier of fortune became a thorn in the side both of the Jukun and of the Munshi. While the Jukun were encamped at Buria, in the Munshi country, Dankoro began to intrigue against the Jukun king, with the result that the latter was compelled to beat a hasty retreat to Wukari. Dankoro followed in due course, and took up his abode in the Jukun capital, but the conduct of himself and his followers became so intolerable to the Jukun that he was driven out and went to Jibu, and eventually to Muri, where he induced the governor Nya to embark on a fresh slave-raiding expedition into the country of the Munshi. In this the Jukun took no active part, though the Fulani governor invited Agudu Manu to join the expedition. Nya eventually returned to Muri, but Dankoro remained and caused so much trouble to the Jukun that he was attacked and driven out of Arufu by the Jukun, assisted on this occasion by numerous groups of Munshi. Dankoro later retaliated by a surprise attack in the same region, which resulted in the flight of the Jukun king. It is said that on this occasion the Jukun war fetish fell into the hands of Dankoro, who had it publicly burnt. Agudu Manu eventually appealed for help to the Royal Niger Company which, as

the National African Company, had opened a trading station at Ibi in 1883. The troops of the Niger Company twice attacked Dankoro, once at Usebuhu in 1897 and once at Kente in 1898. On both occasions Dankoro escaped and the country was eventually freed by his death in 1899. It was in a large measure due to the Royal Niger Company that Wukari continued to exist at all. For it was owing to the Company that the domination of the Fulani never reached its climax in the complete overthrow of the Jukun capital. The pretensions of Jibu were kept within bounds by three successive attacks by the Company's troops (in 1884, 1888 and 1891), in the last of which the town was razed to the ground. In 1895 the Company refused to allow any recognition of the authority of Muri west of the Donga River, and in 1898 the power of Wase, the southern outpost of Bauchi, which had controlled all the Jukun groups north of the Benue since 1820, was crushed in consequence of an attack by the Company's troops, which resulted in the flight and death of the Fulani governor. Wurio, which had grown up on the ruins of Kororofa, was burnt to the ground in 1899. It was due to the Royal Niger Company also that the Jukun community of Dampar was saved from disruption, for the inhabitants of this town had been compelled to abandon their territory owing to attacks of the Fulani of Wase, and it was only owing to the protection of the Company that they were able to reform themselves and settle on their present site.

Agudu Manu was still on the throne when the British took over the administration of Northern Nigeria from the Royal Niger Company in 1900. He died in 1902, and was succeeded by Agbu Manu the second, a son of Ashu Manu the second. The latter died in 1915, and the kingship of the Jukun reverted to the Ba Ma kindred in the person of Ashu Manu the third, who died in 1927.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS ORGANIZATION

The social system of the Jukun is not capable of easy classification or description. It is undergoing a process of change from mother-right to father-right conditions, or it might be safer to say, from more mother-right to more father-right conditions. As this process is still continuing the kinship system may, at the present time, be described generally as a bilateral system in which patriarchal principles are tending to become predominant. At one end of the scale there are groups of rural Jibu who reckon descent in the female line, who practise matrilineal marriage, and who follow a matrilineal system of inheritance. At the other end are the Jukun of Pindiga who are wholly patriarchal. Between the two are the other Jukun groups who are matriarchal in some respects, and patriarchal in others. I am aware of the view that the co-existence of features of a mother-right and father-right complex is not necessarily an indication that the people exhibiting them are in a state of transition, but there is no doubt that the Jukun are in this state. It is everywhere asserted that in former times all the Jukun "followed their mother", and that the existing patriarchal features are due to contact with, and subjection to, the Fulani during the nineteenth century. The greater the subjection the more patriarchal has the group become. The advent of the British has given an increased impetus towards patriarchy, partly because the "Pax Britannica" has facilitated intercourse with patriarchal neighbours, and partly also because of the general belief that the British Administration is unfavourable to matriarchal customs, and would not admit the right of anyone to claim the custody of his sister's children.

It is noteworthy that in all the Jukun groups, with the exception of one or two villages among the rural Jibu, succession to chieftainship is in the male line, even though succession to property may be matrilineal. It is a universal saying that "a sister's son may not inherit the chieftainship, for if he does

wild animals will invade the community". The children of chiefs, moreover, cannot, and could not, be claimed by their maternal uncles, and in some cases, e.g. at Kona, the royal families are organized on a patriarchal basis, while those of commoners are organized on a matriarchal basis. This would seem to suggest that patriarchal ideas may have existed among the Jukun prior to the Fulani conquest at the beginning of the nineteenth century, having been introduced by foreign groups which became the ruling caste. On the other hand, reasons have been given for believing that matrilineal succession to chieftainship was the ancient Jukun custom, and the mere fact of the existence of the saying that a sister's son may not inherit the chieftainship seems to imply a change of custom in recent times. It is well known that matrilineal succession was prohibited by the Fulani, and it was definitely stated at Bali, the headquarters of the Jibu Jukun, that this form of succession was abandoned by them about 1870, as the Jibu of Bali had by that time become subservient to the Fulani of Kundi. The circumstance that a chief has always been allowed to retain the custody of his own children would prove no more than that chiefs had special privileges, but it is clear that the ruling families were constrained to adopt the patriliney of their Fulani conquerors while the peasant groups were not always under this necessity.

If the Jukun are still in the process of undergoing a change from mother-right to father-right conditions it is obvious that the former kinship system must have broken down, and that there must be considerable diversity of practice in the manner of reckoning descent. This is what we find. In the rural communities of the Jibu a man's kin is his mother's relatives, his paternal relatives being of minor account. But among the urban Jibu and the Jukun of Pindiga the paternal relatives are the more important. The people of Gwana are becoming increasingly patriarchal, but mother-right principles are still so potent that communal work of a public nature is carried out on a matrilineal basis. At Kona the members of the royal kindreds still reckon descent in the male line, but the peasant classes consider the mother's group of more importance than the father's. Among the main body of the Jukun, viz. those located round Wukari, patrilineal principles have, in the last

generation, so far gained the ascendancy that if a man is asked the name of his kin he will indicate the relatives of his father, but he will immediately add that his mother belongs to such and such a family. If the matter is pressed further in order to ascertain whether the mother reckons herself as a member of the family indicated according to patrilineal or matrilineal rules no result is usually obtainable, as the average Jukun is seldom able to trace the ascendant history of either of his parents. This is what might be expected as a consequence of a recent change in the mode of reckoning descent. It may be added that the genealogies preserved in prayers used in religious rites are seldom of any assistance in determining the method of reckoning descent, for when a Jukun refers to an ancestor as being the son of so-and-so it must not be assumed that the use of the word "son", or rather of the word *wa*, which is ordinarily taken to mean "son", implies a patrilineal method of reckoning descent. For a sister's son may be described as "*wu*", and though there is a special term for sister's son (viz. "*ashu*") it need not be supposed that this term would be preserved in the prayers of a people who had become accustomed to patrilineal methods of expressing relationship.

Taking the Jukun as a whole we may say that at the present time the mother's relatives are of equal importance with the father's relatives, but that the influence of the father's relatives is tending to decrease.

In view of the general confusion of social ideas, and the bilateral method of reckoning descent which is found in most of the Jukun communities, it is not surprising that there is no clan organization in the strict sense of the term. Even amongst the matriarchal groups of Jibu there is no system of exogamous clans such as is found among their neighbours of the Dakha tribe. Marriage with all classes of cousins, except the mother's sister's child, is practised by the Jibu. It is said, however, that marriage with the father's brother's child was formerly taboo and has only become permissible as a result of Fulani influence.

The fact that cross-cousin marriage is considered the best form of marriage might be taken as an indication of the former existence of a clan organization. But this would be mere assumption, for cross-cousin marriage has a ready explanation

when practised by a people who also practise matrilocal marriage. It keeps the family group together, for when a man marries his cross-cousin it is not necessary for him to leave his own family group.

Among the Jukun the principal form of social grouping is not the clan, but the extended family. When there are a number of extended families which are genealogically related to each other we have a larger form of social grouping which may be described as a "kindred". It may happen that the social group is composed of a number of extended families bearing a common name who believe themselves to be related but cannot prove the relationship satisfactorily, if at all, by means of genealogies. From some points of view this group might be described as a clan, but as it is seldom if ever an exogamous unit and does not differ in the native estimation from the group of families whose genealogy happens, frequently by mere chance, to be capable of proof, there is no reason why it should not also be described as a "kindred". Sometimes the common title merely indicates the place of origin of the social group. Thus at Wukari there are the Ba-Pi and Ba-Nando groups, i.e. the people who came from or belong to Api and Nando respectively. It may be that the component families of such kindred groups are related to each other, but on the other hand they may be the descendants of emigrants from Api or Nando, some of which were not blood relatives at all. Groups such as this might, therefore, be more properly described as clans, or local groups of clans; but as their organization is precisely the same as that of the kindred and there is no special term in the Jukun tongue to describe such groups other than that applied to the kindred (*viz.* *atsupa*) it will be convenient to describe such groups also as kindreds.

In this connection it is interesting to observe the manner in which the family and kindred organization is being rapidly broken down at the present time. In days when peace was the exception rather than the rule the component sections of a kindred group were compelled to act as a unit. But nowadays, with the removal of the fear of attack, there is no necessity for the same unity. The various members of the extended family farm in different directions. Two brothers may settle on a farm 30 or 40 miles north of their home; two others 30 or 40

miles south of their home ; or one member may go to the east alone with his wife and children. The family is only re-united for the festival period of six weeks between the end of January and the middle of March. It is in this way that a single extended family breaks up into a number of extended families, who, as long as they keep in touch with one another for the annual celebration of religious rites, and for marriage and funeral ceremonies, may be regarded as a kindred or a clan according as the genealogical connection between the families is remembered or forgotten. At the present time the disintegration of the larger family units is proceeding at a pace hitherto unknown ; and one of the effects is that the authority of the family or kindred-head is being constantly diminished. This is evidenced in the present mode of collecting taxes at Wukari, the heads of wards of the town being compelled by the circumstances to deal directly with the local sections of families, and not through the head of the whole family group, which only assembles for a few weeks in the year. The head of the family group is not prepared to make himself responsible for the task of collecting taxes from the various scattered units, nor are the members of those units prepared to hand over moneys to a family or kindred head with whom they are not in constant close contact. Moreover, in the case of the larger social group, even when the group is assembled at the capital, it does not necessarily occupy a single section of a ward ; it may be scattered throughout a number of wards, each section recognizing the authority of its own ward-head. The head of the group is, therefore, primarily concerned not with the conduct of all the members of the group, though he is an advisor on all social matters, but with the summoning of the members of the group for the annual religious festivals. These remarks do not apply to the Gwana Jukun, among whom the kinship grouping is still used for such public purposes as the clearing of roads and repairing the palace of the chief. It is also to be noted that, owing to the confusion in the method of reckoning descent, and the bilateral character of the household, the male members of a household are seldom wholly identified with a single kindred ; several kindreds may be represented in a single household.

In the Wukari area the following are some of the principal social groups :—

(1) The Ba-Ma or "Salt people", the present royal kindred. It is to be noted that the Ba-Ma do not claim to be patrilineal descendants of the kings of Kororofa, but they do claim to be uterine descendants. Patrilineally the Ba-Ma are descendants of Agbum Kinni of Bangbe, and for this reason they are sometimes called the Bando Kinni. (The table of Wukari chiefs given in the *Muri Provincial Gazetteer*, p. 34, is therefore misleading, unless we are to suppose that there was a change from matrilineal to patrilineal succession.)

(2) The Abaga, uterine relatives of the Ba-Ma.

(3) The Ba-Pi, who claim to be, as their name implies, immigrants from Api (or Kororofa). They are a royal kindred, and from their number many former chiefs of Wukari were chosen. Their head is known as the Kuyu, the title borne by the kings of Kororofa. Further remarks on this personage will be made later.¹

(4) The Ba-Vi, who are distinguished by being the kindred which formally confers the kingship.

(5) The Ba-Nando, or people of Nando, the kindred which has the privilege and responsibility of carrying out the burial ceremonies of the kings of Wukari. It is said that the Ba-Pi, Ba-Vi, and Ba-Nando all belong to the same stock, and that a physical characteristic of all three is an abundance of bodily hair. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement, but it will be observed from the photograph of the head of the Ba-Nando that he is a very hairy man.

(6) The Danju, who are descendants of a former king of Wukari. They are not, at the present time, regarded as having any direct claim to the kingship, but possibly would have had a claim had the succession been in the female line. (The table of Wukari chiefs shown in the *Muri Provincial Gazetteer*, p. 34, is therefore again misleading, as Ali, the late chief of Wukari, could not have been a direct patrilineal descendant of "Daju").

(7) The Jukû. This title, which is also the tribal title, was given quite definitely by responsible persons who claimed that there was a Jukû kindred or clan as distinct from a Jukû tribe, and who went so far to say that the Jukû clan was the cradle of the Jukun-speaking peoples. This is improbable, as it appears that the clan is of recent origin, and is connected with the Nama of the Cameroons. The composition of the clan was given, and although it was found to be scattered through several wards of Wukari most of the units were found to be blood-relatives. The main body are located in the ward known as Abandogwa.

Other less important kindreds are the Ba-Kya, Ba-Tsinyendo, Ba-Sa, Tsupa, Ba-Gbingyo, Ba-Kumando, Ba-Minyo, Ba-Zikê,

¹ See p. 340.

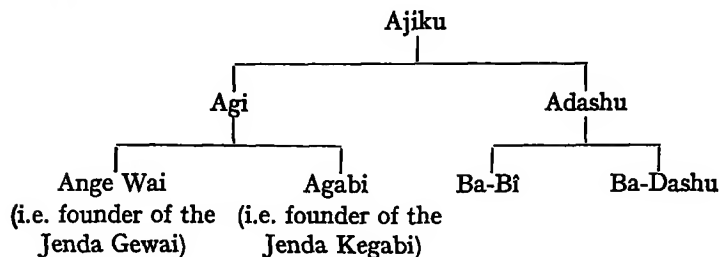


THE NANI TO
(Head of the Ba-Nando kindred)

Ba-Kundi, Ba-Zimi, etc. The Ba-Kundi are, as the name implies, immigrants from the town of Kundi. The name is thus a local group title like Ba-Pi. The Ba-Zimi, or Potters, are so called because they are principally employed in the manufacture of pottery. In addition to the Jukun kindreds, there are settled at Wukari several groups of other tribes. There are, for example, Hwâso, Hwâye, and Nyatsô from the region of Donga and Takum. Notes on the social organization of these peoples are given elsewhere, and it need only be remarked here that at Wukari these immigrants live in small family units scattered throughout the town. They have practically become Jukun. There is also a large group of Abakwariga and a smaller group of Beri-Beri, or Kanuri—to both of whom reference has already been made.

The kindreds live scattered throughout the eight sections or wards of Wukari, which are known respectively as Abadikeyugashi (or the people near the wood of Agashi), Abagbonkpa (or people near Gbonkpa), Abakpoto (or the Kpoto people), Abavi (or the Avi people), Abandoku (or the people of the chief), Abakata (or the people of the straw hats), Abanuti (or the people near the market), and Abandogwa (or the distant people). It will be observed that only one of these localities bears the same name as one of the kindred groups, viz. Abavi (= Ba-Vi).

At Dampar, on the North bank of the Benue, small family groups only were found. The principal were the Jenda Gewai, Jenda Kegabi, Ba-Dashu, Ba-Bî, Ba-Mebai, Ba-Beza, Ba-Ma, Ba-Ki, Ba-Pongba, Ba-Kake, Ba-Zhibû, Ba-Sokishi, Ba-Zai, and Ba-Wo. These units are in most cases merely extended families. The first four families indicated are royal families, and are accordingly classed together as the Ba-Ku. They are said to be descendants of a common forefather, and the following genealogy was given to prove that this was so:—



Inter-marriage between the units is permissible and practised, but no man may marry a member of his own extended family. The natives defined their rule of exogamy by saying that grandchildren may not intermarry, but that great-grandchildren (*dasei*) may. It will be observed that none of these family titles are found at Wukari. If there was ever a clan system among the Jukun it has broken down. The titles Ba-Wo or "Spirit-people", and Ba-Zhibû or "Elephant-peoples", resemble clan rather than family titles, but there was no evidence relating to the origin of these families, and no explanation could be given of the names they bore. Membership of all of the Dampar families is now reckoned according to patrilineal ideas, but examination of the constitution of households showed that the family group was to a considerable extent bilateral. To this reference will be made later. At Dampar there were also a number of Abakwariga families, viz. the Ba-Gauo, who claim to have come direct from Kano, the Ba-Poro and Ba-Wâfu, who claim to have come from Kororofa, and the Ba-Sekani, whose forefathers lived at Amar. There were also a number of other non-Jukun families, members chiefly of the Bolewa and Burumawa tribes.

The general conclusion as regards the Dampar Jukun is that there is no evidence of any clan organization, and that the patrilineal principle has become predominant, the peoples of Dampar having been more closely subjected to Fulani influence than their brethren across the river.

Turning next to the riverain Jukun-speaking peoples known as the Wurbo, I had few opportunities of coming into contact with this sub-tribe. They are characterized by their splendid physical development, being relatively tall, broad-chested, and extremely muscular. Their muscular development is no doubt due to their aquatic life as fishermen. Whether they are Jukun in origin is a matter of speculation, but they are now classed as Jukun because they speak Jukun and also because their religious and social ideas are Jukun. They are probably of heterogeneous origin, Jukun and non-Jukun, who, by the common pursuit of the same occupation in waters controlled by the King of Wukari, became fused together as a Jukun sub-tribe. Their title of Wurbo is a Jukun expression meaning the people (*wur*) of the water (*bo*).

The Wurbo are usually organized on the basis of patrilineal

kindreds, of which the better-known are the Ba-Kaî, Ba-Bî, Ba-Shû, Ba-Swe, Ba-Tasindo (or Ba-Tsinyendo) ; Ba-Shinkawe, Ba-Shando, Ba-Dê, Ba-Si, Ba-Mi, Ba-Yondi ; Ba-Tembe, Ba-Sôfi ; Ba-Biya ; Ba-Vur, Ba-Lak, Ba-Wo, and Ba-Wursan.

The first five of these kindreds, who are located at Ibi, or in the vicinity, are believed to be related. So also are the second six, who are found principally in the region of Sandirde. The Tembe and Sôfi, who are found near Jibu and between Sandirde and Ibi, are also said to have had a common forefather. The last four, who reside near Gassol, are believed to be relatives. There is, however, no "clan" organization among the Wurbo, and there is no exogamy, except the usual Jukun rule that a man may not marry any close blood relative of his father or mother. It is permissible therefore for a Ba-Kaî to marry a Ba-Bî, or a Ba-Vur to marry a Ba-Lak. It may be added that the Ba-Biya are regarded as the most Jukun of the Wurbo groups. They wear the Jukun pig-tail and are permitted to enter the sacred enclosures of the Wukari Jukun, a privilege not extended to other Wurbo groups.

There are still among the Wurbo a number of groups which adhere to matriarchal principles. Thus among the Wurbo of Kundi descent and inheritance follow the matrilineal rule, and marriage is usually matrilineal. The reason given for this conservatism is that the Wurbo of Kundi intermarry with the Dakha and rural Jibu, both of whom are mother-right peoples. But unlike the Dakha these Wurbo have no clan organization.

Among the Kona Jukun some of the kindreds contain a number of distinct (extended) family groups, constituted in the main on a patrilineal basis. Such kindreds might be described as small clans ; but apart from the common practice of certain religious rites, there is nothing in the nature of a clan organization. There is no "clan" exogamy in the sense that no man may marry any woman of his own "clan". But there is a partial system of exogamy in that a man may not merely marry a member of his own extended family, but he may not also marry a member of another extended family of his own "kindred" which is closely related to his own. He is permitted, however, to marry a member of an extended family of his own kindred provided that the extended family is not closely related to his own. Here we are on the borderline between "kindred" and "clan"

organization; the original kindred has broken up into two sections each consisting of extended families which are close blood relatives. The kindred has become a clan, and the sections sub-clans. Or the original kindred has become two separate clans.

To take an example, the social group or kindred known as the Kishau, consists of two sections each composed of three extended families. No member of Section A may marry a member of Section A, nor may a member of Section B marry a member of Section B. A member of Section A may marry a member of Section B, provided his mother had not belonged to the same extended family in Section B as his fiancée. This has the appearance of being a dual organization for purposes of marriage, but actually only two instances of marriages between A and B were obtained. The three extended families composing A were closely related as also were the three composing B. A and B were stated to have had a common forefather at no remote date, but an attempt at obtain genealogical proof of this reputed relationship proved unsuccessful.

When we turn to the Jukun of Gwana the organization differs from that of Kona in two respects, viz. (a) that, in spite of strong patrilineal influences, it is still the Gwana custom to reckon descent primarily in the female line; and (b) that no one may marry a member of his own kindred under any circumstances (whereas at Kona it is possible to marry into some distantly related families of one's own kindred). The exogamic rules at Kona and Gwana do not, however, differ in principle; the difference which exists is merely due to the fact that Gwana is a later foundation than Kona. It may be taken as a general rule among the Jukun that exogamy is confined to the extended family, or two or more closely related extended families, but when the relationship between two extended families becomes somewhat remote intermarriage between the two may begin to take place. At the present time there is a general tendency towards a relaxation of the rules of exogamy, and instances came to my notice of the marriage of first cousins; but it was stated that such marriages had in most cases met with considerable opposition from the older men and women of the community.

On the other hand, when we turn to the rural group of Jibu, and the Kundi groups of Wurbo, who are the sole remaining

representatives of the matriarchy which is admitted on all hands to have been general among the Jukun, we find that all cousin marriages (except marriage with the mother's sister's daughter) are common, and that cross-cousin marriages in particular are favoured. The prevalence of cross-cousin marriages would be consistent with a dual organization for purposes of marriage such as we have found in a sterile form among the Kona. But it has been already pointed out that this type of marriage is directly connected with the matrilocality of the Jibu and Wurbo forms of marriage, i.e. that the cross-cousin marriage is merely a means of circumventing exile from the group into which a man is born.

Among the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga and Takum the extended family is the unit of social organization. There are no large kindreds, and intermarriage may take place between a member of one extended family and a member of another closely related extended family.

A number of instances of first-cousin marriages came to my notice, but there appeared to be some objection to marriage with the paternal uncle's daughter. It was stated by the older men of the Hwâye that cousin marriages were no new-fangled idea, and that in the olden days they were more prevalent than they are to-day, as the younger members of the tribe are showing an increasing objection to marrying blood relatives. I am inclined to think that the comparative absence of exogamy among the Kwâptê and Hwâye is due to the disintegration caused by the wars of the nineteenth century, the scattered members of the tribe being compelled by circumstances to seek brides from their own family groups. They are no longer under this necessity, and there is consequently an increasing tendency to marry outside the family group. These peoples are singularly devoid of any forms of valuable property, so that there is no economic incentive towards cousin marriages such as exists among the cattle-owning Fulani.

Summing up all the information, there is no strong evidence that among the original Jukun-speaking peoples there was a wider system of exogamy which has become broken down and been replaced by the present system of forbidden marriages founded on consanguinity.

It may be of interest to note here that among some sections

of the Jukun it is not permissible for a person both of whose parents belong to royal families to succeed to the chieftainship. Thus at Dampar it was said that if a man of the Ba-Dashu family married a woman of the Kegabi family his son by her could not become a chief, as both these families are royal families. The reason assigned was that a person thus highly bred would be so overbearing that he would be intolerable. This statement need not be taken seriously. The rule is possibly a relic of former days when it was not permissible for any Ba-Dashu to marry a Kegabi. On the other hand, it appeared that among some Jukun the mother of the chief had to be a slave woman, and I would suggest that this rule may have been introduced in order to render abortive a former rule of succession by a sister's son. For among a matrilineal people the son of a slave woman, having no maternal uncle from whom he can succeed, is usually his father's principal inheritor.

As the kindred in the larger sense, i.e. in the sense of being a collection of several extended families which are or believe themselves to be descended from a common ancestor, is not usually a unit for purposes of marriage, it may be asked what social function does it perform. It may be stated first that in the larger towns, as the kindred was (and is) frequently scattered through various wards of the town, it was not necessarily a unit for purposes of government or war. For the larger towns were governed on the local principle, and cases of internal strife were usually disputes between wards and not between kindreds. In the villages, however, where the kindreds were small and localized, disputes between two individuals of different kindreds might lead to war between the two kindreds.

But the members of a kindred, however scattered, have one great bond of union, and that is the common possession of the same religious cults and customs. The kindred is a religious organization of great strength and unity. Each extended family attends the rites of any other of the kindred. The differences between the religious customs of one kindred and another may appear to be trifling, but in the eyes of the natives they are important, when it is remembered that the efficacy of religious rites depends to a great extent on the exactitude with which the traditional formulæ are reproduced. Thus if a Ba-Ma or Ba-Vi dies a special brew of beer is set for the grave-diggers,

and the chief grave-digger strikes three times the thatch of the hut in which the female mourners are sleeping, a signal from the dead man which causes all the women to burst into lamentations. Other kindreds do not follow this practice. It is essential, therefore, on anyone's death to ascertain at once the kindred to which the deceased belonged, for any deflection from the customary ritual of the kindred would be visited not merely on that kindred, but on the members of other kindreds with which the deceased had been associated. It is customary among some kindreds to ascertain at once by divination the name of the agent, human or divine, by which the deceased had met his death, but among other kindreds this custom is not observed.

The kindred grouping is also of importance from the general point of view of social status. Thus a number of extended families may be united by the common bond of royalty, i.e. each is a royal family; for all had a common forefather who was a chief or king. The distinction between royalty and commoners is ever-present in Negro society, and colours the whole social life of the people. The royal families had special privileges, and among the Jukun one of these privileges was they were not bound to observe the matrilineal rules which governed the social life of commoners; not necessarily because the royal families followed the patrilineal principle, but because they could act as they pleased. They could claim the custody of their sisters' children under the matrilineal system, and they could also claim the custody of their own children because they were royal.

There is, however, no great amount of social cohesion in a kindred which embraces a large number of extended families. Apart from the common features indicated above, each unit pursues its own way independently of the others. If the kindred possesses some cult of outstanding importance the priest of that cult is regarded as the father of the kindred, and his advice will be sought on all matters of religious, and also, perhaps, of social practice. But the most influential member of the kindred need not necessarily be the aged priest, or even one of the most senior elders. A comparatively young man may attain this position by virtue of his own personality, or because he had, by his influence or affluence, succeeded in obtaining a senior title from the chief. Such a person would come to be

regarded as the executive head of the kindred. In religious matters the secular head of the kindred would always, however, occupy a subordinate position to the chief priest, and he would still continue to occupy a subordinate position should the chief priest decide to hand over his functions to a younger brother or to a son. For the knowledge of the ritual is everything, and that can only be conveyed by the predecessor in office.

Apart, therefore, from the religious supremacy of the chief priest of the kindred, the component families of the kindred are in subjection to no one except some such outstanding personality as appears from time to time. Normally the family looks, in all secular matters, first to the head of the extended family, and secondly to the head of the local group, i.e. to the head of the ward. Among some Jukun-speaking communities, the members, even of a single extended family, may distribute themselves in various wards, and have few dealings with each other. Instances of this are given in my report on the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga and Takum.

Before proceeding to examine the constitution of the family and household a few remarks may be made about the totemic ideas of the Jukun. Just as there is no clan organization, so there is no totemic organization in any of the Jukun groups. If there ever was a totemic organization it was bound to have broken down in the disorganization consequent on the clash between patrilineal and matrilineal ideas, and we might expect at the present time to find a plurality of totems or emblems in each family group and great diversity of opinion as to the mode by which the emblems are transmitted. This is what is actually found, and though most Jukun continue to respect a large number of animals or plants they do so in a half-hearted manner. Many of the younger people are quite ignorant of the family taboos, and others do not hesitate to break the taboos when they feel inclined.

One of the Jukû kindred to which the python and a number of other animals are sacred stated that he had no longer any respect for the animals he had been brought up to regard as taboo. For he had once been confronted with a python and had killed it, and being hungry had eaten it.

No evil results followed; and so he has not hesitated to break the other taboos when opportunity occurred. He defends



A SACRED CROCODILE AT WUKARI
(From negative kindly lent by Mr IV R Fienmu.)

himself by quoting the Jukun proverb "Uwang awi tame, tame dzuâ wuyu," i.e. if you refuse hyena's food hyenas will not refuse yours.

I have even known cases of men breaking the taboo against eating the flesh of a crocodile, the most sacred of all Jukun animals. Before proceeding to eat it they will safeguard themselves by making some fictitious statement such as "This is cow's (or goat's) flesh".

It would appear that the respect shown to certain animals and plants has not always a direct connection with kinship groupings at all, but is concerned rather with the religious cults. When a new cult is obtained a number of taboos are obtained with it. Thus among the Hwatsô and Hwâye of Wukari and Donga there is a lightning cult known as Achu-Nyande. All owners of this cult must abstain from drinking rain-water. They must also avoid using as fuel the wood of the *Ficus thonningii* tree for the sacred pot of the cult is always set on a three-forked branch planted in the shade of this fig-tree. But the taboos are not confined to the owner of the cult; they are extended to all patrilineal members of his family group on the ground, it is said, that the cults are handed down in the male line. It was asserted, moreover, that the owner of an Achu-Nyande cult could bestow a similar cult on another member of his patrilineal kin, but that he could not bestow it on anyone else. This would seem to suggest a direct connection between taboos and kinship groupings. On the other hand, numerous instances came to my notice of cults plus taboos being received by individuals in outlying villages from the chief or priests of Wukari or from other individuals who were no relatives. And there were also cases in which taboos were observed by all members of the same household as the owner of a cult, whether the members of the household were related to the owner or not. The chief of Abuni may not eat python, elephant, reed-buck, or the species of fish known as "the horse of the king of the Jukun". This taboo is extended not merely to all his kin reckoned patrilineally, but also to all uterine relatives living in close association with the chief. But once more, on the other hand, it would appear to be the normal rule at the present time that a sister's son who lives with his maternal uncle need not observe his uncle's taboos. If he eats his uncle's taboo animal he must avoid doing so in

the presence of his uncle, and he must carefully wash his hands and the dishes used on the completion of the meal.

The following are some of the principal taboos :—

<i>"Clan" or Kindred.</i>		<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Taboos.</i>
Jukû		Wukari	crocodile, manatee, "aputsô" fish, "ahura" fish, varanus niloticus lizard, python. Some Jukû also respect the water-tortoise.
Ba-Nando		Wukari	crocodile, manatee.
Ba-Vi		Wukari	crocodile, manatee.
Ba-Pi		Wukari	crocodile, "ahura" fish, and python.
Ba-Sa		Wukari	crocodile, "ahura," "aputsô," and "ajenyi" fish. Also the manatee.
Ba-Ma		Wukari	crocodile, "ahura," "ajenyi," and manatee.
Nyatsô		Wukari	crocodile, manatee.
Hwâso or Hwatsô		W u k a r i , Donga and Takum.	crocodile and "ajenyi" fish (called "tsege" by the Hausa).
Tsupa			crocodile, "ajenyi" and "âhura" fish.
Ba-Kâ		Wukari and Akyekura	crocodile, manatee, "aputsô," and "ahura".
Ba-Mebai		Dampar	crocodile, leopard, reedbuck.
Ba-Bi		Dampar	crocodile, leopard, reedbuck.
Jenda-Kegabi		Dampar	crocodile, leopard, reedbuck.
Jenda-Gewai		Dampar	crocodile, leopard, reedbuck.
Kaku		Dampar	crocodile, manatee, ajenyi fish.
Ba-Tsinyendo		Wukari	"gwaza" (a tuber), crocodile.
Ba-Kya		Wukari	manatee, "aputsô" and "ahura" fish.
Hwâye		Wukari and Donga.	crocodile, "ajenyi" fish, "kaka" tree, and dog.

It will be observed that amongst all Wukari Jukun the crocodile is a sacred animal. Anyone seeing the dead body of a crocodile will take a piece of charcoal and draw a stroke down his forehead, as though mourning a dead relative. Similarly, to most Jukun, lions (though not included in the above list) are treated with reverence, for they seem to be regarded either as the counterpart of living chiefs or as embodying the souls of dead chiefs.

The prominence assigned to various species of fish is noteworthy, but not surprising in peoples so closely associated with the

Benue River. The manatee is sacred to many peoples on the Niger and Benue, e.g. to the Mande ¹ (among whom it is known as "ma"), Kebbawa, Kede, and Yoruba.

The reasons assigned for the respect shown to the various animals are usually that the respected animals at one time assisted the escape of the forefathers of the people who respect them. Thus the Ba-Pi and others assert that they respect the crocodile because, when forced to fly before the enemy, they were carried across the river by a crocodile. They respect the manatee, because a manatee prevented a hippopotamus from interfering with the crocodile. One Jukun kindred respects the turtle-dove, because turtle-doves covered up the footprints of their forefathers so that they were able to conceal themselves from their pursuers. The Kpati of Takum and the Jukû respect the tortoise and water-tortoise (or turtle?) for a similar reason. The Ba-Tsinyendo avoid eating the "gwaza" tuber because in war the Ba-Tsinyendo concealed themselves from their enemies by hiding under the leaves of the gwaza plant. The reasons assigned are of interest, for in the instances just given (which are those commonly given elsewhere in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria) the animal would seem to be respected on kinship rather than religious grounds. On the other hand, the respect shown to the python appeared, in all Jukun units, to be due purely to religious and not to kinship ideas. Thus at Gwana the python is taboo to the Abaka and Binkari kindreds because both these kindreds possess the Wipong cult, to which the python is a sacred animal. The python is, therefore, taboo as food to the priests of the cult, and by extension to all the members of the priests' kindred. One of the Ba-Pi at Wukari said that his kindred respected the python because this serpent indicated by its curled position the site on which a sacred enclosure (which is always circular) should be built. Another of the Ba-Pi made the important remark that he only respected the python because his father held a certain religious office, and that if his father vacated that office he would cease to continue to refrain from eating python's flesh. Unfortunately, my notes do not show the character of the office mentioned, but I have little doubt that the informant's father was the officiating priest of the cult of Wipong. A member of another

¹ See Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, i, p. 199.

family stated that he might not burn the wood of the "akpa" tree as the leaves of this tree are used in connection with his lightning cult of Achu-Nyande. But he might cut the tree down. He may not drink rain-water that falls directly into a calabash, as such water is sacred to the god of lightning. I did not investigate closely the question of taboo animals at Kona, but I made a note there that most of the custodians of cults avoided eating certain animals, one of which was the python. It was also stated at Kona that no one in charge of any religious cult might drink from a calabash decorated with poker-work designs. This taboo is frequent in Nigeria, and indicates that poker-work was of late introduction.

It will be seen from these remarks that the whole question of totems or taboos or emblems or whatever we like to call them is, among the Jukun, in a confused condition, I had no opportunity of giving special attention to the subject, and I must confess that the distinction between the kinship and religious aspects of the subject did not occur to me until I came to review my notes.

A few remarks may be added about the reputed effects of the breach of the various taboos. If a Jukun eats a manatee his hands and toes will wither (like a manatee's). If he eats an "ahura" or "aputsô" fish his body will become spotted like those fish. If a Hwâye eats the fruit of the "kaka" tree his hair will disappear and his head become like the fruit of the tree. The reed-buck is taboo because of his stripes, and so on. Are these animals and fish taboo because, on the principle that like produces like, the eating of spotted animals might produce leprosy? This thought is certainly present, for one Jukun informant asserted that if he ate the prohibited "ajenyi" (spotted) fish he would be assailed with leprosy. Another stated that if he ate any of the flesh of the *varanus niloticus* lizard his eyelids would become like those of the *varanus niloticus*. I have not observed the eyelids of the *varanus niloticus*, but the informant believed that they resembled those of a man assailed with blindness. It may be, therefore, that some animals become "totems" on grounds of so-called "sympathetic magic".

It may be noted, in conclusion, that a wife begins to respect her husband's taboo animals as soon as she becomes enceinte, and that she continues to do so until the child is weaned.

The Extended Family and Household.—So far we have been considering the larger social groupings among the Jukun, i.e. the groups of extended families which we have described as kindreds (though they may originally have been clans, or local groups of clans, or village kinship groups), and we have seen that the organization is of a flaccid and indeterminate character. The most important form of social grouping is not the larger group but the smaller, not the kindred but the extended family. The extended family can best be studied by an examination of the composition of a number of households in different areas, and when this has been done we shall be in a position to form an estimate of the extent of mother-right conditions, the rules governing inheritance, the custody of children, and other matters of social importance. The method of presenting the data may be considered tedious, but specific examples are of more scientific value than generalized summaries.

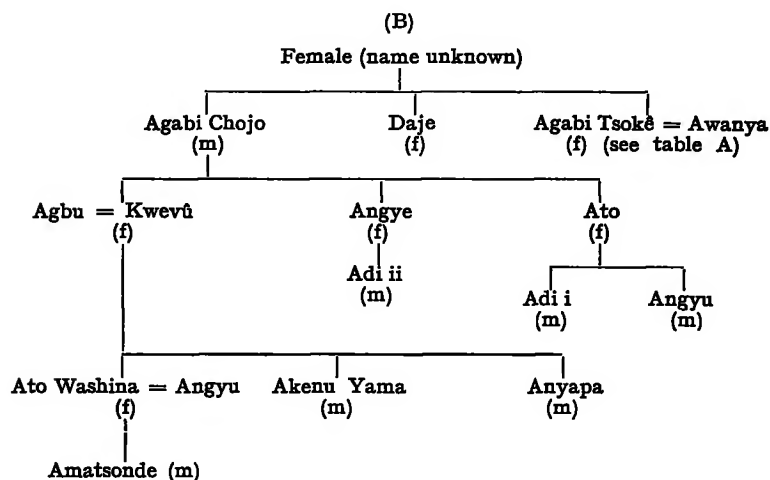
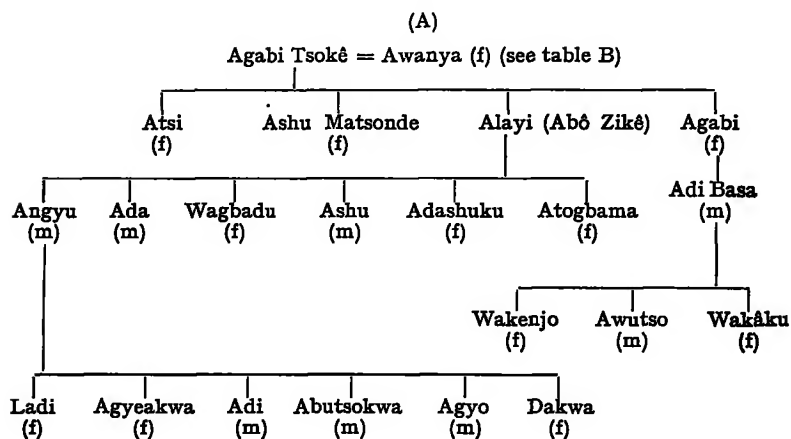
The first example is that of the household of Ashôshu of Wukari. It may be stated at once that, although Ashôshu is head of an important Jukun household, he is not himself a Jukun. He is a slave bought by the mother of the late Alayi, the former head of the household and the holder of the important title of Abô Zikê. Ashôshu proved himself to be a man of such personality and straightforward character that he came to be regarded by the Abô Zikê as a bosom friend and brother. Before he died the Abô Zikê formally handed over to Ashôshu the family cults of Kenjo and Akwa, and he made it known to all the members of the household that Ashôshu was to be his successor as head of the family group. Normally the headship would have passed to Adi Basa, the son of Alayi's sister, who would also have been the principal inheritor of Alayi's personal property. But, as Adi Basa's conduct had never been satisfactory in the eyes of his maternal uncle (Alayi), the latter made it known to all those who regularly attended his religious rites, and also to the king himself, that he wished his property to go to his son and not to his sister's son. He disclosed to his son where his property lay, and when he died his son took immediate possession. These facts are of interest, firstly as showing the position which may be attained by a slave, and secondly as showing that the normal rules of inheritance may be modified by testament. It need not be assumed from this example that succession to property

normally follows the matrilineal principle, for, if the household has a bilateral character, the principal inheritor may be either a son or a sister's son, whichever is the senior. In this case Adi Basa was the senior, and it is to be noted that, although he was disinherited in favour of his younger cousin, he is still a senior member of the household, and his younger cousin continues to treat him with the respect which a junior must always accord to a senior.

The household is composed of the following members in order of seniority :—

		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Senior males.	1. Ashôshu	—	—
	2. Adi Basa	Ba-Pi	Ba-Pi
	3. Madugu	Ba-Ma	Ba-Ma Zhê
	4. Amatsonde	Jukû	Ba-Kundi
	5. Tsokê (younger brother Madugu)	Ba-Ma	
	6. Angyu (son of Alayi)	Ba-Pi	Ankwe tribe.
	7. Ada (son of Alayi)	"	"
	8. Ashu (son of Alayi)	"	"
	9. Adi (son of Angyu)	"	Wurbo sub- tribe.
Junior males.	10. Dole (son of Nadugu)	Ba-Ma	"
	11. Abutsokwa (son of Angyu)	Ba-Pi	"
	12. Agyo (son of Angyu)	"	"
	13. Wutso (son of Adi Basa)	"	"
	14. Agabi (mother of Adi Basa)	"	—
Senior females.	15. Ato (widow of Alayi)	—	—
	16. Naba (widow of Alayi)	—	—
	17. Tokwa (mother of Madugu)	Ba-Ma Zhê	—
	18. Anubâ (mother of Angyu)	Ankwe tribe	—
	19. Atsibi (wife of Ashôshu)	Abando Shugbû	—
	20. Nyanivyâ (wife of Adi Basa)	Wurbo	—
	21. Adama (wife of Amatsonde)	Fulani tribe	Chamba tribe
	22. Abiji (wife of Angyu)	Wurbo sub- tribe	"
	23. Angye (wife of Angyu)	"	—
Junior females.	24. Atsibi (daughter of Adama's sister)	—	—
	25. Ladi (daughter of Angyu)	Ba-Pi	—
	26. Wakenjo (daughter of Angyu)	"	—
	27. Giakwa (daughter of Angyu)	"	—
	28. Adakwa (daughter of Angyu)	"	—
	29. Bayu (daughter of Madugu)	Ba-Ma	—
	30. Shokwa (daughter of Angyu)	Ba-Pi	—
	31. Wakâku (daughter of Adi Basa)	"	—

The following genealogical tables show the relationship of the male members and some of the females of the household :—



The relationship of Madugu to the other senior members of the household does not appear, and I could only gather that Madugu's maternal grandfather was a cousin of some kind to Agabi Tsokê.

It will be observed that this family group has a marked bilateral character, and it will be interesting to show, by tracing the history of one of the members, how the dual influences work among the Jukun.

Let us take the instance of Amatsonde. This name, which means "Ama (or God) has repudiated them", was given under the following circumstances: He was an undersized, weakly baby, and when his father and paternal uncle consulted the divining apparatus in order to discover the name which should be given to the child no answer was obtained. The matter was left therefore to the child's maternal relatives, but once more the divining apparatus refused to assign any of the family cult titles after which Jukun children are commonly named. In disgust the child's maternal grandfather exclaimed "Amatsonde" or "Ama has repudiated them", i.e. Ama has repudiated the child's parents. For it is a common belief among the Jukun that sickly children have been given grudgingly by Ama to the world and that Ama will soon recall them to Kindo.¹

Soon after his birth Amatsonde was taken care of by his mother's mother, but when the child reached the age of four his father's mother tried to tempt him to reside with her by showing him much kindness and holding out promises of better fare than he was at that time receiving. Amatsonde accordingly went to live with his father's mother, and stayed with her for a year or two. But tiring of the food in his paternal grandmother's home, he returned once more to his maternal grandmother.

When Amatsonde reached the age of nine, Alayi, the maternal first cousin of Amatsonde's maternal grandmother, took formal control of him. Amatsonde's father had died, but it was stated that, even if his father had been alive, he could not have prevented Alayi, who was the head of his mother's family, and was, moreover, a person of great influence in Wukari, from taking possession of the child. Alayi took the child to his own farm and put him through a course of instruction in agricultural work. For the first year he was taught to cut down small trees and to keep the farms weeded of grass. The second year he was instructed in the use of the hoe, and by the end of the third year he had become a competent farmer. He was not allowed to visit Wukari at any time during these years, for Alayi wished to remove him completely from the influence of his paternal relatives. After a year or two Adi i, a grandson of Alayi's maternal uncle, came to Alayi and asked for the custody of Amatsonde. Alayi gave his permission, on condition that

¹ i.e. the Under-world.

Amatsonde himself was agreeable. It will be observed that, on the classificatory principle, Adi i was a maternal uncle of Amatsonde's. Amatsonde refused at first to accede to Adi's request, but on the advice of Anyapa, another of Amatsonde's maternal uncles, he finally consented and lived with and worked for Adi for a number of years. He then ran away to Donga to attempt to make his living by trading. Before doing so he took his maternal grandmother into his confidence and gave her a small gift in order that she might pacify Adi. His grandmother, however, reported the lad's intentions to Alayi and to Adi, but by this time Amatsonde had taken his departure, and he remained at Donga for several years, despite constant efforts on the part of Adi and his other maternal uncles to induce him to return to Wukari. He returned eventually, however, and is now a member of the household which Alayi formerly controlled. It may be noted that none of the children of members of this household are at present residing with relatives elsewhere. Abutsokwa formerly went to reside with his maternal grandmother, but was not content and returned to his own home. Ladi, daughter of Angyu, also went to reside with her mother's relatives, but returned for a similar reason.

It may be of interest to make a few remarks on the organization of the above household with reference to the economic division of labour, the inheritance and control of cults, and some general matters of etiquette. As regards the economic activities the head of a household is usually the director of the farming operations of all the members of the household, specifying what crops shall be sown each year, and how and when. If the household is large he does not, as a rule, engage personally in the work of tilling, this being performed for him by those junior members of the family who are directly under his control. Apart from the general supervision exercised by the head of the household each group of the household farms on its own account, e.g. two brothers by the same mother may agree to farm together, or a man and a favourite cousin, or a father and son or sister's son. There is no real communism as regards the products of labour, for each group of the household enjoys the results of its own work. But one group will assist another on occasions such as harvest, which call for united effort, and all will see to it that the head of the household is supplied with

corn for his personal use and to meet the demands of hospitality. Sick members are assisted by all, and the unfortunate or lazy are not allowed to starve. But a lazy man will receive the censure of the head of the household, who will demand to know how the offender proposes to meet his tax, or find a new cloth for himself, or provide his wife with clothing. Persistent laziness is considered a grave moral offence, for a man who refuses to work is regarded as a potential thief, if he is not actually one already, not merely by the general public, but by the members of his own household. There will be further remarks to offer later on on the whole subject of the economic activities of the people, and we need only state here that in the household we are considering Ashôshu, the nominal head of the household, works on his own farm, contrary to the usual rule, and that he has no one to assist him but his wife. The second head of the household, Adi Basa, being a man of considerable importance, does no general farm work on his own account beyond cultivating an acre or two of cassava. He depends on the efforts of his son, and on gifts of corn given by his relatives in virtue of his position as the lineal head of the household. Madugu works a farm of his own and is assisted by his son and his wife, the latter performing the lighter duties such as clearing the ground of grass and plants, sowing and carrying home the harvested crop. Amatsonde relies mainly on trading for the support of himself and his wife and young children, but in addition he grows an acre or so of cassava each year. Tsoke has no farm, being a casual labourer. Angyu has a farm and is assisted by his younger brothers, Ada and Ashu, both of whom are still unmarried. When they marry they will each farm on their own account. Every married man has his own granary.

As regards the economic activities of the women there will be more to be said on this subject later, but it may be stated here generally that wives are entitled to hold property apart from their husbands, and to earn property for themselves (by selling wood, beer, or pottery, boiling salt, etc.) and dispose of it as they please. Many women have farms of their own and employ men to do the heavy work. Wives generally assist their husbands when the latter are in straitened circumstances. But husbands are bound to keep their wives in clothes. A wife would not stay long with a husband who persistently treated

her shabbily in this respect. Agabi, the wife of Adi Basa, is the senior woman of the household, but does not make any attempt to direct or control the economic activities of the other women. She is treated with the same respect by the women as is accorded by the men to Ashôshu, and on her falls the arduous duty of endeavouring to settle the numerous quarrels which arise among the female members of the household. She also directs the women's work of preparing the foods used in religious rites.

Every Jukun household is a religious organization. Before Alayi obtained the important public office of Abô Zikê he personally controlled the following family cults: (1) Akwa, (2) Atsî, (3) Agbadu, (4) Kenjo, (5) Aku Maga, (6) Ajê Ma, (7) Ando Bacho, and (8) Ata Jinako or Yoado—the cult of former slaves of the household.

On his election to his title he decided to distribute these cults among the other members of the household, for no important office-holder among the Jukun continues to serve personally as priest of his family cults, though it is incumbent on him to provide the sacrificial foods. The Akwa and Kenjo cults were accordingly handed over to Ashôshu, the Agbadu and Aku Maga to Adi Basa, the Astê and Ajê Ma to Madugu, and the Ando Bacho to Angyu. Offerings to Ata Jinako may be made by any member of the household. It is generally said among the Jukun that cults, like chieftainship, are inherited patrilineally, but in view of the above division of cults this statement has only a relative value. Much depends on circumstances, such as seniority and personal character. A Jukun gives due regard to the cults on both sides of his family, for he may be helped or injured equally by either. He attends therefore the religious rites of both his father's and his maternal uncle's household, and he may inherit some at least of his maternal uncle's cults. It is worth noting, incidentally, that an old woman whose male relatives are dead may inherit the family cults and requisition the services of her husband or sons when she wishes rites to be performed. She remains the owner of the cults, and gives the necessary directions as to the time for carrying out the rites. She also provides the sacrificial foods.

Questions of family etiquette will be discussed later, but it may be of interest to record here the rules observed in Ashôshu's

household with regard to the eating of meals. Grown-up males never eat in the company of women, nor with young persons of their own sex, Ashôshu, Adi Basa, Madugu, Amatsonde, Tsokê, and Angyu accordingly all share a common calabash at the evening meal. The food is brought to the eating enclosure by a small boy in calabashes containing the viands cooked by the several wives. The men first wash their hands in order of seniority, and then take their seats round the calabash, the younger men being careful to tuck their feet under them, as it is grossly disrespectful for younger men to sit otherwise in the presence of their seniors. There is no particular order of seniority in sitting round the calabash, but there is a regular ritual before all set-to to devour the food. All except Ashôshu place their left hands on the calabash to steady it, while Ashôshu inserts his hand and takes a fragment of the food, which he casts on the ground as an offering to the ancestors. Having done so he takes a piece of the porridge and, dipping it in the sauce, eats it. He is followed by each of the others present according to their seniority, which depends normally not on years but on the generation to which the individual belongs. After the first round all eat without discrimination. Remnants of the food are left for youths such as Ada and Ashu. In the absence of the most senior men a junior man such as Amatsonde might share his meal with the lads of the household. On the other hand, a householder who is an important official or priest eats entirely alone, and no one partakes of any food until the householder has finished his repast, which is regarded as a religious ceremony.

Among the women, *confarreatio* is practised to a lesser extent, partly because the various wives are more inclined to feuds, and partly because mothers prefer to eat with their children. Agabi, the senior female, eats in the company of her grandchild, Wakenjo. Ato eats alone. Naba usually shares her meal with Anubâ. Tokwa, being of a quarrelsome nature, refuses to eat her food with anyone save her grandchild, Bayu. Atsibi also eats alone. Adama, Abiji, and Angye eat together as long as they continue to be on friendly terms. Abiji may show her displeasure one evening by refusing to eat food cooked by Angye and thus break up the party! It may be noted that if two wives of one man have a serious quarrel the husband generally

avoids any attempt to settle the matter himself lest he should be accused of favouritism. He employs the services of some impartial friend.

The custom as regards the duty of cooking food also varies with the degree to which the grown-up women of the household are on good terms with one another. If they are all friendly they may take it in turns to cook for the whole household, but otherwise each wife will confine herself to cooking for her own husband and children.

A few further examples of the constitution of households may be given. Thus at Wukari the following were the male members of Akû's household :—

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Akû	Ba-Kya	Ba-Za
Agyoshoku (son of Akû's half-sister by same father)	Hwâye	Ba-Kya
Angyu (Akû's sister's daughter's son)	Nyatsô	Hwâye
Awudu (son of Agyoshoku's sister)	Ba-Kpwî	"
Bura (son of Agyoshoku)	Hwâye	Ba-Kya
Da Juma (son of Agyoshoku's daughter)	Ankwe tribe	Hwâye
Adiwunya (no relative of any of the above)		
Angyu (son of Adiwunya)		

It will be noted that Akû's household is composed principally of uterine relatives. Akû has no living brothers or sons, and his property will pass to his sister's son Agyoshoku. Akû's farm is worked for him by Agyoshoku, but each of the other grown-up members of the family has his own farm.

Other examples, not always complete, of households at Wukari were :—

<i>A. Asôbuhu's household.</i>		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Males.	Asôbuhu	Ba-Ku	Ba-Mbuhu.
	Abishimi (son of Asôbuhu's sister)	Abakwariga	"
	Tahwâ (son of Asôbuhu's sister).	"	"
	Hikô (son of Asôbuhu's sister).	"	"
	Wale (a distant maternal rela- tive of Asôbuhu).	Jibu sub- tribe	Jibu sub- tribe.

		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Females.	Mata (wife of Asôbuhu)	Aba-ke (Akiri)	Ba-Ma
	Wajô (wife of Asôbuhu)	—	—
	Agi (wife of Abishimi)	Wurbo sub- tribe	Ba-Ma.

Two interesting facts emerged as regards this household, (a) that the three sons of Asôbuhu's sister, though their father was a non-Jukun, reckon themselves as Jukun, i.e. they trace their descent in the female line. But it was admitted that if they returned to their father's household they would call themselves Abakwariga. (b) They stated that their mother's kindred was Ba-Mbuhu (and not Ba-Ku), or, in other words, in giving their mother's kin they indicated her maternal relatives and not her paternal. It will be noted that Asôbuhu himself bears the name of his mother's kindred, though when asked the name of his kin he mentioned his father's kin first and his mother's second. This is one of the many indications received that the Jukun have only in recent times passed from a matrilineal system to the present bilateral system of reckoning descent.

		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
B. Ashu's family.			
Males.	Ashu	Hwâye sub- tribe	Hausa tribe.
	Aji (son of Ashu)	„	Ba-Ma.
	Abe (son of Ashu's "sister")	Wurbo sub- tribe	Hausa tribe.
	Gambo (a son of Ashu's "sister")	„	„
	Maimako (a son of Ashu's "sister")	Kanuri tribe	„
Females.	Ashuwi (wife of Ashu)	Wurbo sub- tribe	Ankwe tribe.
	Ato (wife of Aji)	Jibu sub- tribe	Tikare tribe.
	Sana (wife of Abe)	Abakwariga tribe	Abakwariga
	Juma (wife of Gambo)	„ „	Hwâye

This again is a household formed (with the exception of Aji) on a purely matrilineal basis. This was further proved when it was found that Abe, who was described as a son of Ashu's sister, was in reality the son of Ashu's mother's sister's daughter. The heterogeneous character of the tribal elements represented in this household is a good example of the way in which the Jukun tribe is being disintegrated.

C. <i>Agabi Ku's family.</i>		
	<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Agabi Kû	Tsupa	Jukû
Audu (full brother of Agabi)	"	"
Angyu (full brother of Agabi)	"	"
Adashuku (half-brother of Agabi by same father).	"	Wurbo sub- tribe.
Jibaniya (son of Angyu)	"	Ba-Pi.
Ashuku (son of Agabi's father's brother)	"	Abakwariga
Asôjô (half-brother of Agabi by same father)	"	Ba-Pi.
Gambo (brother of Ashuku)	"	Abakwariga.
Angye (brother of Ashuku)	"	"
Atê (son of Agabi's sister)	Ba-Ma	Tspua.

This household, unlike the previous, is, with the exception of Atê, constituted on a patrilineal basis. Atê came to reside with his maternal uncle on the death of his father.

D.		
	<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Agyo Dihwe	Ba Kundi	Ba-Kundi.
Adi (son of Agyo)	"	Ba-Pi.
Ato (brother of Agyo)	"	Ba-Kundi.
Angyetsokwa (son of Agyo)	"	Ba-Pi.
Amadu (son of Agyo)	"	Ba-Kundi.
Ashu (brother of Agyo)	"	"
Agyowesa (son of Agyo's sister)	"	"
Atsi (daughter of Agyo's sister)	"	"
Agida (daughter of Agyo's sister)	"	"

This household is of a dual character. It was said that Agyowesa preferred his uncle's home to his father's.

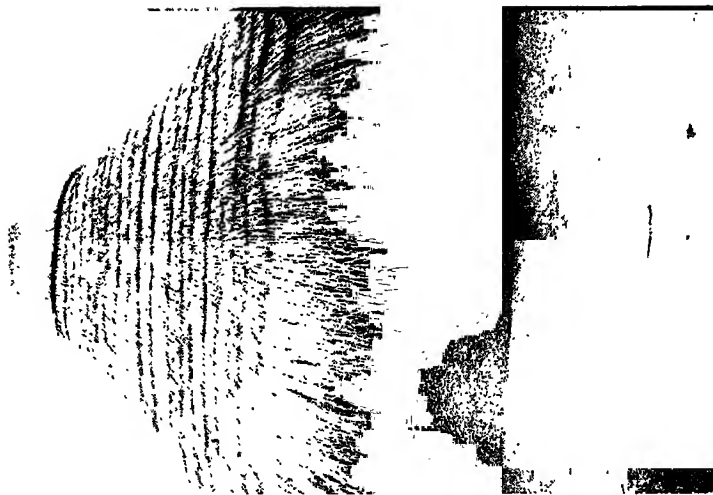
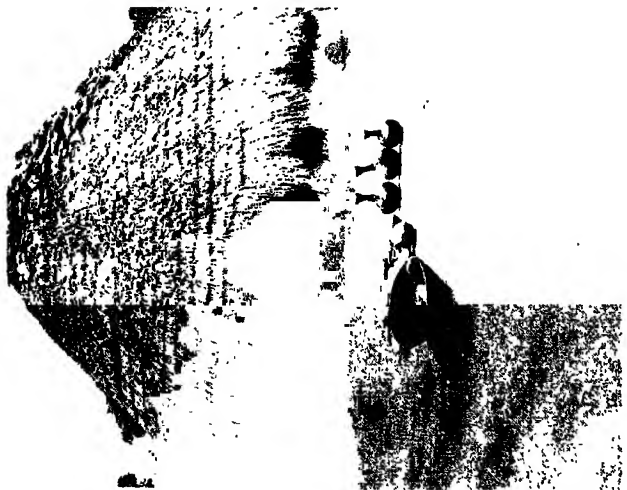
E.		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
Males.	Atsi	Wurbo sub-tribe	Jukû
	Angyu (half-brother of Atsi by same father)	"	Ba-Sa
	Angye (half-brother of Atsi by same father).	"	"
	Tsokê (half-brother of Atsi by same father).	"	"
	Sasê (son of sister of Atsi's mother).	Jukû	Ba-Zhê
	Audu (son of Atsi)	Wurbo	Ba-Vu
	Agyo (son of Atsi)	"	"
Females.	Agida (mother of Angyu)	Ba-Sa	Ba-Vu
	Kenso (wife of Atsi)	Ba-Vi	—
	Wakimbo (wife of Angyu)	Ankwe tribe	Ankwe tribe.
	Agidda (elder sister of Sasê)	Jukû	Ba-Ahe.

Agidda is only temporarily resident in this household. She has brought with her two male children, who are taking up permanent residence with their maternal uncle Sasê.

F.		<i>Father's kindred.</i>	<i>Mother's kindred.</i>
{	Asêto	Ba-Hwanje	Ba-Sa.
	Awudu (son of Asêto)	"	?
	Agida (daughter of Asêto's sister)	Ba-Pi	Ba-Sa.
	Ati (son of Agida's daughter)	—	—

This household has a matrilineal character. Agida returned to her maternal uncle's home on the death of her husband. Asêto has another son, who is now residing with his maternal uncle.

Before going on to consider the character of Jukun households in other localities it may be noted that it is not uncommon to find, among the Jukun, households controlled by females belonging to one or other of the royal families. The sister or daughter

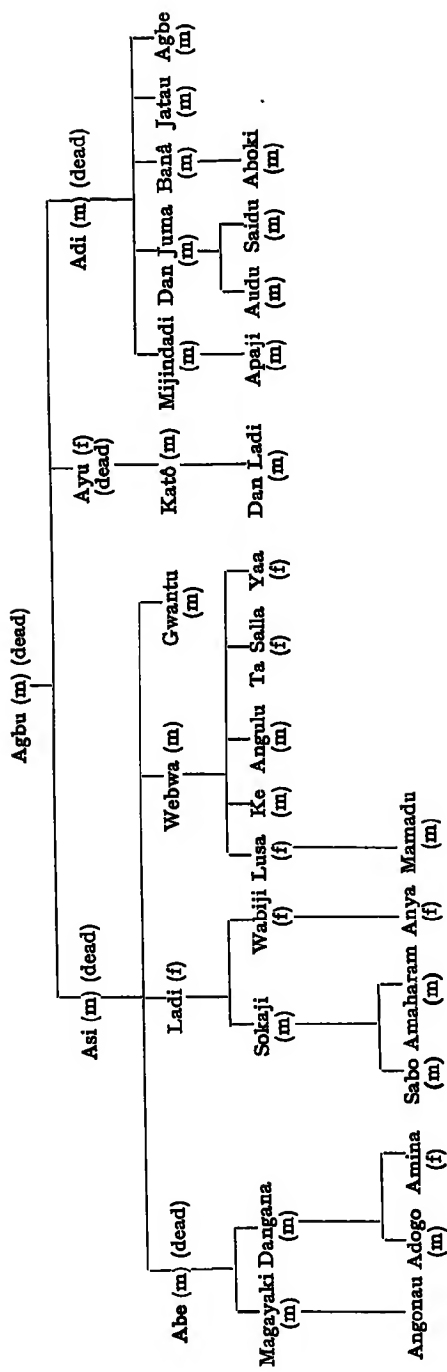


TYPES OF HUTS AT DAMBAR

of a chief or a former chief is given by the chief a compound of her own if she is a matron of discretion and some influence. In this household she reigns supreme, her husband taking a secondary place. If her husband displeases her she can order him out of the house and thereby dissolve the marriage. She collects around her various relatives from both sides of her family, and in former times also was the possessor of numerous slaves. She has complete control over all the male members of the household (as well as of the female), and she can require them to work on her farms. Her husband may have a farm of his own or he may work on his wife's farm, being dependent on his wife for his subsistence. All children born in the household are normally at the disposal of the chief, as are indeed the children of all members of the royal family, male and female. These royal matrons are known as *Angwu ku wa uwa*. One of these at present residing in Wukari was a daughter of the Arago chief of Keana, but her mother was a daughter of Zikenyu, formerly king of Wukari. On the death of her father she returned to her mother's city and was there assigned a compound of her own. Among the numerous members of her household are a son, the Angwu's sister, and a son of her brother.

Turning now to the Dampar district a few examples of the constitution of households there may be given. The first example is of the household of Webwa, one of the principal officials at Dampar and an elder half-brother (by the same mother) of the present chief of Dampar. The household consists of four sections and coincides roughly with one of the royal kindreds, viz. the Ba-Dashu.

The following genealogical table will help us to understand the relationship of the principal members of the household :—



The members of the household are as follows in order of seniority :—

MALES.

1. Webwa.
2. Katô, son of the sister of Webwa's father.
3. Gwantu, younger half-brother of Webwa (by the same father).
4. Mijindadi, son of Webwa's father's half-brother (by the same father).
5. Dan Juma, son of Webwa's father's half-brother (by the same father).
6. Banâ, son of Webwa's father's half-brother (by the same father).
7. Jatau, son of Webwa's father's half-brother (by the same father).
8. Agbe, son of Webwa's father's half-brother (by the same father).
9. Magayaki, son of Webwa's elder half-brother (by the same father).
10. Dangana, son of Webwa's elder half-brother (by the same father).
11. Sokaji, son of Webwa's sister.
12. Asôbadu, younger brother of Mijindadi's wife.
13. Ke, son of Webwa.
14. Dan Ladi, son of Katô.
15. Angulu, son of Webwa.
16. Apaji, son of Mijindadi.
17. Audu, son of Dan Juma.
18. Sabo, son of Sokaji.
19. Amaharam, son of Sokaji.
20. Mamadu, son of Webwa's daughter.
21. Audu, son of Dan Juma.
22. Aboki, son of Banâ.
23. Saidu, son of Dan Juma.
24. Adogo, son of Dangana.

FEMALES

1. Ladi, mother of Webwa.
2. Akwa, senior wife of Webwa.
3. Akwa ii, junior wife of Webwa.
4. Maikai, wife of Katô.
5. Banaji, wife of Gwantu.
6. Amina, wife of Gwantu.
7. Adiza, wife of Gwantu.
8. Ajô, wife of Mijindadi.
9. Awa, wife of Mijindadi.
10. Ankwei, wife of Dan Juma.

11. Fatu, wife of Banâ.
12. Adasha, wife of Banâ.
13. Mai Idanu, wife of Jatau.
14. Agi, wife of Jatau.
15. Teni, wife of Agbe.
16. Shettu, wife of Magayaki.
17. Babu, wife of Magayaki.
18. Awa, ward of Babu.
19. Asatu, wife of Dangana.
20. Ajuma, wife of Dangana.
21. Adija, wife of Sokaji.
22. Wabiji, daughter of Webwa's sister.
23. Ta Salla, daughter of Webwa.
24. Adama, daughter of Gwantu.
25. Ladi, daughter of Gwantu.
26. Lami, daughter of Gwantu.
27. Dila, daughter of Mijindadi.
28. Dudu, daughter of Banâ.
29. Aketo, daughter of Jatau.
30. Shettu, daughter of Sokaji.
31. Matan Masa, daughter of Sokaji.
32. Anya, daughter of Wabiji.

It will be observed that this household or extended family has a bilateral character, for though it is composed in the main of patrilineal descendants, it contains two groups of uterine descendants, viz. those represented by Katô and Sokaji. Katô was claimed by his maternal uncle while he was still a child, and, though his father belonged to the Ankwe tribe, he regards himself as a Jukun because his mother was a Jukun. He is permitted to enter any Jukun enclosure, a privilege not ordinarily accorded to members of the Ankwe tribe. Sokaji only joined his mother's family group on the death of his father. His father's relatives offered no opposition, and he was allowed to inherit his father's cults and transfer them to his new home. His marriage was arranged by his maternal uncle Webwa.

It may be remarked that Webwa himself was brought up in the home of his maternal uncle, but returned to his father's home on the death of his maternal uncle: the reverse process of that followed by Sokaji. Webwa was no doubt influenced by the fact that his father's family was a royal family.

The presence of Wabiji in the household is due to the circumstance that she is a widow. She was originally given

in marriage by her maternal uncle Webwa, Wabiji's own father having little say in the matter and receiving a minor portion only of the bride-price. On the death of her husband she rejoined the family group of her mother, and if she wishes to remarry, the matter will be arranged by her maternal uncle Webwa. It was remarked incidentally that if Wabiji were to conceive before re-marriage she would receive a formal censure from her uncle, but the uncle naïvely added that his wrath at his sister's breach of etiquette would be compensated for by the consideration that he could claim the child as his own !

Webwa will not, however, have any direct say in the marriage of Wabiji's daughter Anya, for it is a common rule among the Jukun that a man does not arrange the marriages of persons who are two generations junior to himself. A father or uncle is entitled to the bride-price of daughters or nieces, but it would be unfair to his own children if he were to claim the bride-price of grandchildren. It may be on this account, and not for other reasons, such as re-incarnation ideas (as I have suggested elsewhere) that there is an absence of social restraint between relatives who are two generations apart. If this is so it would appear that the elaborate systems of social etiquette such as I have recorded in numerous reports are based on the principle that respect must be shown to those who are in the position of being able to bestow a wife or husband, if they have not done so already. The arrangement of the marriage of Anya will accordingly be left to Sokaji, her maternal uncle. Similarly Webwa, though head of the household, is not responsible for arranging the marriage of Sokaji's children. This will be arranged by Sokaji himself, but it was added that the brothers of Sokaji's wife would have a principal say in the matter, and that one at least of Sokaji's sons is likely to go and take up permanent residence with his maternal uncle.

It will be seen from these instances that matrilineal practices are still potent among the Dampar Jukun, in spite of the strong patrilineal influence of the Fulani.

As regards the custody and control of the other children of Webwa's household, the whole matter was complicated by the circumstance that the Ba-Dashu are a royal family, and that the chief is, therefore, regarded as their "father". Thus though Webwa, as head of the household, can call on the economic

services of any junior member of the household, he has no ultimate authority of his own. Even his own children are all at the disposal of the chief. His sons Ke and Angulu may be summoned at any time to take up residence in the palace or to work on the chief's farms. The hand of his daughter Ta Salla is entirely at the disposal of the chief. The suitor for her hand would work on the chief's farm, and not on Webwa's; the chief and not Webwa would be responsible for her wedding trousseau.

A note may be made at this point about three other relatives of Webwa's. Webwa's brother's son Dangana has a female child Amina. This child has been handed over to the custody of Dangana's sister. Children are often handed over to relatives on either side of the family who have no particular claim, for friendship's sake. If any young man seeks Amina in marriage he will approach in the first instance the husband of Dangana's sister. The latter will refer him to his elder brother Magayaki, who in turn will refer the suitor to the head of the household, viz. Webwa. Finally Webwa will refer the matter to the chief. The chief will receive the bride-price and hand a portion to Amina's maternal uncle, and something also to Webwa, Magayaki, and Dangana. But in virtue of his position as chief, he is at liberty to retain the whole amount.

Awa, the ward of Babu, is the daughter of Babu's brother. In this case the reason given for custody was that before Awa was weaned her mother conceived. As the milk of a pregnant woman is considered dangerous, Awa was handed over to the care of her husband's sister. Awa may remain with Babu until she is of marriageable age, and in this event a suitor will approach Babu and her husband, who will refer the suitor to Awa's father and mother, the latter in turn referring him to her brother. The suitor would be required to perform agricultural service on the farm, (a) of Awa's father, and (b) of Awa's maternal uncle. The bride-price would be paid to Awa's father, who would give one-half to Awa's maternal uncle. From his own share he would give one-half to Babu, who would in turn give a portion to her husband.

Asôgbadu, who lives and works with Mijindadi, is the younger brother of Mijindadi's wife. This young man spent his early years in the household of his father. On the latter's death he

went to live in his maternal uncle's home, but being discontented there, came to reside with his brother-in-law. He is still unmarried, but when he wishes to marry he will receive assistance from Mijindadi, with whom he has lived and worked. Though not a member of the household on grounds of kinship, he is treated like any other member of the household, and if he were to get into difficulties he could count on the assistance of the senior member of the household, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of his sister.

As regards the rules of succession there is, similarly, a good deal of confusion. When Webwa's maternal uncle died Webwa inherited his uncle's most precious possession, viz. his canoe. But he handed over to his maternal uncle's son all the standing crops and grain in the granaries. He stated that he would eventually re-transfer the canoe to his uncle's son.

On the other hand it was stated that, if Webwa were to die, his and the family property would not be taken by Katô, the next senior member of the household, on the ground that Katô was a uterine relative. There is even a Jukun proverb which says, "When the cock is present the hen does not crow" (*Kwa wunu guturi kwa war da gitto ma*). But Webwa would inherit Katô's property, though only because Katô's son is very young; and it was added that if Webwa devoured the estate, Katô's son would have a large claim on the estate of Webwa.

On the whole, it would appear that, in former times, when children were accustomed to a greater extent to reside with their maternal uncles, succession was more matrilineal than it is to-day, and that during the last generation the general principle has been that the senior relative who has lived with you and worked for you shall be the chief inheritor, to whatever side of the family he may belong.

In concluding this review of Webwa's household a few remarks may be made about the domestic and economic arrangements. The compound was arranged as follows: Webwa and Mijindadi shared one section, Katô another, Gwantu another, and Sokaji another. Dan Juma, Banâ, Magayaki, Dangana, and Jatau each had his own quarters. Audu had only the hut in which he slept. On the outskirts of the residential quarters was the fenced enclosure of matting, which was divided into two halves, the inner half containing the family shrines, and

the outer half being used by the senior males for eating their meals. On the other side of the compound was the hut specially assigned to women for use during menstruation. Only two of the married men, viz. Sokaji and Gwantu, had separate huts for their own use. The others slept in the hut of one of their wives. Each wife had her own hut, which she shared with her young children. But when her husband shared her hut at night, the children might be sent to sleep in the huts of other women of the compound.

Children sleep in their mother's hut until they reach the age of puberty, when they are given separate huts. But a number of grown-up children of the same sex may share a single hut. Thus Ke, Angulu, and Mamadu occupied a single hut. Wabiji, the widow, had no hut of her own, but slept in the hut of one or other of the wives of Gwantu. A husband with more than one wife spends two successive nights with each.

Each section of the compound had its own kitchen, and each married man his own farm, and granaries. At the time of my visit (in November), the household foodstocks had been entirely consumed, and, pending the harvest, the members were living solely on maize, stacked on the maize farms close to the river. The household depended wholly on agriculture. But two of the members engaged to a small extent in fishing. There was no property at all in the form of livestock.

Each section of the household is economically an independent unit, but each helps the other when necessary, and all contribute corn for the entertainment of strangers and for the religious rites. The procedure at meals in this household was that Webwa and Katô, being important men, ate their meals together before the others from the various calabashes of food provided by the several wives. When they had finished they were followed by Gwantu, Mijindadi, and the other grown-up men. Ke, Angulu, and Mamadu ate in company outside the enclosure. So also Sabo and Amharam. By the time the calabashes reach the younger lads there is very often little porridge and no sauce left!

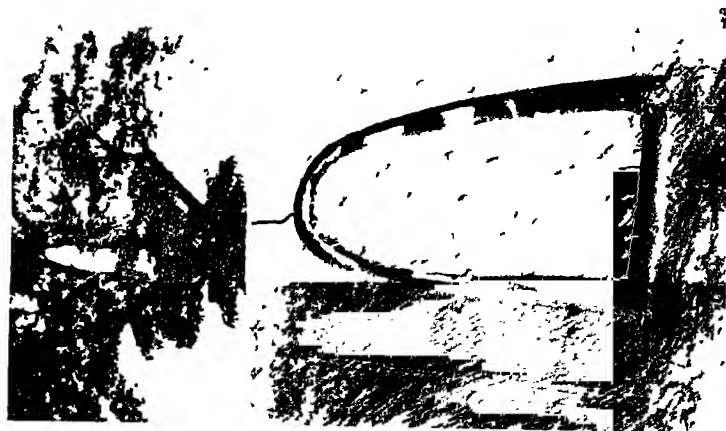
Another household investigated at Dampar was found to consist solely of patrilineal relatives, the senior male members being half-brothers (by the same father) or paternal cousins of the householder. The householder stated that he spent the



THE INTERIOR OF A KONA HUT



A HUT READY FOR THATCHING (KONA)



CUTTING OUT THE DOORWAY (KONA)

whole of his youth in the home of his maternal uncle, but that he returned at the age of 20 to the home of his father, who arranged his marriage. When his maternal uncle died he was given a small share of the estate. The only other noteworthy point about this household was that the head of the household had married his second cousin, his wife's maternal grandmother having been the sister of his paternal grandfather.

A cursory examination of the chief's household at Dampar showed that it was of a very composite character. It contained the following relatives: (1) son of father's sister, (2) three younger brothers by the same father, (3) two sons of father's brother, (4) son, (5) mother's sister's daughter's son, (6) three sister's sons, (7) a sister's daughter's son. In addition he had the custody of a wife's sister's son, and a wife's brother's son.

He had eighteen wives, of whom he had inherited ten from his predecessor, two from his deceased paternal cousin, and one from his deceased younger brother. The others he had married as virgins. He has given one of his daughters to his father's younger brother, and another to his elder sister.

The following example will illustrate roughly the character of a Kona household. The household included:—

1. Vinmu—the householder.
2. Kanemai—Vinmu's mother.
3. Kiro and Aku—Vinmu's wives.
4. Kākani—Vinmu's half-brother (by the same father).
5. Setu—wife of Kākani.
6. Nimitai—son of Vinmu's sister.
7. Indaikai—daughter of Vinmu's sister.
8. Aniya—Vinmu's son.
9. Mariamu and Hawau—Vinmu's daughters.

Vinmu is head of the household; that is, he is "father" of all the members of the household. He is the court of appeal in all disputes, and his decision is law.

If Kākani were to thrash his wife, she would appeal to Vinmu, who would demand an explanation from Kākani of his conduct. If she fled to her parents, the latter would complain to Vinmu, and not to Kākani. Vinmu is also the director of economic activities in the household, specifying the crops that shall be sown each year, the mode of distribution of labour, and so on. Kākani, however, being married, may at any time set up a separate compound and farm on his own account; though

maintaining a close association with Vinmu, of whose property he will be the principal inheritor.

Vinmu, it will be noted, is not himself the head of his own kindred group. This position is held by a paternal uncle, who lives in a separate compound, whom Vinmu regards as his father, and to whom he appeals for guidance and assistance when necessary.

Nimtai, the son of Vinmu's sister, is residing under the custody of Vinmu, because the latter, being a member of one of the royal families, was entitled to claim his sister's son, the sister having been given in marriage for a nominal bride-price of twenty-five currency bars. Nimtai is senior in years to Kâkani, but occupies a junior position, as Kâkani belongs to a senior generation. Thus, in the absence of Vinmu, Kâkani acts as the head of the household; and if Vinmu, Kâkani, and Nimtai were to take a journey together, the duty of carrying the load would fall on Nimtai. Moreover, Nimtai would, even in public, be compelled to carry the load of Vinmu's small son Aniya, on the ground that he is a commoner (descent being reckoned patrilineally), whereas Aniya is a member of one of the royal families.

Nevertheless, Nimtai has privileges which the other members of the family have not, as he can appropriate any of Vinmu's property should he so desire. He is treated with the same consideration accorded to sons; and if he were treated disrespectfully by Aniya the latter would receive a sound thrashing from his father.

Vinmu has another son. But as the mother has not yet taken up formal residence in Vinmu's home the child is not legally his, and belongs to the mother's relatives.

Among the rural Jibu the household is of a totally different character to that found in any of the other Jukun group, for the reason that the Jibu follow a unilateral mother-right system, with matrilocal marriage, and matrilineal succession to property. Husbands live in the homes of their wives, and if the marriage is dissolved the children remain with the mother. A Jibu household is characterized, therefore, by the presence of sons-in-law. To take an example, the household of Jobdi of the village of Bashishir consists of Jobdi and his wife, their four grown-up daughters, and four sons-in-law. It also includes Jobdi's grown-up son, who is the husband of Jobdi's deceased brother's daughter.

Jobdi became the guardian of this girl because she had no living maternal relatives, and in due course she married Jobdi's son. Jobdi has another married son who is living in the home of his wife's mother.

A second example of a Jibu household may be given, though it is hardly typical, as it is that of a village chief. It consists of :—

(a) The chief, who is a widower.

(b) Sarkin Samari, and his wife Fanta. Fanta is the chief's deceased sister's daughter. Sarkin Samari has living with him his sister's unmarried son (named Hore).

(c) Dogo and his wife Sangko. Sangko is the daughter of the chief's father's sister's son. When the latter died the chief married his widow (i.e. the mother of Sangko). The widow died, and Sangko, who had married Dogo, continued to live with her step-father.

(d) Buba, and his wife Jumba. Jumba is the sister of Dogo. Buba was formerly married to a woman of Garbabi. He had two children by her. He quarrelled with her, and when he left her home he was not allowed to take her children with him.

(e) Dan Wanzan with his wives (1) Mairam and (2) Kai. Kai has a young child, Jiberu.

It is unusual for a Jibu to have two wives, but the circumstances were as follows :—

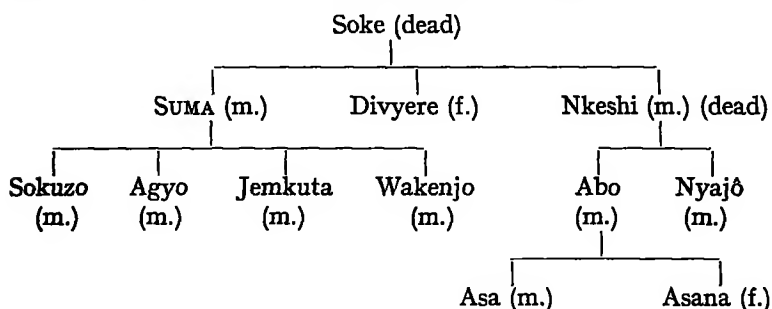
Dan Wanzan on her marriage with Mairam took up his abode in the house of Mairam's maternal uncle. The marriage was unfruitful, and Dan Wanzan sought, and obtained, the permission of his wife's uncle to take his wife to the home of the chief, who was a distant relative of Dan Wanzan. Close to his new home lived Kai with her mother.

Dan Wanzan was allowed to marry Kai, spending alternate nights in his own home with Mairam, and in that of Kai's mother with Kai. Kai's mother was a widow, and as she had four married daughters living with her, she allowed Kai as a special favour to go and live in Dan Wanzan's home, which was only a few hundred yards away. The reason for this concession was that as Kai's mother had already four sons-in-law to provide for her household, she could afford to dispense with the economic services of Dan Wanzan. It will be observed that in some cases the headship of a household, under the matrilocal system, may be held by a woman. Normally, however, it is held by a man ; for when the head of a household dies he is usually succeeded by his senior son-in-law.

The matrilineal rule, it may be observed, is not observed by the chiefs.

We may conclude this examination of Jukun households by giving two examples from the groups known as the Kpwâtê and Hwâye. These two groups are of non-Jukun origin, but they have become so closely affiliated with the Jukun that they are commonly described as Jukun. They are located at Donga, and Takum, and also at Wukari.

The following tree illustrates the constitution of the family of Suma, who is head of the Kpwâtê of Donga.



The members of this patrilineal family are not all located in a single household. The brother's sons Abo and Nyajô occupy a separate compound, and are economically independent of their paternal uncle, farming on their own account. Nevertheless, they recognize Suma as their "father" and protector, social and religious. They are dependent on his good-will, not merely for the assistance that a father is able to render his children, but also for the favours that the gods are able to confer on human beings. To incur the displeasure of Suma, their uncle, would be to jeopardize their relations with the divinities. Thus, though they are entitled to look for assistance to Suma in times of stress, they themselves are bound to render assistance on Suma's farm when required, and they are bound also to make to him a gift of a portion of their crop. Though the family of Suma has been described as patrilineal, the normal Kpwâtê and Hwâye family is of a bilateral type including, as a rule, a number of "sisters' sons". The absence of sisters' sons in Suma's family is, therefore, exceptional. At one time three sons of sisters lived with Suma, but all three died. Nor are any of Suma's children now living with their maternal uncle. Suma's eldest son, Sokuzo, once contracted a serious disease, and went to live with his

maternal uncle ; but as soon as the disease was cured he returned to his father's home, though he was quite entitled to continue living with his uncle had he so desired. It appears to be quite a matter of choice among the Jukun whether a child lives in his father's or maternal uncle's home ; but the prevailing tendency at present is for the children to remain with their father unless the maternal uncle's home offers exceptionally superior advantages, or unless the maternal uncle is so bereft of support that common humanity demands that he shall have the support of one of his nephews. The custom of betaking oneself to the home of the maternal uncle during illness appears to have little to do with mother-right conditions.

It is due rather to magico-religious ideas, the necessity of removing oneself from the evil influences that have caused the illness, influences believed to be due to the machinations of the jealous half-brothers (by the same father).

Suma has no sisters' sons who on his death might claim the main proportion of his property. Sokuzo, his eldest son, will, on his father's death, inherit his compound and the major part of his property. His paternal nephew, Abo, however, being senior to Sokuzo, will receive a share of the inheritance, and will also become the head of the family, e.g. he will take over the principal cults of his paternal uncle.

It may be asked why Abo should not also be a principal inheritor ; and this leads us to make an observation which is of some importance for the proper understanding of the family constitution. The principal inheritor is apt to be regarded by us as having absolute control over the property inherited ; but from the native point of view he may be merely an administrator or executor. It may happen that on a person's death, his brother may resign his rights of administration to some discreet son or sister's son of the deceased. When the brother himself dies, the fact that he had abstained from claiming the property of the deceased elder brother will influence the mode of the division of his own property. If on his brother's death he had assumed complete control of the estate, on his own death his brother's son would have a major claim. But if he had refrained from asserting his rights, on his own death his son or sister's son would have a claim surpassing that of a senior paternal nephew.

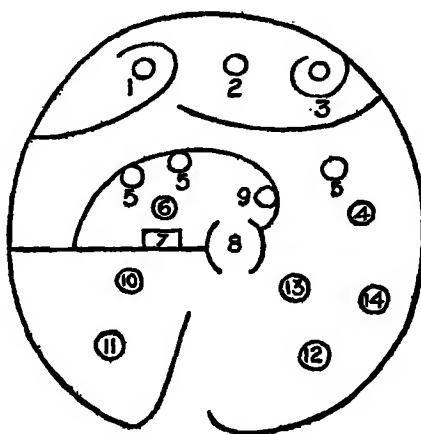
The only other facts worth mentioning are that Suma's daughter Wakenjo has been handed over to the care of Suma's

sister Divyere, the girl's mother being dead ; and that Abo's daughter Asana has been handed over to her maternal uncle. When Asana marries, her bride-price will be divisible equally between her father and her maternal uncle.

As regards the farming operations, Sokuzo, being a grown-up married man, farms on his own account, and is economically independent of his father. Nevertheless he gives a small proportion of his crop to his father at harvest in recognition of his father's duty in providing beer for the libations of the family cults.

He would also at any time provide his father with corn required for general purposes. Suma's two unmarried sons, however, farm entirely on their father's account ; that is to say, that Suma takes complete charge of the crop harvested, using it as he thinks fit.

The final example is that of the household of Ato of the Hwâye group of Jukun-speaking peoples. The plan of his compound is as follows :—



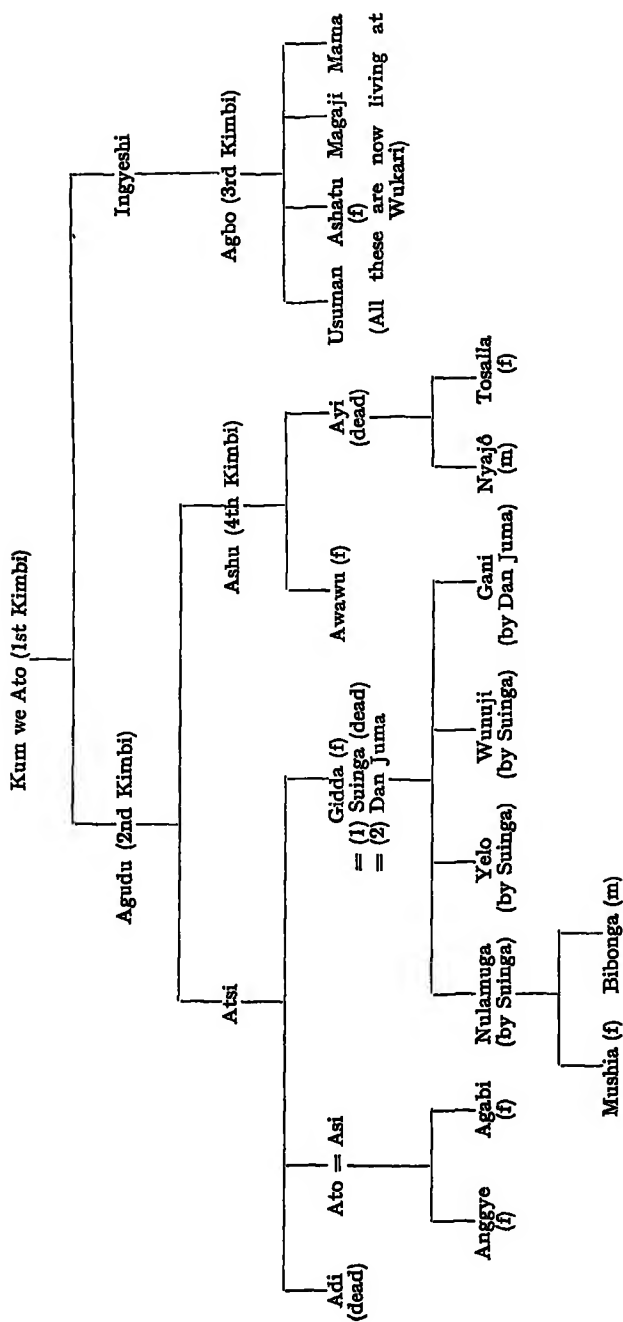
KEY

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Shrine of Yakum Agudu. | } All in the " biekò " or sacred enclosure. |
| 2. " Aku Maga. | |
| 3. " Akwa. | |
| 4. " Iyua ; not included in the sacred enclosure. | 5. Granaries. |
| 6. Hut of Ato and his wife, and her daughter by a former husband. | |
| 7. The private enclosure in which Ato takes his meals. | |
| 8. The entrance to Ato's section of the compound. | |
| 9. Hut in which the goats are housed at night. | 10. The kitchen. |
| 11. Hut of Yelo, son of Ato's sister (Gidda). | |
| 12. " Wunuji, " " " " " " " | |
| 13. " Nyajô, son of Ato's father's brother's daughter. | |
| 14. " Gidda, Ato's sister, | |

From the composition of this household, it might be inferred that the Hwàye are a matrilineal people ; but if we study the circumstances which have caused Ato's household to assume its present character we shall see that this is not so, and we shall also learn many interesting facts about Negro social life. To enable us to do this, it will be necessary to refer to the genealogical table of Ato's family on page 106.

The first point to observe is that Ato has no living brothers or sons. Otherwise one brother and at least one son would be living with him ; and the brother would inherit the compound and all the religious and social duties now performed by Ato. The second point is that the father of Ato's sister's sons (Nulamuga, Yelo, and Wunuji) is dead ; and this, to some extent, accounts for the circumstance that Yelo and Wunuji are living with their maternal uncle. But it may be asked why are they not living with their paternal uncle who succeeded their father as head of the patrilineal family. The answer is that, among all the Benue tribes, the position of the maternal uncle is so high that it is permissible for some at least of a man's children, during their father's lifetime, to abandon their father's home for that of their maternal uncle ; and on their father's death they have the right of living with their father's or mother's brothers as they see fit ; i.e. they may choose the home that offers the greatest advantages. The family is, therefore, to a considerable extent, bilateral. This is evidenced further in the rules governing inheritance ; for, though a man's compound and cults are inherited normally by brothers or sons, the major part of his movable property is heritable by brothers' and sisters' sons. (Custom, however, demands that the deceased's spear, hoe, and quiver are given to the eldest son.) Further, if a man dies and leaves a young son and a sister's son who is senior in years to the son, the sister's son may inherit, not merely the movable property, but also the compound and cults, holding the latter in trust for the son until the son reaches man's estate. It is not an invariable rule that in the absence of brothers the eldest son inherits the cults. If it appears to a father that his younger son is more discreet than his elder, he will train the younger son in all the ritual of the cults and express the wish, which amounts to a command, that on his death the cults shall pass into the care of the younger son.

ATO'S FAMILY TREE



Or it may happen that a sister's son has proved himself more suitable than a son as a custodian of the family cults ; hence it is that one commonly finds among the Jukun peoples a man in charge of both his father's and his maternal uncle's cults. In such cases the cults of the maternal uncle are only held temporarily ; they revert eventually to the direct descendants of the maternal uncle, reckoned patrilineally.

As regards the inheritance of widows the matrilineal rule is observed ; that is to say that widows are heritable by brothers' or sisters' sons, sons being excluded. A woman's property is heritable by a full sister or a half-sister by the same mother ; the sister giving to the deceased woman's children whatever proportion she considers fit. But a half-sister by the same father has no claim. This, again, is an instance of the matrilineal principle overriding the patrilineal ; and it is this principle which, in witchcraft cases, involved women who were half-sisters by the same mother. It will be seen from the evidence cited above, which is typical of most of the tribes in the Benue basin, that patrilineal and matrilineal principles may exist side by side. Whether this condition of society is static or dynamic cannot be decided with absolute certainty, but the general trend of the evidence coupled with tradition clearly suggests that most of the tribes of the Benue basin were at one time wholly matriarchal.

Reverting, however, to the details of family life among the Hwāye the composite character of the household has been noticed. There are other points worthy of remark. Ato's wife, for example, is his fourth wife ; his first wife, a cousin, left him within a year for some other man. His second wife died after having borne him two female children. His third wife was the widow of his sister's husband, i.e. he married his sister's co-wife. They quarrelled, and she left him.

His present wife is a woman who, accompanied by her daughter, left her former husband in consequence of a quarrel. (When this daughter marries, her father will take the major part of the bride-price, and her maternal uncle the minor. But the suitor will have to render agricultural service both to her father and to her maternal uncle.) Ato's sister, Gidda, has had two husbands. By the first she bore three sons, by the second, one. She has abandoned her second husband because the home provided by him did not suit her taste, as it involved an amount

of farm work, which, considering her years, she found to be excessive. There were psychological reasons also. Her son by her second husband had passed the stage demanding a mother's attention; her son by her first husband had begotten two children, a boy and a girl. On the arrival of the second child Gidda was asked by her daughter-in-law to undertake the charge of the first child. And thus at the present moment, Gidda is giving her undivided attention to her son's first-born.

The next duty in our examination of Ato's household is to ascertain how the household is supported, and what is the method of the division of labour. The main support of the family is the agricultural work of Yelo and Wunuji (sister's sons) and of Nyajô (son of Ato's father's brother's daughter). These three work together on one farm. Ato himself is over-old for much farm work, but he lends a hand as far as he is able.

Ato's wife and sister also assist in the cultivation of the main farm. The harvested corn is deposited in granaries for disposal by Ato as he thinks fit. From this Ato provides the daily food; and by selling the excess he is also able to provide his wives and nephews with clothes and other necessities.

Ato's wife, Wasa, and his sister, also have a small home-farm of their own. The former grows about an acre of bulrush-millet and cassava. For the heavier work she is assisted by her son (by a former husband) and her son's friends (on the co-operative principle), and by Ato's nephews, rewarding her helpers by providing them with beer whilst they are at work. The harvested crop is her own to dispose of as she pleases. She may convert the millet into beer which she sells, retaining the profits. She may hand over some of her profits to her husband, if he is hard pressed for his tax; and she may also on occasion provide the corn for the evening meal. Gidda similarly has a guinea-corn and cassava farm, and she contributes more than Ato's wife to the general needs of the household. Ato has less compunction in asking for assistance from his sister than from his wife. On the other hand, the duty of cooking falls primarily on Ato's wife, and not on his sister.

It is the wife's duty to cook the evening meal. There are no regular meals during the day, the members of the family being usually dependent on scraps left over from the meal of the previous evening, or on beer. Occasionally, perhaps twice a

week, Gidda may provide a mid-day meal, either from corn given by Ato or from her own stocks ; and occasionally also she may cook an evening meal in addition to that served by Wasa. Thus on some days food is more plentiful than on others.

As regards the payment of the household tribute, this is to a great extent a communal matter, all, including women, helping to the best of their ability. It is to be noted that members of the family who have left the household and built a compound for themselves, are economically independent of the head of the family ; they have their own farms. Nulamuga, for example, the eldest of Gidda's children and the principal heir to Ato's property, lives in a compound by himself. Gidda's youngest son by her second husband is living with his father.

A few general observations may now be made on the Jukun kinship system. We have seen that the maternal uncle exercises a dominating influence. No one can take any important step without consulting this relative. A Jukun, in fact, fears his maternal uncle more than his father or any paternal uncle ; for he regards his maternal uncle as his lord and master. And such, in fact, he was ; for in pre-Administration days a man could pawn or sell his sister's son, though he could not treat his own children in this way. Even if his nephew were not living with him, he could requisition his economic services and send him off on messages to some distant town. A lad's father might have scruples about chastising him, but a maternal uncle had none. (If the lad were living with the maternal uncle at the time, he might run back to his father's home, but his mother would usually see to it that he was sent back to her brother.) On the other hand, if a father ill-treated his son he would soon be called to account by his son's maternal uncle, who would ask the father whether he thought that by marrying his sister he had bought her and her offspring ! On a repetition of the offence the maternal uncle would, without further ado, remove his sister and her children to his own home. It is not clear if a maternal uncle ever had an inherent claim to all of his sister's children, or whether all Jukun children at one time automatically joined the social group of their mother. Members of royal families certainly had special claims to all sisters' children, and among commoners the maternal uncle had usually a claim to at least one of his sister's children. But

whether the children actually took up residence with him or not he had a controlling influence over their lives. He was regarded as a kind of "male mother", and a Jukun will often explain his servitude to his maternal uncle by remarking "Was it not he who bore me?" or "Am I not his umbilical cord?" In olden days when murders were rife it was the maternal uncle rather than the father who took vengeance for the loss of a member of his kin. The father would report the matter to the maternal uncle, who would, if a strong man, take life for life, without even obtaining the sanction of the chief. And if the maternal uncle could not kill the actual murderer he would endeavour to kill, not the son of the murderer, but the sister's son. Furthermore, it may be noted that in most Jukun communities if a person was convicted of witchcraft and was, with his relatives, put to death or sold into slavery, the relatives involved were relatives in the female and not in the male line. The ghosts also of persons who had died as a result of witchcraft sought out the murderer and his uterine relatives, but ignored his patrilineal relatives. Lastly it was also the custom in most Jukun communities that a man's debts at death were discharged by his principal heritors, viz. (in the absence of full brothers) by sons of sisters. A sister's son might be taken as a pawn for the debts of his deceased uncle.

Though the sister's son had numerous responsibilities, he had also numerous privileges. If he were living with his father or paternal uncle he could go at any time to his maternal uncle's home and appropriate any article of property he saw. If his uncle were absent at the time, the nephew would inform some junior member of the household that he had taken such-and-such an article (for otherwise it might be presumed that the compound had been invaded by a common robber). He could also enter his uncle's farm, and help himself to a few bundles of corn. He would naturally refrain from appropriating valuable property, such as his uncle's only horse; but he might borrow the horse in order to go on a journey. A maternal uncle might even be compelled to sell his only horse in order to discharge his nephew's debts. He would remonstrate with his nephew, but there the matter would end, for he would recall the Jukun proverb: "You swallow the blood of a bleeding tooth" (*Asá ngi lele da mama*). *Per contra*, it is to be noted that a lad living with his maternal uncle is not entitled to appropriate his father's property. He

may ask for and receive a gift from his father, but the appropriation of property from his father's home would call forth the immediate resentment of his half-brothers by different mothers. Many so-called mother-right customs are the natural outcome of the practice of polygny. It may be for this reason, also, that if a Jukun suffers from continued sickness in his father's household he seeks sanctuary with his maternal uncle in order to remove himself from local evil influences, caused in many cases by the jealous co-wives of his mother or by their children.

It would seem that in former times, also, it was customary for the mother's family to bury the dead. This, of course, would be natural if the deceased had died in his maternal uncle's home. But even at the present time the paternal relatives of a man who had died would never think of burying the corpse without first summoning the maternal relatives. Instances were given of cases in which the burial rites of members of royal families were exclusively performed by uterine relatives, and even among commoners the mother's family, if numerous, may still demand the body for interment in the mother's town. The autocratic position of the maternal uncle has, however, in recent times become considerably diminished. With the gradual infiltration of patrilineal ideas maternal relatives, if weaker than or socially inferior to paternal relatives, have become disinclined to assert their privileges or shoulder their responsibilities, and this tendency increased when it was found or came to be believed that British Administrative officials favoured a purely patrilineal system. It has now become purely an optional matter where a child resides. He may reside with his father or be handed over to a paternal or maternal uncle, to a paternal or maternal grandfather or grandmother, or even to a father's sister or mother's sister. But in making the choice the father of the child is bound to give full consideration to the wishes of his wife. Indeed, it is still true to say that, in considering the claims of various relatives, those of the wife's family come first. I have known of cases in which a man had to beseech his wife's people to forego their rightful claim to one of his children on the ground that the man's own father required the child to light his fire and look after him generally in his old age.

It follows that inheritance is largely a matter of circumstances. If a sister's son is residing with a maternal uncle who has no

brother he may inherit, or at least become the administrator of, the entire estate including compound and cults, to the temporary exclusion of sons. On the other hand a man may, before his death, bequeath his property in such a way that the sons of his sister may be totally disqualified.

A final remark may be made on the curious situation which arises when a sister's son is senior in years to his maternal uncle. Let us call the former A and the latter B. If A is carrying a load and meets B, the latter being junior in years to A must offer to take his load. A, however, will demur, saying, "No, that is improper for you are my uncle." B, however, if considerably younger, would reply, "That is so, but as you are so much older than I, I must needs carry your load." A would, thereupon, agree. Again, B would in theory be entitled to send A on messages, but would refrain. Similarly at meals, B would allow A to help himself first. On the other hand, A would expect B to assist him in his marriage expenses, and B would expect A to assist him in cultivating his farm. A would be ashamed to exercise his prerogative of appropriating any of B's property, but if he became involved in difficulties he would not be ashamed to call on the assistance of B.

The following is a list of the relationship terms in use at Wukari and the surrounding districts, together with some observations on matters of social etiquette:—

Ata (possessive *atami*) is applied to a father, a father's brother or cousin, wife's father, husband's father, father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband. It is also a general term of respect applicable to all senior men and may be applied to (a) a husband's elder brother, (b) a wife's elder brother, if those relatives are considerably older than the speaker.

Ashung (possessive *ashummi*) is a special term applicable to a mother's brother or cousin.

Ayo (possessive *ayomi*) is applied to a mother, a father's or mother's sisters and female cousins, maternal uncle's wife, wife's mother, husband's mother. It is also applied to a wife's or husband's elder sister if she is considerably senior to the speaker. At Gwana *Za* is an alternative term for "mother". It occurs at Wukari in the word *angwu-za* = son of mother, i.e. brother, and in *Zapɪ* = second mother, i.e. mother's sister.

Zapɪ is a special term applied at Wukari to a mother's sister.

Angwu = son, daughter, brother's or paternal cousin's child,

sister's child (female speaking), husband's brother's or sister's child, wife's brother's or sister's child, son or daughter-in-law.

Angwu ashung (possessive *angwu ashumi*) is a special term applied to a sister's child or husband's sister's child.

Angwuza (= son of mother) is applied to a brother or sister or cousin (any) and is used as a general term for relatives. An elder "brother" or "sister" is called *achuwo*. A younger "brother" or "sister" is called *kinda*. For a half-brother or sister by the same father the precise term *angwutami* is used. For a half-brother or sister by the same mother the precise term *angwuyom* is used.

Yaku = any grandparent or brother or cousin of a grandparent. A man may call his male grandchild or male grandparent *jomi*, i.e. my friend.

Angwuda = any grandchild.

Wunu (possessive *anumi*) = husband.

The term is applied by a woman to her husband's brothers and sisters; and (jocularly) to her male grandchild.

Uwa (possessive *awami*) = wife, wife's younger sister, brother's wife (male or female speaking). But if very senior to your brother's wife you may use the more formal reciprocal term of *avyo* (i.e. "in-law"). A man may jocularly call a female grandchild or grandparent his "wife". He may also jocularly call his wife's younger brother *awami*.

Avyo (possessive *avyomi*) is a reciprocal term for every relative-in-law. But brothers and sisters-in-law who are more or less of the same age call each other "husband" (*anumi*) and "wife" (*awami*), or *ambiumi* (q.v.).

Ambiu (possessive *ambiumi*) is applied to a wife's or husband's brothers or sisters. But if you are very senior to any of these relatives you would use the more formal term of *avyo* (= in-law). The precise meaning of the term *ambiu* is unknown, but it implies free and easy social intercourse.

Awafu = co-wife or "rival". It is also applied by a woman to the wife of her husband's brother or cousin (any).

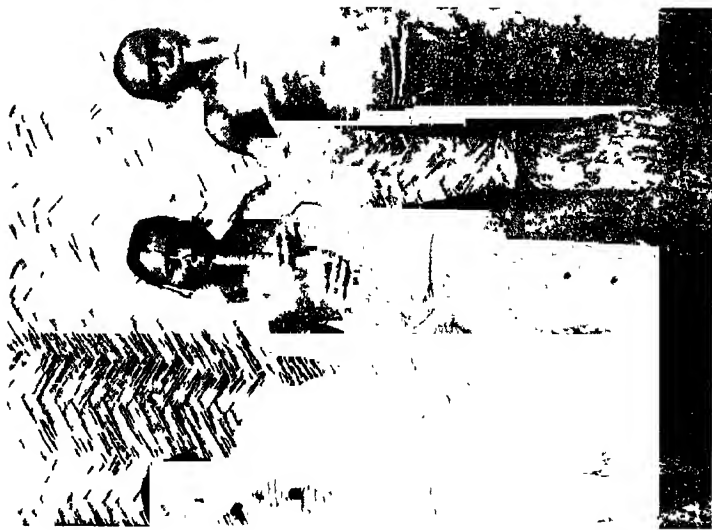
Akwáfí (possessive *akwáfími*) is applied by a woman to a husband's younger brother, or to a husband's sister's son. It may also be applied by a woman to a husband's elder brother provided the elder brother is not very much senior in years to her husband. The term means "my inheritor", and is dependent on the institution of levirate marriage.

It will be observed that the Jukun system of relationship terminology is of the classificatory type; that is to say, that all relatives of the speaker's own generation (viz. brothers, sisters,

cousins) are classed together as *angwuza*; those of the generation above (viz. father, mother, their brothers, sisters, and cousins) are classed as *ata* (feminine *ayo*; those of the generation below (viz. sons, daughters, and their cousins) are classed as *angwu*; and so on. One effect of this system of reckoning by generations is that a person whom you call "father" or "mother", though usually older than yourself, is not invariably so. Thus if your mother bears a son after the birth of your own son, your son will call your mother's son "father", and your mother's son will call your son "son".

Descriptive terms are, of course, used when it is necessary to indicate the precise relationship. Thus if you had referred to your father's elder brother as *atami*, i.e. my father, and you wished to make it clear that he was not the person who had begotten you, you would indicate his exact relationship by describing him, e.g. as *achuwo atami*, i.e. my big father. A father's younger brother is *akinda atami*.

The use of special terms for mother's brother and mother's sister is noteworthy. There is, however, nothing remarkable about the use of a special term for mother's brother in a community in which the maternal uncle had so much authority, his compound being a second home. (The term used, *ashumi*, would seem to be connected philologically with that used for mother's brother by the Bantu-speaking Ba-Ila of Northern Rhodesia, viz. *shimu*. See Smith and Murray Dale, vol. i, page 326). But the use of a special term, viz. *zapi*, for mother's sister, is uncommon. It is not even used universally by the Jukun. The Dampar Jukun, for example, who claim to be of the same stock as the Wukari Jukun, do not employ it. They may have used it in bygone days, for it is clear that the Dampar abandoned many of their customs as a result of close contact with the Bauchi Fulani. The Fulani, however, themselves employ a special term for mother's sister, even though they are a purely patrilineal people. The Jukun term *zapi* means "second mother". It is noteworthy that there is a tendency now among the Jukun to extend the use of the terms *ashumi* and *zapi* to the father's brother and father's sister respectively. This is due to the clash of cultures. Many of the Benue tribes, e.g. the Chamba, have a special term for the father's sister. The Fulani have a special term for both the father's sister and father's brother.



YOUTHFUL VISITANTS KONA)



YOUNG WIVES OF A CHIEF KONA)



A BLIND BOY WITH DIGGING-STICK

The free and easy relations subsisting between grandparents and grandchildren at Wukari may also be due to foreign influence, viz. contact with Hausa. It is not found among most of the other Jukun-speaking communities, and is noticeably absent in the majority of the Benue tribes. At Wukari, as among most of the Northern tribes of Nigeria, a grandfather twits his grandson with having designs on his wife, and a man calls his female-grandparent "wife" and she calls him "husband". This custom may be based on the common Negro practice of regarding persons separated by two generations as being, by a fiction, on the same social footing—an idea due perhaps to the belief in the reincarnation of grandparents in their grandchildren. Among numerous Northern tribes it was permissible for a man to inherit the young widows of his grandparent, and it may be for this reason that a boy addresses his grandmother as "wife". Among the Jukun, however, the idea of inheriting and marrying the young widow of a grandfather would in most of the groups be regarded with abhorrence. There is among the Jukun communities no confusion in the terms applied to (a) a mother's brother, and (b) a mother's father, such as is observed among numerous tribes elsewhere in Nigeria. If the Jukun have only recently passed from a matrilineal system of reckoning descent it would be natural to keep these two relatives distinct, as each would belong to a different kindred.

The Jukun is on terms of familiarity with the maternal uncle's wife, even though he addresses her as mother; for he may one day inherit and marry her. This would be shocking to most of the Northern pagan tribes. It is common in the Benue regions, being found among the Idoma, Agatu, and Igala. It is in consonance with the rule of matrilineal succession to property. The maternal uncle's wife often playfully calls her nephew the "property" of her husband, an allusion to the fact that in former times a man had control over the person of his sister's son, being able to pledge him for a debt or even sell him into slavery. The inheritance of the widow of a paternal uncle is taboo in most Jukun communities; it would be regarded almost as a marriage with one's own mother. Nevertheless a case came to my notice of a man marrying his paternal uncle's widow with the object of providing a home for her and her young children.

With regard to the playmate or joking relationship between

certain classes of relatives, it has been noted already that there is free and easy social intercourse between a man and his maternal uncle's wife and (at Wukari) between a man and his grandparents. The playmates *par excellence*, however, among the Jukun are, as elsewhere in Nigeria, (a) a man and his elder brother's wife, (b) a man and his wife's younger brother and younger sister, and (c) a woman and her husband's younger sister. As regards (a) this is based on the junior levirate marriage which is universal among the Jukun. The Jukun also practise a form of senior levirate marriage, it being permissible for an elder brother to inherit the widow of a younger brother who was not very much his junior. And so a joking relationship exists also between a man and the wife of a brother who is only a year or two junior.

As an instance of the kind of banter that may pass between a man and his sister-in-law, he may say to her, "You know, I don't think very much of your cooking, and if you don't improve I'll have to drive you out and marry somebody else." She will reply, "What a story-teller you are! Why, if you got rid of me there isn't another woman in the whole world who would dream of marrying you!" Or, if he met her on the road carrying her load, he might say, "What heavy weather you are making with a trifling load like that; I'm afraid you are not over strong." She may reply, "What do you know of strength? You are a mere bag of bones, and if you took my load you would faint after the first few yards." Or, if they meet on a road, and one does not give way to the other, either may push the other on one side with some joking remark. The relationship, however, between a man and the wife of a younger brother who is considerably his junior is on a very different footing. There is no possibility of marriage between the two, and the woman treats her husband's elder brother with a respect which is almost the equivalent of that extended to her husband's parents. One will often notice in a village a young woman kneeling with her back turned to the road. She has seen her husband's elder brother coming along, and must adopt this shy, respectful attitude until he has passed her by at least one hundred yards.

(b) Throughout Nigeria a man is on terms of the greatest familiarity with his wife's younger brother. He is the male counterpart of the wife, and he may act her part, saying, "What

a worthless husband you are ! I think I'll have to give you up and marry somebody else ! " The other will reply, " Oh, very well, begone ! You'll find it pretty difficult to get a husband half as good as I." Or he may twit his wife's younger brother as being a man of no account, a lazy fellow, whose farm work could be accomplished by a mere boy in half the time.

(c) A woman, again, is on terms of easy familiarity with her husband's younger sister. The universality of this custom appears to be connected psychologically with the same group of ideas which give universal permission to the practice of junior levirate marriage. The native reasoning appears to be that if the husband's younger sister were a male, she would inherit the widow of the elder brother. Just as the wife's younger brother acts the part of the wife, so the husband's younger sister acts the part of the husband. And thus we get banter like the following. The younger sister will say to her elder brother's wife, " Hurry up ! Go and get the dinner ready. If you don't look smart, it'll be midnight. And, of course, I shan't wait ; I'll go to bed, and you shall sleep on the floor, my girl, and there will be no sharing of my couch." The elder brother's wife will reply, " Oh, very well, don't have any dinner ; I don't care ; there are plenty of others, better people than you, who will eat it. The very best people would be glad to eat of the food I cook." The other retorts, " But I myself am one of the best people ; in fact, I am one in a million ; if you part from me, do you think that any other man would so much as wink at you ? You would grow old trying to find another husband such as I." The retort would be, " Oh, go along ! Why, if I left you to-morrow all the men of the town would be falling over themselves to have me as a wife. But as for you, no woman would risk being tied-up to you." The husband's sister will then say, " Now go and put a fire in the hut, and come along quickly, and we'll go to bed." But the other replies, " Oh, there's plenty of time ; you can go to bed, and I'll come along when I think about it." The pantomime is kept up continuously. Thus if a hunt is due the wife will say to her husband's younger sister, " Come, be a man, and begone to the bush, and for goodness sake don't return empty-handed. If you can't kill a buffalo, at least bring me a small fish from the river." And the retort will be, " As a matter of fact, I don't intend to go hunting ; for if I went, there would be no end to the jealousy of other men at my success."

Joking familiarity of this kind between certain classes of relatives is in striking contrast with the strict decorum required towards other classes of relatives. This is instanced by the rules governing the use of personal names. All those who are "playmates" may use each other's personal names; but among those who are not on this position of social equality there is a strict etiquette, the general rule being that no member of a junior generation may use the personal name of a member of a senior generation, but that a member of a senior generation may use the personal name of a member of a junior generation. Thus it would be intolerable for anyone to address a father's or mother's brother or sister, or a senior elder brother or sister, by his or her personal name. It would even be *infra dignitatem* for anyone to address his grandparent's child by his personal name, even though he were senior in years to the child of the grandparent. A man may not address his maternal uncle's wife, whom he may one day inherit as his own wife, by her personal name. He may not address his elder brother or elder sister by their personal names. A man's wives whom he had married as virgins may not address him by his personal name, nor may he use their personal names. But there is no taboo on the use of personal names between a man and wives who had been previously married. It is unusual even for a man to address his elder brother's wife, with whom he is on terms of easy familiarity and whom he may one day inherit as his own wife, by her personal name. Indeed, some jealous husbands object to their wives addressing their younger brothers by the recognized title of *akwáfimi*, i.e. my inheritor.

Children may not use their parents' personal names. This was the ancient rigid rule, and the taboo was so strict that a child was even required to avoid using the name of any other person of his own or a junior generation who bore the same name as his parent, the intention being to prevent the child becoming so used to the name that he might accidentally employ it in addressing a parent. An exception, however, was made in the case of a first child, who was permitted to address his parents by their personal names. This would seem at first sight to be at variance with the universal Sudanic custom by which a first-born child is regarded as an object of shame. But actually the permission to use the parents' personal names is due to this

custom of the repudiation of the first-born. He is not your son, he is merely a friend, and as such may call you by your name. The denial of the parentage of the first-born is possibly in origin a repudiation of an ancient custom which demanded the sacrifice of the first-born child or it may be due to the custom of handing over the first-born child to the wife's family. There appears to be some laxity nowadays as regards the taboo on the use of the personal names of parents ; for many children frequently break the rule, though in doing so they lay themselves open to rebuke. It is noteworthy that among the Idoma and Igala children show no compunction in addressing parents by their personal names.

The personal name of the head of the household may not be used, and members of the household therefore avoid using the name of any person whose name is identical with that of the head of the household. Thus a woman would avoid addressing her husband's younger brother by his personal name, if that name was borne also by the head of the household.

Where it is necessary to avoid the use of personal names the person addressed is called by the relationship term to which he is entitled ; or if he holds an official title he may be addressed by that. The senior woman of the compound is addressed as *ayondo*, i.e. mother of the house. A man who has married a woman as a virgin calls her by the new name which he had conferred on her at marriage, and she calls him by a name of her own invention. Young wives are frequently addressed as *akishe* (= bride).

Further details of the social life of the people, including accounts of the various marriage systems and ceremonies, are given in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER III

THE DIVINE KING

It may seem out of place to begin an account of Jukun religion by a dissertation on the king; for although the king is regarded as a divine being it might be considered more appropriate to give some account first of the gods, great and small, and then endeavour to fit into the theological scheme the idea of the divinity of the king. But quite apart from the consideration that a belief in the divinity of kings appears to be one of the earliest forms of known religion, and that perhaps there were never any gods without kings (to use the words of Mr. Hocart),¹ it would be impossible to understand anything of Jukun religion without first understanding something of what kingship means for the Jukun. I do not pretend to have any profound acquaintance with Jukun religion, for there is no subject on which the Jukun, who are always a reticent people, are more pledged to silence than that of their religion in general, and the religious position of the king in particular. Moreover, the full ritual surrounding the person of the king is not merely a secret from all strangers, but is unknown to most Jukun themselves. The following account must, therefore, be accepted as a tentative effort to explain what is not usually spoken of at all on such evidence as it was possible to obtain during some four months' contact with Jukun in various districts.

The conception of divine kingship is found all over the world, as readers of *The Golden Bough* are well aware. Before 3000 B.C. the ancient Sumerian city kings claimed to have been begotten by the gods, and were regarded by their peoples as "divinely-sent redeemers and vicars of the gods."² In Egypt, says Foucart,³ "The outstanding characteristic of the king had always been that he was either an incarnation of the god or his

¹ In his recent work *Kingship*.

² Professor Langdon in the *Museum Journal*, viii, 1917, p. 166 sq.

³ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vii, p. 711.

son." Among the Hittites the king was equated with the Sun.¹ In India the kings were said to have been formed from particles of the principal gods.² The chiefs of the Sandwich Islands were believed to be lineal descendants of the gods.³ So also in Polynesia and America the kings and chiefs were either identified with the Sun-god or believed to be his descendants.⁴ All over Africa we find a similar belief. In West Africa the king of Dahomi was regarded as a god,⁵ and the king of Benin was described by an Englishman in 1823 as "not only God's vice-regent upon earth, but a god himself whose subjects both obey and adore him as such."⁶ According to the early British explorers of the Niger, the Ata of Idah was regarded as a god by his people. At the present time throughout pagan Nigeria, where there are kings, the kings are regarded as divine beings. Among the Bachama and Bata the expression "son of god" is the common description of the kings of these peoples, and I was informed by a Bachama that the chief of the Mbula could only rank as a "slave of the gods" because he had no royal descent worthy of the name. The chief of the Kam is believed by his people to be a divine being, and he himself acts the part of deity by speaking in a whisper and avoiding all show of human emotions. In the Southern Provinces among the Calabar tribes there were (and no doubt still are) priest-kings who were apparently regarded as gods. They were not allowed to eat in the presence of anyone, and were prohibited from engaging in trade. Mr. Goldie⁷ records the case of one royal cult which became extinct as no one was willing to undertake the burden of the office. Among the Ibo the priest-king of Nri, as described by Mr. Talbot, is clearly reckoned as a divine personage.⁸ There are even cases at the present time of Muslim Fulani chiefs being treated as gods by their pagan subjects. Captain Brackenbury has reported that the Fulani ruler of Rai Buba was so regarded by his Dama, Fali, Mbum, and Ndoro subjects, who approached him on all fours, naked except for a loin cloth. All Jukun chiefs, however minor,

¹ Garstang, *The Hittites*, p. 340.

² Manu's *Law Treatise*, bk. vii, 3.

³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, p. 101.

⁴ See A. M. Hocart's *Kingship*, p. 13.

⁵ See Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 163.

⁶ Capt. Adams (*Remarks on the Country from Cape Palmas to the River Congo*, London, 1823, p. 112).

⁷ *Calabar and its Mission*, p. 42 sq.

⁸ *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 597.

are regarded as being in some measure incarnations of deity ; while the Aku of Wukari is regarded as the supreme incarnation. It is a common saying among the Jukun that the power of the Aku exceeds that of Chidô ¹ (the Jukun Sky-god), for a man may incur the wrath of Chidô and still continue to live, but one who incurs the wrath of the Aku dies that very day.

But if the Aku or king of the Jukun is regarded as " a son of god " it may be asked of which god ? Those familiar with the writings of Mr. W. P. Perry and Mr. Hocart might expect the equation, " The king of the Jukun = the Sun." This was, perhaps, at one time a correct equation, but the Jukun of to-day holds the doctrine of the king's divinity in a hazy way which might best be expressed by saying that the king is an earthly image of the plurality of the gods. The position of the Jukun king would appear to be like that of the Pharaohs who were regarded as sons of the Sun-god, but when a number of local gods came to be identified with the Sun-god the Pharaohs came to be regarded as sons of those gods also. There is no conscious identification of the Jukun king with the Sun at the present time, but the daily liturgy of the Jukun king (which will shortly be described) has such an apparent connection with the daily course of the Sun that it would seem reasonable to infer that the Jukun king must at one time have been regarded as a manifestation of the Sun. Indeed the Jukun daily ritual appears to bear a general resemblance to the daily liturgy performed on behalf of the Sun-god at Heliopolis. We shall see later that among the Jukun the sun (or Nyunu or Inû or Anu ²) is equated at the present time with the Supreme Being, that prayers are addressed to the Sun, and that Sun-rites are still carried out in a number of Jukun communities.³ Throughout the Benue regions the cult of the Sun is still of first-rate importance, and among numerous neighbouring tribes the names for the Supreme Being and the Sun are identical. The Jukun, moreover, assert that there is no king at night, for the king disappears from the earth. The identification of the king with the Sun is further suggested

¹ " Abutso bu ku ka bu Chidô."

² Anu is one of the forms used at Kona. It has the appearance of being the same name as the centre of Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt, Anu being the Egyptian name of Heliopolis. The term Anu was also in Egypt applied to the abode of the gods. (See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. i, p. 25.)

³ See pages 184-9.

by the fact that at least one Jukun chief was known as "The Sun" (viz. Inû of Kona) and that at the installation of the chief of Kona the prime minister seizes the right hand of the chief-elect, and holding it up to the rising Sun says, "Here is our chief." I would suggest, also, that just as the Ancient Egyptian mode of saluting the Pharaoh by holding out the hands before the eyes is believed by some Egyptologists to be due to the idea of protection from the rays of the Sun-incarnate, so also the Nigerian (and Sudanic) custom of the king speaking to his subjects from behind a curtain may have originally had this intention. Ibn Batuta reported that the kings of Bornu followed this practice, and it is interesting to note that the custom was continued even by Muslim Fulani Emirs in the Benue basin as late as 1854. For Dr. Baikie records that during his interview with the governor of Muri the Muslim governor spoke from behind a curtain of pink and white silk. He also describes how the Ata of Ida had five slaves armed with fans, the principal use of which was to conceal the royal countenance.¹ It is a universal custom in the Sudan at the present time that no subject looks his chief directly in the face (and administrative officers should remember that, as they are themselves regarded as chiefs, the failure to look one straight in the face is not necessarily evidence of deceit.)

On the other hand, a number of titles are applied to the Jukun king which suggest the equation "the king = the moon". Thus he is called "Wa-Sû", a phrase which apparently means "He of the Moon". He is also called "Sô-mbu", i.e. "The full Moon". If a Jukun wishes to say that the king had looked on him, or had given him an audience, he uses any one of the following expressions: "Asô mbu za mi di" "Ambu sô zam ki di," "Asô ku mbu zuayo." The first two mean "The light of the full moon smote my body" and the last means "The full moon lightened the place".

It may be, therefore, that the king was originally identified with or regarded as an emanation of the moon.² When it is said that there is no chief at night, the implication is possibly not that the chief is the sun which disappears at night, but that

¹ *Exploring Voyage*, pp. 164 and 59.

² Egyptian kings were regarded as personifications of the moon, no less than of the sun. Osiris appears to have been originally a Moon-god (see Budge, *Osiris*, i, p. 384, and Briffault, *The Mothers*, ii, p. 779. Briffault suggests that the name "Osiris" means "Lord of the Moon").

he goes to the skies in the form of the moon. The Jukun do not appear to practise any moon rites, but such rites are practised by a number of neighbouring tribes and always in close association with the person of the chief. Thus among the Kam, whose chiefs claim to be of Jukun origin, rites are carried out at the rising of each new moon in the presence of the chief. The priest, who is known as the Shirku,¹ pours a libation over a monolith, and the chief then speaks as follows: "The moon has risen and we come before you. If this country belonged not to my forefathers then refuse to listen to my words. But if it is indeed the country of my forefathers, then accept these rites and grant that my land may be blessed, that our wives may be fruitful, and our crops bountiful."

The cult is known as *Detirra*, a word which seems to embody the root *tirra* = moon, used among a large group of tribes north of the Benue. Incidentally, among those tribes (e.g. among the Tera, Hinna, Hona, and Gabin) the word for chief or king is *kutirra*, i.e. "lord of the moon". It may be noted that the Kam say that their chief is like the Moon, as he disappears for days from the view of men, and no one knows how he obtains sustenance, and that among the Igala the Ata is at his coronation given a cap which is said to symbolise the moon.²

Among the Mbum of the French Cameroons, a people who have a close cultural connection with the Jukun, when a new king is formally installed he is set on a seat in front of which there is a curtain of leopard skins. The royal drum is then beaten, and the drummer exclaims, "The new moon has risen; our king who ascended to the heavens has returned." If this information, which was given to me at Yola by a member of the Mbum tribe, is correct, it proves beyond any doubt that the Mbum king is regarded as an emanation of the moon. The curtain is placed in front of his face to protect the people from the rays of his countenance. Among the Mambila, of the British Cameroons, a primitive tribe which has no paramount chief, there is a moon cult in which the moon is personated by a man wearing a string costume and animal-headed mask. At the rising of the moon the masker appears and is ceremonially fed with beer, the priest asking that, by his graciousness, they may all have prosperity that month. A feast is held, and there is general

¹ Shirku possibly = Moon (*shi*) king (*ku*).

² R. S. Seton, in *JRAI.*, 1928.

rejoicing. When the moon is about to disappear the masker again appears and acts the part of a dying god. He bids farewell to the people, and forbids them to grieve, for in three days he will arise again and come unto them. It is not difficult to understand how, in a more developed tribe, a paramount chief might assume the rôle of the masker and become an incarnation of the moon.

Among the Zumu of Adamawa Province rites confined to the members of the royal family are also carried out at the sighting of each new moon. All, including the chief, repair to the shrine of *Dagire*, taking with them gifts of cotton which are presented to the priestess of the cult. The priestess hands a gourd of beer to the chief, who speaks as follows, "We are now about to perform the monthly custom which has been handed down to us by our forefathers. By the grace of *Fito* (God) and *Dagire*, may no evil thing befall me or any member of my kindred. Whoever attempts any wickedness against me or mine shall be confronted with *Dagire* and killed. May we live in harmony one with the other." The chief then drinks some of the beer, and is followed by the priestess, who hands the gourd to each member of the royal family.

It is said that in former times the king of the Jukun only appeared in public at intervals, and that when he did so his body was painted with red, white, and black stripes. My informants were unable to say whether these public appearances corresponded with the rising of the moon. This is not unlikely, in view of Du Chaillu's statement that he met an African chief who, on the appearance of each new moon, came out of his house with his body painted black, red, and white, and spotted all over with marks the size of a peach.¹

It is perhaps worth mentioning, also, that the Jukun king, alone among all grown up males, is not subject to the pollution entailed by contact with a menstruous woman. The taboo attaching to menstruation is one of the most striking features of the Jukun religious system. All the world over menstruation appears to be connected with the moon, the courses of the moon being likened to the courses of a woman. The moon is thus the appropriate symbol of fertility. As she waxes and wanes she is regarded as a dying and resurrecting god, the symbol of the

¹ *Adventures*, p. 109.

death and rebirth of the crops. The king as the representative of the moon would thus come to have a peculiar relationship to womankind and be free from the dangers of menstrual blood, to which other males are subject. This may be the explanation of the Igbira custom, by which the kings of Panda were, on installation, disrobed and clothed in a woman's loin cloth.¹ These kings, incidentally, are believed to have been of Jukun origin. Furthermore, it may be noted that among the Jukun the principal festival of the year is known as Puje, a word which is generally interpreted as meaning "the booths of menstruation". On the night before the festival the king of Wukari goes out to a site a mile or so from the capital, and sleeps on a specially constructed grass shelter or booth.

The festival, of which a description is given later,² is at the present time merely a form of harvest thanksgiving, but it is not improbable that in former times it was part of a general moon-cult and that the king attended as the representative of the moon and of agricultural and human fertility.

In consonance with their character as incarnations of deity, Jukun chiefs and kings, and indeed most West African pagan chiefs,³ are not supposed to suffer from the limitations of ordinary human beings. They do not "eat", they do not "sleep", and they never "die". It is not merely bad manners, but actual sacrilege to use such expressions in speaking of the king. When the king eats he does so in private, the food being proffered to him with the same ritual as is used by priests in offering sacrifice to the gods. The ceremonial meals are described by some such euphemism as that "The king has withdrawn", or "It is time."

(Among the neighbouring tribe of the Ba-Nso the euphemism used is "There is no road".) When the king is asleep it is said that he "is up above", i.e. in the heavens ("Aku ne hwara"). When he dies "he returns to the heavens", like the Egyptian Pharaohs who ascended to "Re" (Pyr 733 c.). The Jukun king must not put his foot on the ground or sit on the ground without a mat, possibly because he is a god of the Upper Air or

¹ See Capt. Wilson Haffenden in the *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1927—July, 1928.

² See pp. 144 sqq.

³ E.g. Capt. Adams, op. cit., stated in 1823 that "the deluded subjects" of the king of Benin "believed that he required neither food nor sleep". Ellis says of the king of Dahomi that "the people affect to believe that he neither eats nor sleeps. It is criminal to say otherwise" (*Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 163).

because his dynamism might escape into the ground and blast the crops. This taboo is common throughout the world wherever there are divine kings.¹ And so among the Jukun an essential feature of the installation ceremony is the carrying of the new king on the shoulders. It is taboo for a king to pick up anything from the ground. If a Jukun king were to fall off his horse, he would, in former times, have been promptly put to death. Being a god it may never be said of him that he is ill; and if serious illness overtook him he was quietly strangled, it being said that it would cause confusion among the people if the groans of the king in illness were overheard. Sneezing is permissible, and when the Jukun king sneezes all present slap their thighs respectfully.² But it is not proper to refer to his "body" or to imply that he has an ordinary human body. A special word (*juwe*) is used instead, with the significance of the kingly personality. This term has also the meaning of the royal fiat or ordained word, and approximates therefore to the "creative voice" of the Egyptian Pharaoh.³ The king's body is believed to be charged with a divine dynamism which communicates itself to everything he touches. The most potent oath, therefore, that a Jukun can take is to swear by the couch, mat, or even slippers of the king. For in taking the oath the litigant or accused is required to place his hand on the mat or couch,⁴ and if he has falsely sworn it is believed that he will be struck dead as though killed by an electric shock. It is fatal for any Jukun to sit down on, or even accidentally to step on, the king's mat. Clapperton records in 1827, that when he was visited by the daughter of the king of Kaiama she would not sit down on his carpet or mat as her father had previously done so.⁵ There was the same taboo in Uganda, for Roscoe states that "no one was ever allowed to

¹ See *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, p. 593, and Hocart's *Kingship* ch. xiii.

² Clapperton (p. 16) observed at Jannah, on the southern border of the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo, that "on the caboceer's sneezing all his attendants clapped their hands and snapped their fingers, a custom common to Benin, Lagos, and Dahomey."

³ See M. Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Religion Pharonique*, page 297. Examples of the use of the word *juwe* are:—

(a) *Aku shō juwe a* = the king gave expression to his *juwe*, i.e. the king spoke.

(b) *Aku nde juwea go wudi* = the king took his *juwe*, touched body of someone, i.e. the king touched someone with his hand.

⁴ The mat is known as *biewi*, and the couch as *ashu*.

⁵ *Second Journey*, page 70.

step on the royal rug or over it ; to have done so would have merited the punishment of instant death.”¹ Mr. Skeat also states that in Malay, “ Not only is the king’s person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia and to slay those who break the royal taboos.”² It is a disastrous thing, also, for the Jukun king to fly into a rage, point his finger at a man or strike the ground in wrath, for by doing so, he would let loose on the community the anger of the gods immanent in his person, and the whole land would be affected by blight. If the king were so far to forget himself the offenders would immediately tender their apologies and take steps to induce him to recall or cancel his hasty word or act. They would request one of his sisters’ sons, the king’s acolyte, to approach him and calm him, and persuade him to dip his fingers in water in order to purge or rather quench the “ fire of his hand ”, and when this rite had been performed the acolyte would withdraw backwards, sweeping the ground in front of the king, in the same way as a priest withdraws when he has offered sacrifice to the offended gods. This belief in the potency of the king’s person still lingers on among the Muslim tribes, for I have been assured by Muslims of Bida that if the Fulani Emir of Bida were to rest under a tree or lean against a tree that tree would immediately begin to wither up and would be dead before six months. The Jukun king’s privy is sacred, and is taboo even to the acolytes who attend to all his other wants. In this connection it may be remarked that it has been reported by a district officer in Adamawa Province that when the chief of Sukur leaves his town the stools and urine which he passes are collected and sent back to Sukur to be deposited secretly in the appointed place. The Jukun king’s sputum is also preserved in a cloth, and as a parallel to this we may again quote Clapperton, who in speaking of the Yoruba king of Oyo mentions that the king was attended by a man on all occasions “ bearing a handsome carved gourd, having a small hole with a clean white cloth, to hold His Majesty’s spittle when he is inclined to throw it away.”³ The Jukun king’s hair and nail-clippings are also carefully preserved by himself.

It might be supposed that the precautions just mentioned are taken as a protection against witchcraft, and I have been

¹ *The Baganda*, p. 209. ² *Malay Magic*, p. 23. ³ *Second Journey*, p. 52.

told by more than one Jukun that the reason for the ceremonial removal of the sandal prints of kings (to be described later) is to safeguard the king against an improper use of his foot impressions by evilly-disposed persons. This explanation does not, however, meet the case, for it is admitted on all hands that kings are superior to attack by wizards or witches. The real reason would appear to be that footprints, sputum, etc., are inconsistent with the theory of the divinity of the king, and in support of this view it may be added that when, nowadays, a Jukun king visits the house of any of his subjects, on his departure he receives from the householder a gift of a goat "to wipe out the foot-prints", the conception being, apparently, that the king had temporarily abandoned his lofty status in condescending to come to the house of one of his people, for in former times it would have been highly improper for a Jukun king to enter the houses of any of his subjects. He lived a life of complete seclusion, in consonance with his character as a son of the gods. For the same reason also no Jukun king may smoke tobacco; nor may he look on a corpse,¹ for he has no part in death.

If we are correct in assuming that the Jukun king was originally² equated or associated with the moon or sun it would not be surprising to find that he is regarded as having a personal influence over the works of nature and that his primary function is to secure for the people a successful harvest. This is certainly his main duty. He is not, and apparently never was, expected to be a leader of victorious armies, but he is expected to secure in his time a regular succession of rich harvests, and by his ability to do so is adjudged to be a true son of god. He is identified with the crops, and is addressed as *Azaiwo* (our Guinea-corn), *Afyewo* (our Ground-nuts) or *Asoiwo* (our Beans) just as in ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was addressed by the title of "our Crop" and "our Harvest".³

¹ Some of the Jukun gods, e.g. Akwa, cannot tolerate anyone who has been in contact with a corpse.

² The process may, however, have been the reverse, viz. that the king was originally equated with the crops and subsequently become equated with the Moon or Sun. As to why vegetation should be associated with kingship, I would suggest that the king is merely the successor of the priest. The priest is responsible for the crops and becomes identified with them, acting through his ancestors. Among the more primitive tribes of Nigeria the priest is the real ruler of the community. When invading groups (Hamites) have conquered primitive tribes their leader, who became king, arrogated, partially or wholly, the position formerly held by the priest.

³ See *E.R.E.*, vol. xii, p. 776.

But to secure a good harvest there must be a bountiful, but not an undue, supply of rain at the proper times, and the ripening crops must be protected from excessive winds. The king of the Jukun is, therefore, in virtue of his deity, able to control the rains and winds. A succession of droughts or bad harvests is ascribed to his negligence or to the waning of his strength, and he is accordingly secretly strangled.

The belief that kings or chiefs have power over the rain, wind, and crops is or has been widespread throughout the world. Thus the Malaya firmly believe that their kings exercise a personal influence over the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit trees, and this influence is also extended to European administrative officials, so that in Selangor the success or failure of the rice crops may be attributed to a change of district officers.¹ There is the same conception in Ceylon where it is said in the ancient chronicle that "a king who observes righteousness obtains rain in due season".² The tribes on the Upper Nile are said to rip up the king's abdomen if he does not make the shower fall, for it is believed that he keeps the storms in that part of his body.³ Among the Latuko of Africa "when the crops are withering and all the efforts of the chief to draw down rain have proved fruitless, the people commonly attack him by night, rob him of all he possesses, and drive him away. But often they kill him. And so no one would consent to be king." ⁴ The Homeric king, if good, "caused the black earth to bring forth wheat and barley, the trees to be loaded with fruit, the flocks to multiply, and the sea to yield fish." ⁵ Lycurgus, the Thracian king of the Edonians, is said to have been put to death in order that the ground might regain its fertility.⁶ In Polynesia and Melanesia there is the same belief. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that in parts of Melanesia (e.g. Suva) the chief may not go into the plantations lest his divine dynamism should blast, instead of promote, the growth of the crops. Among the Jukun there is a similar rule.⁷

It may seem inconsonant with the doctrine of the king's divinity to charge him with weaknesses necessitating his death,

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, abridged edition, p. 88.

² *Mahavamsa*, xxi, 22 ff., quoted by Hocart, in *Kingship*, p. 35.

³ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 563.

⁴ Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵ See Hocart, *Kingship*, p. 9.

⁶ Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

⁷ See pp. 270 and 322.

but this difficulty can be surmounted by several considerations. The relations between the Jukun and the gods are based on the idea of reciprocity, and if the former carry out their part of the contract the latter are expected to act likewise. A Jukun will give up a cult from which he has consistently derived no advantage. Moreover, just as a father may repudiate his offspring, so the gods may repudiate their son or living representative, and it is not uncommon for a Jukun to say during a famine that the gods had repudiated the king. On the other hand the negligence of a king may be due, not to his weakness or wickedness, but to that of his subjects, and when a Jukun king dies (even if he has been secretly murdered as a result of a famine) it is commonly said that he has forsaken the world and gone back to the heavens in consequence of the wickedness of men.

There are two further points which require some remarks, viz. the relationship of the Jukun king or chief as a divine being (a) to his royal ancestors or predecessors who were also divine beings, and (b) to the living priests of the various Jukun cults. With regard to the first it may be said that as in Ancient Egypt, so among the Jukun, the king at death becomes a patron deity or tutelary god. And although the daily liturgy may have been originally a form of communion with the Sun-god it is, among the Jukun, regarded primarily as a feeding of and a communion with the plurality of royal ancestors, and particularly with his immediate predecessor. Ancestor-worship is the predominant form of Jukun religion, and the worship of deceased kings is the highest form of ancestor-worship. Among the Ancient Egyptians some groups at least of the gods were believed to have reigned as Pharaohs,¹ and the worship of dead kings may be co-related with the worship of Osiris, which was, in fact, the worship of a dead king. Most of the principal tutelary deities of the Jukun are said to have been kings in former days, and among the Jukun of Gwana the Judge of the underworld is believed to be a Jukun chief who reigned at Gwana no more than two centuries ago. The king of the Jukun is the slave of his ancestors, and if things go wrong it is, usually, because he has offended them. His great amulet is some part of the body of his royal ancestor, and it is the common belief that the reigning king is fed intermittently on the powdered remains of the heart of his predecessor. The most important

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, p. 277.

and most secret cults are those whose priests have the custody of the skull or forearm of a former Jukun king, and there is no surer method of bringing the living king to account than a threat by the priest to expose the sacred relic to the rays of the Sun. For by so doing he can cause the king, for all his divinity, to sicken and die the death of an ordinary human being. The living king is expected to live *en rapport* with the dead kings, and if a famine occurs it is because he has failed to sustain this relationship, or failed to obtain through the mediation of his ancestors those blessings which, according to present-day ideas, are ultimately obtainable from the Supreme Deities Ama and Chidô. But by the daily ritual and by the proper service of the various public cults for the maintenance of which the king, as supreme Pontiff, is responsible, he is able to maintain correct relations between the gods or ancestors and mankind.

The Jukun king is not, however, himself the officiating priest of the public cults. How far the priests are to be regarded as the deputies of the king is not clear. On the one hand the priest-hoods of the important cults are in the hands of hereditary families and the story related on page 36 of the divorce of the civil and religious functions of the chief would seem to imply that at one time the Jukun king was himself the officiator at all the principal religious rites. But just as in Ancient Egypt "it was impossible for the Egyptian king, who was the responsible head of a highly complex system of government, to exercise his high-priestly functions except on rare occasions and was accordingly obliged to depute them to the heads of the various local priesthoods",¹ so among the Jukun the king no longer takes a personal part in any of the public rites. Indeed, so far is this so that it is actually taboo for the chief to be present during the performance of any rites, other than those which he celebrates within the precincts of his own enclosure.

On the other hand, the king is responsible for the provision of the sacrificial foods and for seeing that the rites are carried out at the customary times or on special occasions which call for special rites. It is stated by Dr. Blackman, in writing on Egyptian religion,² that the priests impersonated the king in the temple services. This would, however, be an overstatement

¹ Dr. Blackman in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 294.

² Dr. Blackman, *op. cit.*

as far as the Jukun priests are concerned, for it would appear that among the Jukun the priests are themselves assimilated with deity, not because they are the king's deputies, but in virtue of their office as priests. "Like kings they came to look upon themselves as gods, no longer as the receptacles of divinity," says Mr. Hocart, in speaking of the Brahmans.¹ It is quite clear that the Hwâye priest of Donga known as the Kimbi (of whom a description is given in my paper on the Jukun of Donga)² was regarded as a divine being, for when he visited Wukari he was greeted by the tutelary deity known as Aku Ma and escorted into the city with the same reverence as is shown to the king by all the tutelary gods. It is no doubt due to the recognition of a common share in divinity that the Jukun king may not meet certain Jukun priests face to face. Nevertheless the king was regarded as the supreme Pontiff, and priests within his dominions looked upon him both as their temporal and their spiritual superior.

The Coronation Ceremony.—The ceremonies performed at the installation of a Jukun king or chief are, as might be expected, a reflection of the belief that by the ritual the king-elect is converted into a deity. He undergoes a death to his former human self and is reborn as a god. The rites of installation may thus, as Mr. Hocart suggests,³ be co-related with those of initiation, and in this connection the reader may compare the following remarks with the account of initiation which is given in my report on the Chamba tribe.⁴ The details of the coronation ceremony vary in the different Jukun communities, but the general ritual is the same, viz. the seizure of the person chosen, the stripping of his clothes as the symbol of re-birth, the binding-on of cloth as the emblem of his sovereignty, the admonition to rule justly, the period of seclusion during which he undergoes a process of divinization, learns to receive his food in ritual fashion, and is shown the secret amulets, the ceremonial bathing, the replaiting of the hair-lock, the giving of a new name, the re-clothing in the royal regalia, the feast, acclamation of the people, salutation of the tutelary genii, and the formal entry into the royal palace.

Thus, among the Jukun of Pindiga, the Makama catches the

¹ *Kingship*, p. 120.

² *Kingship*, p. 159.

³ This report will be published shortly.

⁴ This report will be published shortly.

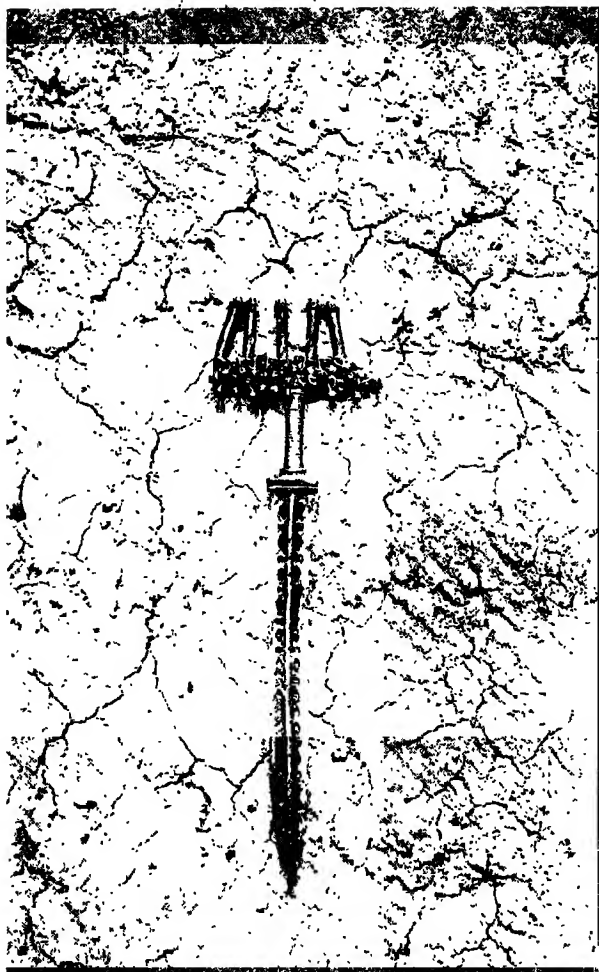
chosen chief by the arm and binds on his arms bracelets of locust-bean leaves. The chief-designate goes into seclusion for seven days on the conclusion of which he is ceremonially washed by a uterine relative. Among the Kona the Wuru takes the right hand of the chief-elect and holding it up to the rising sun says, "Behold our chief." He then binds a strip of cloth round the chief's loins and another round his forehead, sticking into the latter a stork's feather and a twig of locust-bean leaves. The chief is admonished to rule justly, and is then carried off on the shoulders of members of a certain kindred to the compound of the chief priest of the community,¹ where he lives in seclusion for a period of five days during which he learns to drink beer, the nectar of the gods, in ritual fashion at early sunrise, at mid-day, and when the sun sets. He is shown for the first and last time the most sacred symbol of the Kona, viz. the hand of a former chief. On the sixth day, after the priest has anointed his body with flour and honey, he is formally escorted to the royal palace, entrance to which is not permitted until he has paid toll to the guards, a custom found also among the Baganda.² Among the Gwana Jukun the chief-elect goes into seclusion in the house of the Awashi Hwo for seven days, and during this time the sacred enclosure of the late chief is broken down and renovated, new religious symbols being set up for the new chief. On the conclusion of the retirement the chief is washed and proceeds to the door of his palace where he takes his stand on a mound of sand beneath which a hoe-blade has been secretly deposited. Mounds of sand play an important part in Jukun sun-rites, and it may be noted that in Ancient Egypt mounds of sand were believed to impart sacredness.³ It is also worth remarking that in the coronation rites of the Baganda the new king was required to ascend a mound.⁴ When the Gwana chief has ascended the mound he receives the fealty of his people, the royal drums are beaten, and he is then carried into the palace on the shoulders of two slaves, where he is set on his royal mat for the first time. A feast follows, and on the departure of the people the chief is taken secretly to the graves of his royal ancestors. Somewhat

¹ Among the Baganda, the king-elect also spent some time in a fetish house. See Roscoe, *op cit*, p. 192

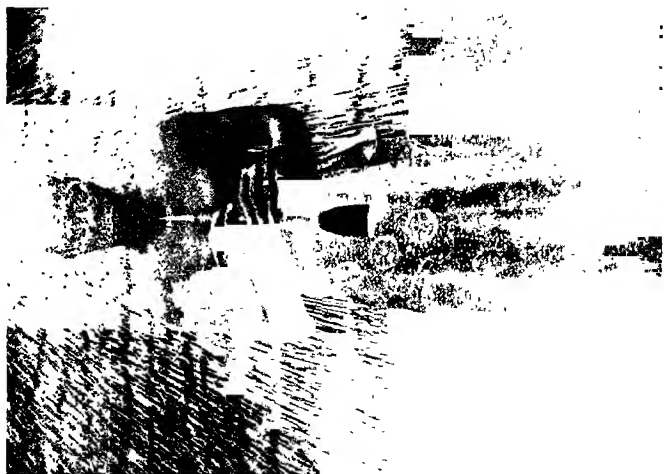
² See Roscoe, *op cit*, p. 204

³ See Budge, *Book of the Opening of the Mouth*, p. 9

⁴ Roscoe, *op cit*, p. 194



SACRED KNIFE OF THE KIMBI (*HIVAYE*)



THE KING'S CLARINET PLAYER



THE JUKUN HAIR-LOCK

similar rites are performed at the installation of the Jukun chief of Akyekura, but a noteworthy feature there is that men, disguised as ghosts of the dead, appear at night in order to announce to the people that they have chosen so-and-so to be the chief. Or in other words the chief is regarded as a divinely-elected personage.

In the coronation rites of the Aku of Wukari, there is a seeming absence of any period of seclusion, possibly because feelings at election-time run high, and it would not be considered advisable for a new king, who is elected at the outlying hamlet of Avi, to absent himself from the capital immediately after his election.

In theory the choice of the new king rests solely with the official known as the Kinda Cheku, acting on behalf of the Kû Vi, who is head of the Ba Vi kindred. But in practice the Kû Vi and Kinda Cheku first ascertain the wishes of all the senior officials. There is necessarily a great deal of preliminary intrigue and bribery, and the final choice remains a secret until the day of the election. It is said that the person chosen must have received the formal approval of the gods as declared by the divining apparatus.

About a week after the late king's burial at Nando the senior officials of Wukari, accompanied by the various aspirants to the throne, proceed to the hamlet of Avi, or Bendo Kû Vi as it is sometimes called, and there take up a position on one side of a marsh, on the other side of which are the huts of the Ba Vi and the cult-enclosure of the Kû Vi. The uterine relatives of the royal families, being debarred from any claim to the kingship, group themselves apart. The aspirants to the throne are made to sit down in a line in the full glare of the sun. In due course the Kinda Cheku arrives from the other side of the marsh accompanied by a band of the Kû Vi's followers all armed with bows, arrows, and sticks. The Kinda marches up and down the line, inspecting the various candidates, as though uncertain of his choice. With this we may compare the Baganda custom by which "the Kasuju walked slowly along the line of princes . . . looking at each prince as he passed, as though he were doubtful whom he ought to present."¹ The Kinda Cheku then withdraws across the marsh and makes his report to the Kû Vi. Finally he returns and seizes by the wrist the chosen candidate who is

¹ Roscoe, *op. cit.*, page 190.

carried off across the marsh on the shoulders of a strong man, assisted by several others. The idea of the shouldering is that the king-elect, being already regarded as a god or potential god, must not be allowed to touch the ground. Among the Baganda and Thonga also the king-elect was carried off on the shoulders of attendants.¹ The rejected candidates are driven off with sticks, and later assemble disconsolately under the shade of some trees, having spent the whole morning exposed to the heat of the sun. The chosen prince is taken into the Kû Vi's sacred enclosure and is there set on a bed of leaves, for he must not touch the ground. He is stripped naked, washed, and girt about the loins with a covering made of the skins of a jerboa, a hare, and a small antelope.² It is said that he is then made to run round a mound three times and in doing so is well buffeted by the Kû Vi and his followers. I was unable to obtain confirmation of this statement, and it would seem to be incongruous with the previous shouldering, etc. of the new king. On the other hand among the Yoruba there is a similar belief that the Alafin-elect was flogged and rejected if he did not bear the pain with fortitude.³ Mr. Hocart has drawn a parallel between installations and initiation rites, and if the king-elect is buffeted the buffetings would correspond to the severities administered to initiates and represent, perhaps, a ritual combat with the powers of evil. The king-elect is given a new name and his hair is undone and replaited. (It may be remarked in passing that among the Jukun the hairlock, characteristic of the tribe, is regarded with a religious reverence. No one without a hair-lock is allowed to enter any shrine, and the hair-lock is considered to be a mark of good-breeding, just as in Ancient Egypt it was the distinguishing mark of princes.⁴)

The Kû Vi also instructs the king-elect in the ritual which must be observed by kings, and he then addresses him as follows :

¹ Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 198, and Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. ii, p. 373.

² Symbolic, apparently, of the embryonic state. In Egypt the Pharaoh at consecration was wrapped in an animal's skin which was called "the cradle skin". See *E.R.E.*, vol. vii, p. 318.

³ See Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 568.

⁴ See *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v, p. 735. Among the Yoruba of Oyo the Kakanfo or commander-in-chief used to wear a plaited hair-lock called *Ashu*, which was allowed to grow on the part of his head which was inoculated with war "medicines". The hairlock is a sign of royalty among the Okpoto and Bura, and in South Africa among the Thonga (see Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 360).

"To-day we have given you the house of your father. The whole world is yours. You are our guinea-corn and beans, our *jô* and our *aku* (i.e. the spirits and gods of our worship). Henceforth you have no father or mother. But you are the father and mother of all. Follow in the footsteps of your forefathers and do evil to no one, that your people may abide with you, and that you may come to the end of your reign in health." The assertion that the new king has henceforward no father or mother is noteworthy, for its obvious meaning is that the king, having been reborn as a son of the gods, has no longer an earthly father or mother, and it was even stated that in former times the parents of a Jukun king were put to death on the day of their son's election. I omitted unfortunately to inquire whether his former wives and children continued to be recognized as his. In some parts of the Southern Provinces, where there are divine kings, wives married prior to the installation ceremony are put away together with their children.¹

Having thus addressed the king the Kû Vi covers him with a garment of cloth, for no one but the Kû Vi and king may see the loin-covering of skin. The king is also given a royal coat (*nyikpo*)² with frilled cuffs and a royal cap (black and white) which, according to some, is the cap formerly worn by his predecessor. The whip of office is also placed on his shoulders.³ The rain-making priest known as the Katsô confers on the king a black cloth of special rain-controlling property, and the Kuza or priest of the corn delivers into the king's keeping the seed-corn of his royal predecessor. The Kû Vi then summons the Kinda Achuwo from the other side of the marsh and formally hands over to him the new king, saying, "Here is the king we have chosen. Formerly we gave you a king and you killed him when he fell sick. Let me never hear that you have treated this king in this way." All then fall down before their new sovereign, and throw dust on their heads, saying, "Our crops," "our rain," "our health," and "our wealth." The king is lifted up and set on a white unsaddled⁴ horse which is led across the marsh to

¹ See Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 597.

² The *nyikpo* is decorated with representations of birds and scorpions or beetles.

³ The whip was also part of the royal insignia in ancient Egypt.

⁴ The Jukun formerly rode bare-back, and though saddles have long been used the word for saddle is non-Jukun.

the place where the senior officials and rejected candidates and their followers are patiently sitting, and on his arrival all fall down and bow their heads in token of fealty. The Kû Vi must never again meet the king face to face, and if the king has occasion to pass the Kû Vi's house in Wukari a cloth is thrown over his head. It might be inferred that the reason for the taboo is that the Kû Vi alone is fully aware of the fictitious character of the king's divinity. But it may be that the real reason for the avoidance is that the Kû Vi himself is regarded as having a share of divinity, which places him on the same spiritual level as the king. It is not uncommon in Jukun communities to find that the chief and certain priests must never meet. The same rule is found in Uganda, for Mr. Roscoe records that the priest who performs the ceremony for the prolongation of the king's life is never permitted to see the king, except on the occasion of the performance of the ceremony.¹ Incidentally we shall find that, as among the Baganda (and Ancient Egyptians) so, among the Jukun, there was a ceremony for the prolongation of the life of the king, or to raise the king from a lower level of divinity to a higher, in the same way as a Freemason or a member of a secret society is advanced from a lower to a higher grade.

The Jukun king-elect, mounted on his white horse, is escorted back the same afternoon to Puje, the old abandoned site of the capital of the Wukari Jukun. Here, it is said (though the whole matter is shrouded in secrecy) the new king sits on his horse until a woman, a widow of the late chief, who is afterwards known as the Wakuku, comes forward to salute him. The king and the Wakuku retire together to a remote part of the specially-erected enclosure, and there he displays his nakedness to her.² She confers on him a change of raiment. As the Wakuku subsequently becomes head of the women of the palace it would seem that the rite described is a form of royal marriage, and that the Wakuku becomes a queen.³ Mr. Hocart has recently drawn attention to the identity of installation and marriage,⁴ the underlying idea being, perhaps, that marriage is necessary to installa-

¹ Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

² The intention of the display of nakedness is, perhaps, to symbolize re-birth.

³ I had no opportunity of ascertaining the precise relationship of the Wakuku to the Angwu Tsi and the Wa-shi. (See pp. 340 and 341.)

⁴ See *Kingship*; also *Man*, June, 1929, No. 79.

tion just as a wife is necessary to creation. There may be the further idea that by marrying a widow of the late king the new king, if of a different dynasty, legitimizes the succession. It was common in Ancient Egypt for the founder of a new dynasty to marry the widow of the last king. At Puje also the king-elect meets for the first time the specially appointed palace official known as the Akû Nako. He sleeps two nights at Puje with the Wakuku,¹ and on the second morning, preceded by her, makes his formal entry into his capital, where he is greeted by the acclamations of the people. He does not take possession of the palace of his predecessor, but takes up his abode in the house of a relative. The sacred enclosure of the lately deceased king is completely destroyed, and the new king is not formally installed in his palace until after an interval of two years. But a few days after his arrival in the capital a general feast is held, and a noteworthy feature of this festival is the appearance in public to salute (by kneeling before) their "lord", of the various tutelary gods such as Aku Maga, Agashi, Aku Ma, Adagye, and Ashama. The personated ghosts of the dead also come out at night to pay their respects to the king, an indication not merely that the king is divinely appointed, but that, being a god, he is their spiritual superior. The final step in the coronation ceremonies is for the new king to make a tour of his dominions.

Before leaving the subject of the coronation rites reference may be made to two Jukun ceremonies which appear to be in the one case complementary to the coronation rites and in the other a repetition or commemoration. The first is, or rather was (for it is no longer observed), known as Ando Ku ; and the second as Puje.

As regards the Ando Ku rites it was not possible to obtain much information on the subject as the rites when observed were not only secret, but they have been in abeyance since the days of king Zikenyu. The term " Ando Ku " ² means " house of the king ", and the site of the former shrine was a mile or so outside the city walls. It would appear that sometime after the king had been in office he went to the Ando Ku and there carried out

¹ It is said that the Wukuku never again has sexual relations with the king or anyone else.

² The shrine was also known as " Ando Ku, ndo gbwi ", i.e. the house of the king, the house of pursuing ghosts. One informant stated that the ghosts were those of criminals, as it was customary to execute criminals there.

a rite under the supervision of the priest known as the *Ta ko atyu*,¹ by which he attained a new name, was reinvigorated, and reconfirmed in his kingdom. This name enabled a king to rejoin his ancestors with a status equivalent to theirs. Ashu Manu II had intended to carry out the rite, but was prevented by his violent death (see page 58), and no Jukun king has carried them out since, though the name which was conferred, viz. *Wa Sû*,² has been taken by recent kings. The rite consisted, it is said, in the spearing of a slave by the king in person. According to another account, the king himself merely wounded the slave, or made a pretence of wounding him, the actual killing being carried out by the *Ta ko atyu* who used for the purpose the royal spear and knife, of which he was the custodian. It was also stated that the king, on carrying out this duty, abandoned his horse and fled into the bush, where he was subsequently found destitute of clothes, reclothed, set on a white horse, and escorted back to the town amid the acclamations of the people. If these details are accurate we have again the idea of rebirth, a second rebirth, and a reinstallation. As rebirth presupposes death, the death of the king is portrayed by that of the slave. There were similar ceremonies in Uganda, for Mr. Roscoe records that after several years of office the king went through an elaborate ceremony of slaying a youth for the prolongation of the royal life, the muscles of the murdered youth being made into anklets for the king, and a piece of skin being cut from his body to be made into a whip, which was kept in the royal enclosure for special feasts.³

It is worth noting that the idea of death and rebirth is clearly present in the Uganda ceremony, for at the beginning of the rite the king's mother attends in order to behold her son for the last time. Another Uganda ceremony for confirming the king in his kingdom was "to catch a man, bind him, and bring him before the king; the latter wounded him slightly with a spear, and he was then put to death."⁴ It was also part of the Baganda coronation rites for the king to go out hunting, to shoot a gazelle, and later to shoot slightly with an arrow a man who was thereupon sent to Bunyoro as "scapegoat".⁵ I mention this because

¹ i.e. father of the king of the grave.

² See p. 123.

³ Roscoe, op. cit., p. 211. The Jukun king carries a whip as the emblem of office. The Bachama king carries a crook. The whip and crook were a principal part of the insignia of the Pharaohs, and Osiris is constantly depicted holding both.

⁴ Roscoe, op. cit., p. 209.

⁵ Roscoe, op. cit., pp. 197 and 200.

it has possibly some connection with the following account of a festival among the Igala, who are close neighbours of the Jukun, it being said, indeed, that the kings of the Igala and the Jukun are of the same stock. The account, which relates to the origin of the Ocho or hunting festival, and is told by Mr. R. S. Seton, is as follows: Idoko, father of the Ata (or King) of Ida known as Ayegba, lost his way on one occasion when out hunting. His followers searched for him in vain, and only succeeded in finding him at nightfall. The king thereupon declared that it was but fitting that when one such as he had been lost and been found again something should be done by way of celebrating the occasion and returning thanks to Ojo (God). So he ordered a goat to be brought and shot it with his bow and arrow. The goat was ripped open and placed in a basket over which a white cloth was laid, and the basket was set up on a platform. "The intention," says Mr. Sidney Seton, "was to make a sort of mocking imitation of the burial of an Attah, that all men might see and know that a goat had died and not the Attah." Idoko directed that his descendants should observe this ceremony every year at the beginning of the hunting season when the grass is burnt. All the Ata's wives and relatives assemble, therefore, at the spot where the Ata is required to go through the rite, which is followed by a feast and much merry-making. Should the Ata fail to hit the goat with his arrow, he is expected to die before the end of the year.

Now this ceremony would seem to be clearly related to the Jukun and Baganda ceremonies just described, but in the Igala ceremony a goat is substituted for a man. In one of the Baganda ceremonies there is a connecting link in that the man is only wounded and becomes a "scapegoat". Furthermore, there can be little doubt that all these ceremonies are genetically related to the Heb-sed or Habsadu festival of the Ancient Egyptians. As to the meaning of this festival there is considerable diversity of opinion among Egyptologists. For on the one hand it is held that the festival was an "osirification" of the king or the substitution of a simulacrum for a more ancient custom of killing the king at the end of a specified period of years, on the ground that if he passed the allotted span the nation would suffer through the declension of his powers. "The king was no longer killed, but all the paraphernalia of his 'end' were preserved: he himself

celebrated his own funeral . . . In later times the festival lost all significance, and Rameses II and other kings celebrated it at shorter intervals than thirty years." ¹ On the other hand, it is contended that there is no direct evidence in any Egyptian text or scene that king-killing was ever practised by the Ancient Egyptians, and that the purpose of the ceremony was to infuse into the royal person a new particle of divinity.²

The Nigerian evidence would seem to indicate that both these views are reconcilable. For there is no doubt that Jukun and Igala kings were ceremonially put to death when circumstances (such as a drought or a succession of bad harvests) demanded, and there is also no doubt that either the divinity of kings requires renewal or that there are grades of divinity and means by which a divine chief can become more divine. The fact that the Igala (and, as we shall see later, the Arago) ceremony is an annual ceremony would support the view of the necessity of constant renewal of royal divinity, while the Jukun ceremony of Ando ku and the Baganda ceremony for the prolongation of the life of the king would indicate that divine kings may advance from a lower to a higher grade. The normal span of the life of a Jukun king is generally stated to have been seven years, and it would appear that during the sixth year of his reign it was customary for the Jukun king to carry out the elaborate rites of Ando ku, that he might receive a further period of office and advance to a higher state of divinity.

It will be appropriate at this stage to refer to the Arago custom by which the chief of Keana would seem to renew his divinity annually. The Arago have long been closely associated with the Jukun, and though their chiefs appear to be of Igbara origin, the customs of the Arago have to a great extent become assimilated with those of the Jukun of Wukari. For the following details I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Judd.³ About harvest time the chief of Keana goes into retreat for a period of seven days, during which there is a silence throughout the town, no sound of axe or hammer being heard. Blacksmiths are required to transfer temporarily their forges outside the city walls, and cloth-beaters and others whose work creates noise also withdraw

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 462.

² See G. Foucart, *op. cit.*

³ Published in the *Lightbearer*, the journal of the Sudan United Mission.

to a distance. Drumming is not permitted. On the conclusion of the seven days' retirement, after much blowing of horns in the early morning, the chief appears in public mounted on a horse and adorned with marabout feathers. At a tree near the compound he dismounts, a lamb and fowl are killed, and the blood is sprinkled on the branches of the tree. The chief then re-enters his *o-pu-nu* or sacred enclosure. On the eighth day he again comes forth *in the moonlight* and visits the graves of his ancestors. On the ninth day at daybreak the people carry out calabashes of food and pots of beer to the former site of Keana, and in the afternoon the chief himself rides out. He is preceded by young men, dressed in various coloured cloths round their waists and each carrying a freshly peeled stick, and all proceed to a shrine. (These young men had for several days previously been parading the town with their sticks and spears.) On concluding the business at the shrine the chief returns to his enclosure and the whole town gives itself up to feasting and merriment. The chief reappears clad in his adornments of marabout feathers and is carried on the shoulders of a man, with two assistants at the side.

Important details are obviously lacking from this account. The ceremony may have a similar intention to the Habsadu of the Egyptians, the chief acting the part of Osiris. There are features suggesting that the rites are a commemoration of the coronation rites for there is the typical preliminary seclusion and absence of noise which characterize coronation rites throughout the world.¹ The rites may thus be a process of re-divinization. There is a possibility, however, that the original object of the rites had to do with the cult of the Moon, the chief being the head of the cult and the representative of the Moon. The period of seven days segregation may figure the normal period of the segregation of a menstruous woman, a period which is perhaps the origin of the seven-day week, the conventional substitute for the lunar phase.

There is a striking resemblance between the Arago custom and the Hebrew seven-day Feast of Ingathering. "On the first day shall be a holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work . . . Ye shall take on the first day branches of palm-trees and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice

¹ See Hocart, *Kingship*, chap. vii.

before the Lord your God seven days." ¹ It may be that this Israelitish festival also had originally to do with the cult of the Moon.

Among the Wukari Jukun there is the corresponding festival of Puje, observed annually in former times, but nowadays at irregular intervals. It is a harvest festival to celebrate the ingathering of the crops and it is also a renewal by the people of their allegiance to the king. In many of its features it recalls the Israelitish feast of Ingathering or of Booths as described in Leviticus xxiii, 33-4 and Deuteronomy xvi, 13-17. The Biblical directions are : "Thou shalt keep the feast of tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-press ; and thou shalt rejoice in the feast, thou and thy son and thy daughter and thy manservant and thy maidservant and the Levite and the stranger and the fatherless and the widow that are within thy gates. Seven days shalt thou keep a feast unto the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord shall choose ; because the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy increase, and in all the work of thy hands, and thou shalt be altogether joyful . . . every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee."

The Puje festival is held in booths outside Wukari at the close of the harvest, and lasts seven days. It is open to women and strangers, unlike all other religious ceremonies of the Jukun. The word Puje means "booths of menstruation", and no explanation is given of the term beyond the rationalization that women are permitted to attend the ceremony. If, however, the suggestion is correct, that the seven-days' festival is in origin a symbolical representation of menstruation, i.e. of the fertility associated from early times with the Moon, then many features of Jukun and Arago custom become intelligible, and a new meaning is given to the Hebrew custom of retreating into booths at the Feast of Ingathering.

For the Puje festival every Jukun householder provides, as he is able, corn to be converted into beer and food for the members of his household and his guests. He is expected also to send to the palace as many bundles of corn as he can spare in order that the king may be able to entertain the numerous

¹ Leviticus, xxiii, 33-4.

visitors who come to Wukari for the occasion. The king himself, assisted by the senior officials, is responsible for the large supplies of bulrush-millet required for making the ritual beer used at Puje (guinea-corn being taboo for this purpose). Some of this millet is handed to the two priestly officials known as Kû Se and Kinda Bô respectively. The former prepares a brew of beer which matures two days before the festival, the latter a brew which matures the day before the festival. With these brews each offers libations to his deceased predecessors, at the same time calling on the royal ancestors to bless the king, the people, and himself. Without these preliminary rites the festival could not be held, and if either of these two priestly officials were to die immediately before the festival the festival would have to be postponed until the following year. Likewise it would not be possible to hold the festival in the absence of senior officials such as the Abô Achuwo, the Abô Zikê, the Kinda Achuwo, the Kinda Zikê, or the Angwu Tsi. It may be noted also that the Kû Se and Kinda Bô are not permitted to shave their heads between one Puje festival and another. They only shave on the morning of the festival.

The "king's beer", the brewing of which is so arranged that it matures on the morning of the festival, is prepared by special officials, among whom are the female officials known as the Angwu Tsi, Angwu Kaku, and Angwu Ni, all women who have passed the age of menstruation. The brewing of beer destined for use by the king or for any religious rite is a religious rite in itself, and it is therefore taboo for any woman subject to menstruation to take part in the brewing.

It may be noted that not all of the bulrush-millet collected by the king for the Puje festival is used for the festival. Half of it is stored outside the palace, and is covered with thatch to protect it from the weather. At the beginning of the rains some of the grain is delivered to the Angwu Tsi to plant ceremonially. She plants the seed, together with seeds of other crops, in two rows close to Puje, at the same time offering a petition to her royal ancestors that the seed may bring forth a bountiful harvest. The ridges planted, being regarded as sacred, are surrounded with woven-grass matting, but it does not appear that the crop is ever harvested. On the morning of the Puje festival, however, libations of beer are poured at the base

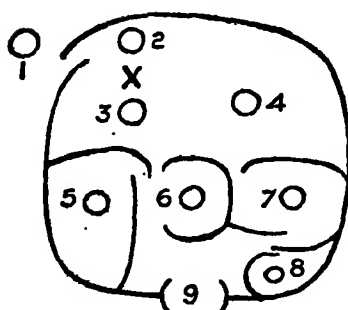
of the locust-bean branches which had, after the spring rites, been placed at the end of each ridge.

When the Angwu Tsi has formally planted the seed it is permissible for all to sow. But the more important members of the community endeavour to obtain a few grains of the royal seed to mix with their own, as this seed (i.e. the bulrush millet collected prior to the Puje festival) is believed to have magical powers. The king, therefore, directs some of the officials known as Ajifi to hand a few bundles of millet to the Abô Achuwu for distribution among those whose rank entitles them to this favour.

After this distribution there still remains a considerable quantity of millet seed stacked outside the palace. The king must always have a reserve supply of seed, for it would be a negation of the king's divinity to say that his corn had run out. He is the divine purveyor of corn, and when any new village chief or priest is appointed in outlying areas the first act of the local authorities is to send to the king for some of his sacred seed, of which the new chief or priest becomes the local custodian.

It was stated that if any of the stacked seed remained unused, so that it rotted, the seed would be regarded as an offering to the royal ancestors. One well-informed official declared (as a secret) that in the event of a king's death the remnants of the seed are used to fumigate the dead king's body. If this is so the custom is parallel with that of the Gabin and Ganda peoples of Northern Nigeria, who throw millet over the bodies of all persons who had occupied an important social position. And it recalls the Ancient Egyptian practice of burying with the dead figures of Osiris covered with silt in which seed had been planted, the intention being that just as seed (a dead thing) springs into life, so the human dead body shall be resurrected. No Jukun king ever dies. For to say that the king had died would be tantamount to saying not merely that the crops had died, but that the seed had died, and could never again spring up into life.

While the beer is being prepared, booths or pavilions are erected at Puje (which is situated two miles east of Wukari) for the king and the principal officials. These booths are a replica in miniature of the cult-enclosures at the capital. Thus the king's quarters are arranged as follows:—



KEY

1 = the shelter in which the king sits when he appears in public to receive visitors.

2 and 3 are the King's "bieko" and "biene", i.e. his day and night apartments.

4 is the hut used by the king's personal attendants.

5, 6, 7, and 8 are the quarters assigned to the senior officials who are in attendance during the king's ceremonial meals.

9 is the anteroom occupied by the officials prior to attendance on the king. It is called the *kyong jô*, i.e. "the sacred road".

The spot marked by a cross is occupied by the royal umbrella, under which the king sits when he receives the officials on the conclusion of the ceremonial meal.

All the huts are made of grass, and each section of the pavilion is fenced with grass matting six feet in height.

Each of the principal officials has his own pavilion or enclosure, situated within a radius of half a mile. The female official Angwu Tsi is entitled to a pavilion, but at the festival held this year (1929) she was content to occupy a roughly-constructed shelter.

Two or three days prior to the beginning of the festival Wukari begins to become crowded with visitors, who are not only Jukun from outlying villages, but members of neighbouring tribes; and many may be Muslims, as the festival is open to all. Early in the morning of the appointed day the king betakes himself before sunrise to the quarters prepared for him at Puje, and there he remains throughout the day. It is said that formerly the king went to Puje at midnight and slept there on the evening before the festival. It would appear, therefore, that even at Puje the king observed some kind of preliminary retreat. At Pindiga the Jukun chief, on the night previous to the festival which corresponds to the Puje festival at Wukari sleeps in the company of two images which are brought from their shrine to

his bedroom, and on the following morning the images are carried back in procession to the shrine where they are adorned with a cloth presented by the chief. A dog is sacrificed and the blood is poured into a pot at the door of the shrine. No religious rites of this character are performed at Puje at the present time, but it was stated that in former times it was customary to sacrifice a black cow or bull. Apart from the normal ritual of the king's meals the only religious ceremony observed at Puje is the formal visit paid by the two senior officials (the Abô Achuwo and Kinda Achuwo¹) to the site of the former Jukun capital known as Bioka, which is close to Puje. Here a mound of sand² raised at the basis of a *kirya*³ tree marks the spot where the former kings of Wukari used to reside. The Abô stands beside the mound and calls on each former king by name saying: "The king has come to Puje to observe the customs of his predecessors. We have been sent to bear witness of this to you and we bow down before you. Grant that our millets, ground-nuts, and beans may provide us with an abundance of food. Let not hunger invade the land. Do you care for our people, that all may live their lives in health and prosperity. Ward off disease and increase our numbers. Close the mouths of all wild animals. May the king sit on a seat of iron and not of stone" (for iron endures, but stone crumbles away).

The king leaves Wukari for Puje about 5.30 a.m. on the morning of the festival, for it is necessary that he should arrive at Puje before 6.30 a.m. in order to observe the early morning rites of *Kusha*.⁴ The procession is headed by a female known as Asho wa pyê (i.e. She who runs in front). It is said that without the presence of this female the festival could not be held. She is followed by the Wakuku, i.e. the widow of the late king who had become the principal wife of the reigning chief. After the Wakuku comes the king himself, mounted on a horse. An attendant runs beside him on the near side holding up the circular tray of woven grass known as the *gbweda* or *gbaida*. This tray is carried out of Puje in order to shield the king's eyes from the site of the former capital of Bioka, for it is said that if

¹ These two officials are attended by one known as the Ku ngwo hi, but this third official is not permitted to be present when the Abô offers the prayer to the royal ancestors.

² In Jukun ritual mounds of sand are usually associated with sun rites.

³ *Prosopis oblonga*.

⁴ See p. 159.

the king looked on the ancient site he would die. As an additional precaution against looking on the old site the king, in going to and returning from Puje, makes a detour. I was unable to ascertain the reason for this taboo, beyond the statement that all Wukari kings who had not advanced to a higher title than that of "Manu" could not look on Bioka. The last Jukun king to look on Bioka was Zikenyu. It was implied that the last six kings of Wukari had never attained the full degree of kingship, for none of them had undergone the necessary rites known as Ando ku,¹ by which the king advances to a higher stage of divinity and becomes entitled to a new name. The title Manu is conferred by the Abakwariga from whom the Jukun wrested the present town of Wukari. It is the equivalent of the Hausa title "Mallam" or "Teacher-scribe", and is considered, therefore, in some quarters to imply that the king is a servant of the gods rather than a god himself.

The *gbweda* or *gbaida* (which has a diameter of one and a half to two feet) has other uses than that described. The king may wear it on his head as a protection from the sun's rays. It resembles the sun disc itself, and it is possible that its use as a royal headpiece was originally based on the idea that the king was a son of the Sun. No one except the Angwu Tsi may own or wear a *gbweda*. It is also used daily in the royal enclosure as a gong, being beaten by the Katô at sunrise, when the king proceeds to his ablutions. The sound produced is well-known to the inhabitants of Wukari; but none but the Katô and a few of the senior officials are aware of the mode of its production.

The king on his way to Puje is attended by the royal drummer and fiddler. He is surrounded by grooms who are known as Ba-tôvî. Even among the grooms there is a succession of ranks. The head groom is known as the Ahwo, a title which in outlying Jukun communities may be borne by officials corresponding to the Akû Nako at Wukari. Under the Ahwo are the Kôtsî, Kûnjâ achuwo, Kû jâ wa titi, Kû shâ, and Kû bâ. When the king rides in public he is attended by the Ba-tôvî, who support him in the saddle when necessary, shout his praises, and draw attention to any impediments on the road. If the surface is bad they shout out "Dô ba", if they see a tree root

¹ See p. 139.

they shout "Dê bu ba", if they see a hole they shout "Gbwô ba", if an ant-heap "Tsu-a baba". When the king alights the Ba-tôvî remove his riding-boots. They are also responsible for watering and feeding the king's horses. They must clear the road leading to Puje, and before the royal burial rites two of their number (known as the Abô ta wachuwo and Abô ta wa titi) must clear the road which leads to Nando, the site of the royal graveyard.

Immediately behind the king are the "Ba-biene" or "Katô" who carry out to Puje the couch on which the king rests during the afternoon. Behind the "Ba-biene" are the "Ba-bieko" or "Ba-ko", i.e. the officials who attend on the king during the daytime, and are responsible for the preparation and serving of the king's meals. The Ba-bieko are sometimes described as the "Ba-nujô", i.e. those who escort the *jô*. This description is worthy of particular note, for *jô* means (a) gods or spirits, or (b) sacred things such as offerings to the gods. If the Jukun were Catholics they would apply the word *jô* to the Host. The Ba-nujô carry the dishes, food, and beer which the king uses during his ceremonial meals. The Ba-nujô are sometimes described as Ba-tutu, i.e. "Those who occupy a difficult position", because they have charge of the sacred elements, things charged with divine dynamism and therefore dangerous. The Ba-tutu are accompanied by young men carrying peeled sticks. These men are known as the "Akîe", and it is their business to protect the sacred elements and appurtenances from the vulgar gaze; curious onlookers are driven off and may be severely beaten.

Next in the procession are the senior officials headed by the Abô Achuwo. Each is surrounded by his own courtiers, and attendants (including "Akîe"). Among the officials is the princess or queen known as the Angwu Tsi.

On arrival at Puje the king immediately repairs to his quarters in order to observe the early morning rites of *Kusha*. When these are concluded, he leaves the enclosure and sits under a shelter where he receives the salutations of his own people and of visitors from outlying districts. A few yards away his thirty or forty wives are assembled under a tree, presided over by the Wakuku or principal wife, who sits in the centre of the circle. This assemblage includes the royal fiancées, immature girls who are distinguished from the wives by having both sides of the

head shaven. They and the younger wives are required to remain in a kneeling position (with their hands on the ground) before the Wakuku, but at intervals they are allowed to retire to help themselves to the refreshments provided. At Puje all the king's wives have their breasts uncovered, for no wife may appear before the king or before any senior official with covered breasts. In Wukari when they go out for a walk they cover their breasts, but if they see the king or any important official coming along the road they immediately uncover. Royal fiancées must always appear in the royal presence in a state of complete nudity.

About 11 a.m. the Abô Achuwo and Kinda Achuwo repair to the old site of Wukari in order to petition the royal ancestors as already described. On their return they announce to the king that this duty has been duly carried out, and the king then withdraws for the mid-day rite known as *Agyo* and *Agbu*.¹ On the conclusion of these rites beer and food are freely distributed, and the younger people engage in dancing.

About 3 p.m. most of the commoners return to Wukari in order to welcome the king when he makes his triumphal entry. The officials remain, and at about 4.30 p.m. the royal procession is organized. The king receives the Angwu Tsi who, on her dismissal, leads the procession back to Wukari, wearing on her head the *gbweda* which no one but the king and herself may wear. The order of the procession is the reverse of that in the morning.

Pending the arrival of the king the people assembled at the capital give themselves up to various forms of amusement. Bands of young men, fully armed, sing and dance the old war dances. Jukun women of the Yaku cult² and Abakwariga women of the Ajô Makpwa cult begin those dances of their order which result in a state of dissociation and ecstasy, the condition known in Northern Nigeria as *bori*. The tutelary genii Agashi and Ashama also appear, and both salute the twin pillars which stand outside the shrine of Yaku. This they do by lying down beside the pillars for about half a minute.

About 5 p.m. the royal procession begins to arrive. The Angwu Tsi is the first to appear attended by her courtiers. She is greeted by the people with shouts of "Our corn" and "Our

¹ See p. 160.

² They are known as "Wa hí bí".

beans", expressions which are only applied to the king and herself. She proceeds straight to her palace without waiting for the arrival of the king. Next are the groups of attendants bearing the dishes and other utensils which had been used at Puje by the king and senior officials. Each group is preceded by "Akie" or men carrying peeled sticks, with which they drive the people right and left to make way for the sacred elements and appurtenances. It is said that in former times the "Akie" would beat to death anyone who did not immediately retire into the background. Then follows the Abô Achuwo who rides in at a gallop with the other senior officials. All turn their horses swiftly and gallop back again to meet the king as he enters the eastern gate amidst loud shouts of welcome from his people. The drummers announce the king's arrival by playing two chants. The first of these is known as "the prancing of the steed" and is an attempt to imitate the steps of the king's horse. The second is a tonic representation of "Gâ kyô ri bi, zêku gâ kyô ri bi, ni she", i.e. "The slouching gait, the lion approaches with slouching gait: take to your heels!"

When the king reaches the shrine of Yaku he reins his horse and says "Hî" in imitation of a lion's grunt. The procession then moves forward in a swaying mass, and at intervals the king pulls up his horse in order to survey the people and receive their acclamations. It is noteworthy that whereas during the day the king and his officials are all dressed in the typical Jukun fashion, i.e. with a cloth rolled at the waist and extending to the feet, the upper part of the body being left bare, these garments are changed for the triumphal return to the capital. All the officials wear gowns, and the king dons the coat known as *nyikpo*, which is decorated with red and white representations of birds and scorpions. He also wears a decorated fez. He is surrounded by twenty grooms one of whom fans him while another holds the state umbrella close to his head. Many of his wives also walk or run beside his horse.

After visiting the north and south gates the king returns to the palace and there dismisses the people saying: "I thank you all. I have performed the custom of our forefathers."

Feasting and dancing are kept up in the town for a period of seven days, at the end of which the Abô and Kinda again repair to Bioka, the old site of Wukari, in order to bear witness to

the royal ancestors that the Puje festival had been successfully held.

The Daily Ritual.—Jukun kings are manifestations of the gods, or live in such close communion with deity that there is no distinction between kings and deities. The same is true also of the more important priests of the Jukun cults, for, as they also live in close association with the gods, they become in a measure identified with the gods they serve, and penetrated with divine power. The daily ritual, therefore, for both kings and priests is the same and consists in the ceremonial drinking of beer at fixed times of the day. The rite may be regarded both as a feeding of the god and as a Holy Communion with Deity. Beer is the food of the gods; and when the king drinks the beer he not only receives the same nourishment as the gods, but actually feeds the gods immanent in his person. Similar conceptions are found all over the world. In Polynesia the chief's kava was clearly religious and was accompanied by hymns and prayers. Kava was the drink of the gods, and the effect of ceremonial kava was to bring the god to the man, and make the god and the man one.¹ In Zoroastrian religion the ceremonial drinking of haoma was a sacramental communion with deity, and in India the drinking of soma was one of the most important features of Vedic ritual. "We have drunk soma; we have become immortal; we have gone to the light, we have found the gods."² The drinking of wine in the Dionysian rites was a solemn sacrament, the "communicant" receiving the spirit of the god of the wine. The wine in fact was regarded as the god. In the same way among the Jukun, whose gods are corn-gods and whose kings are the corn itself, beer brewed from the corn is not merely a gift of the gods but is the god. And when the king of the Jukun daily drinks the ceremonial beer he may be said to offer himself as a living sacrifice. The rites are, in fact, regarded by the Jukun congregation assembled in the precincts in much the same way as a Catholic congregation regards a celebration of the Mass.

Every Jukun chief and official priest has attached to, or included in, his compound a sacred enclosure fenced off from the rest of the compound with grass-mats supported by poles. This enclosure has two main subdivisions, viz. (a) the *biene* or sleeping quarters (with lavatory and privy), and (b) the *bieko*, containing the chief's day quarters (i.e. the hut in which he

¹ Hocart, *Kingship*, pp. 58 and 59.

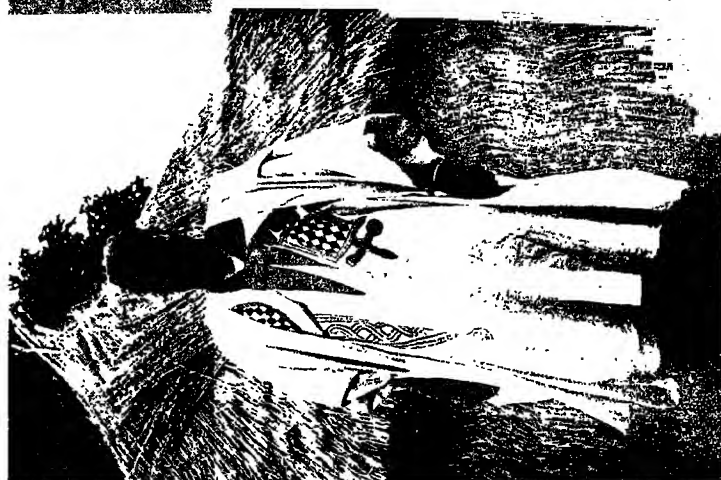
² Rig-Veda, viii, 48, 3.

ceremonially eats and drinks, and the huts in which his food is cooked) and the various shrines. Ranged around the *bieku* are the quarters assigned to the enclosure attendants and to those officials who are permitted to enter the enclosure. A sketch of a typical enclosure is given on p. 319. The enclosure of the king of Wukari is a veritable maze, as each group of senior officials has separate quarters within the royal enclosure. Thus the Abô Achuwo, Abô Zikê, and Awei occupy one section during the rites; the Kinda Achuwo, Kinda Bi, Kinda Kuvyû Nju, and Kinda Matswen occupy another; senior members of the royal family another; the Katô Banga, Kû Ngwohwî another; the Kû Puje and other Kû another; and so on.¹ No woman, with the exception of the Angwu Kaku,² is allowed to enter the royal enclosure. It is not permissible for any member of the enclosure to enter any other section of the enclosure than that to which his rank entitles him, and it is totally taboo for any but the immediate personal attendants on the king to enter the king's day or night apartments. The king, on the other hand, may not visit any of the various sections allotted to the senior officials, and it is said that if he broke this taboo the corn would not ripen. The utmost decorum is required from all members of the enclosure. To smoke tobacco inside the enclosure or even to carry the odour of tobacco is punishable by fine or expulsion. Wrangling within the precincts is also a grave offence. It is even an offence to enter the sacred enclosure wearing the hair-lock in a manner other than that prescribed, e.g. at the side of the head instead of at the back, or with shaven spots at the side. Intrusion by an unauthorized person would now be punished by a heavy fine, but in former times was punishable by death or enslavement. All the members of the enclosure are sworn to secrecy. That is to say that they may not speak to any non-member about anything that goes on within the enclosure. This does not imply that all who regularly attend the enclosure are fully acquainted with all that goes on within the enclosure. On the contrary the full details of the daily liturgy are known only to the three most senior officials, and to those personal attendants on the king who, as ministers of the god-man, may be regarded as priests and acolytes. These ministers are the Akû, Katô, Iche, Ajifi, Awei, Hwo Atana

¹ Since the above was written a complete plan of the sacred enclosure of the king of Wukari has been obtained and is shown in the Appendix. ² See p. 341.



THE CHIEF OF DANPAR



THE LATE KING'S BROTHER

(Gwana), Asau (Gwana), etc. They are usually uterine relatives of the king or chief, and the reason assigned for this rule is that the safety of the chief is secured by surrounding himself with attendants whose families have no claim to the throne. It is possible, however, that the original reasons were different. The custom may be a survival of times when the Jukun family was organized on so-called matriarchal principles; or it may be due to the common practice in Africa and elsewhere whereby invading patrilineal peoples who secured the political control sought to win the protection of the local deities by leaving the administration of religion in the hands of the aborigines. If the chief was himself to become a god, his "ministers" had to be members of families which had, from time immemorial, ministered to the gods of the locality. The principal minister (in the religious sense) is usually the Akû Nako or Ajiff, for it is he who pours the libations on the chief's behalf over the royal graves, or in front of the secret, sacred symbols which are the outward and visible signs of the deities who are ever present with the chief. It is he also who is responsible for the duty of seeing that the chief is ceremonially fed at the appointed times, either by his own hands or (more usually) by the hands of young boys who have not yet reached the age of puberty. At Wukari the Akû Nako, Iche, and Katô are primarily responsible for this duty, the Iche and Katô Nako seeing to the cooking, and the Akû Nako to the serving of the food and beer (by the hands of small boys known as Katô a kiko). The Katô and his assistants are also responsible for the duty of washing the king's dishes which may not be touched or even seen by any person other than the enclosure attendants. Other duties of the Katô are to fetch water for the king's use, and to carry the enclosure paraphernalia when the king goes on tour. The duty of keeping the royal enclosure clean and in good repair falls on the Awei and Katô.

We may now proceed to give a generalized account of the daily liturgy which, whether carried out on behalf of a king, chief, or priest, is, in its essential features, the same. At the first peep of dawn the Ajiff, Iche, Baraya, or one of the Katô Biene, or *zhe-ba-biene* ("gentlemen of the bedchamber") enters the royal sleeping apartments. He salutes the king by going down on his knees, throwing dust on his shoulders or slapping his thighs and saying, "The Sun has risen. It is time to enter

the 'bieko'." He then withdraws, taking with him the king's gown and trousers which he lays on the couch in the day apartments. The king proceeds to the *Atâ sai* or bathroom and there washes himself scrupulously with water previously deposited by the attendant, and on concluding his ablutions he throws a cloth round his shoulders and proceeds to the day apartments where he dons his trousers and gown.¹ The entire "bieko" has previously been swept clean by one of the boy-attendants, for it is said that if the king were to enter an unswept "bieko" he would die within the year. This same attendant is also required to fetch the water for the king's matutinal ablutions. He proceeds to the stream or well² with the special jar which he must carry on his shoulders and not on his head, a rule which applies also to all sacrificial foods.³ In his right hand he carries a stick, the symbol of his office, and all whom he meets on the road make way for him with averted eyes; for the pot itself is regarded as sacred, and the water placed in it as holy water.

In the king's day apartments, or close beside them, there is the secret shrine of the king, a circular mound of sand, beside which (or buried underneath it) is the symbol of deity. This may be a hoe-head (the corn-symbol), a spear (the symbol of victory), or the skull or some part of the body of a former king who is now regarded as a tutelary god. Or the gods may be represented by pillars of baked mud, or animals and human-headed masks. The Ajifi or other officiant removes from the symbol its straw-plaited covering known as the *hwôshé*, and, dipping his hand in a platter of water, he touches the ground with his moistened fingers three times. The intention appears to be to convey to the gods some water for their morning ablutions. He next proceeds to wash thoroughly the sacrificial dishes, and when he has done so he pours some beer from a pot into a large calabash. Kneeling before the symbols he transfers a little of the beer from the large calabash to a smaller, and pours a preliminary libation into the centre of the mound or recess in the ground before the symbol. He then recharges the calabash

¹ At Wukari the circular woven-grass tray known as the *gbweda* (see p. 149) is beaten by the senior Katô *biene* when the king proceeds to his ablutions.

² In some cases a special well was reserved for royal use.

³ All Jukun, and in particular Jukun chiefs and priests, regard their heads as sacred to the gods, and on no account may a chief or priest place anything on his head.

and holds it in both hands, while the king, also kneeling, offers some such prayer as the following: "The Sun has risen, and I have come to you on behalf of the people and found you. If aforetime my forefathers did not do as I now do, then may these rites be spurned; but if I am their duly appointed successor, then may my offering be received. Grant that the entire people may have health, that our crops may be bountiful, and that famine may never overtake us. May our wives bear children, and the bush lands abound in game-animals. Let no evil thing overtake us this day." Two libations are then poured over the cultus-emblem by the officiant, who, when the king has risen, sweeps the ground in front of the symbol, retiring backwards as he does so. The officiant then scrupulously washes his hands and consumes the residue of the beer left in the larger calabash. The preliminary morning rites sometimes also (as at Gwana) include the pouring of libations on the graves of royal ancestors.

The king is now himself formally served with beer. This is a religious ceremony carried out in secret according to a prescribed ritual. At no time may a Jukun king, chief, or priest help himself to beer or food. These must be served to him ceremonially at appointed times by the appointed acolytes, young circumcized boys who have never had sexual relations with women, and who are not permitted to leave the palace precincts.¹ The beer offered to the king is taken from the same pot as that from which the libation-beer had been drawn. It is a sacred fluid prepared ritually by women past the age of menstruation. Beer may be purchased at any time in any Jukun market, but it would be heinous to offer bought beer either as libations to the gods or as drink for a chief or priest. The acolyte approaches the king, and, sitting down on his heels, takes a calabash cup and fills it with beer from a larger calabash. Holding the cup with both hands he extends it to the king with bent head. The king receives it, and, as he drinks, the acolyte sinks his head to the ground. When he has finished the beer he gives a slight cough, and the acolyte receives the cup with both hands and again fills it, unless the chief indicates by a head-shake that he has no desire for more. The acolyte then washes both the calabashes carefully, and also washes his hands.

¹ In Ancient Egypt the medium in spirit-gathering had to be "a boy pure before he has gone with a woman" (*Book of the Dead*, chap. c, rubric).

He places the smaller calabash inside the larger, and covers both with the hwôshê. He then kneels down in front of the king and smooths the sand before him, retreating backwards as he does so. This rite he repeats with a brush. The intention in smoothing the sand is said to be twofold: (a) to cover up any drops of the sacred element which had fallen from the king's lips, and (b) to remove all traces of footprints. As regards the former, it was stated that the sacred elements were not supposed to be dropped,¹ and as regards the latter that if any unauthorized person were to enter a shrine or the sacred hut of the king his intrusion would be revealed by his footprints. It was further suggested that a king's footprints might be used by a sorcerer to work mischief against him. This latter explanation can hardly be accepted, as a king's divinity renders him proof against witchcraft, and it is possible that the footprints are removed in consequence of the belief that a divine being cannot leave footprints, a belief which may account for the taboo against a king touching the ground. The ceremonial removal of footprints was a regular feature of Ancient Egyptian ritual, even when the officiating priest was the Pharaoh himself,² and it is worth noting also that in Egypt the place where magic rites were performed had to be kept scrupulously clean, and that one of the modes of ensuring cleanliness was the sprinkling of clean sand.³ Among the Jukun every shrine and every royal enclosure is kept coated with clean sand.

During the performance of these matutinal rites the senior officials of the town, who are members of the sacred enclosure, sit quietly and reverently in their allotted quarters outside the king's day apartments. All members of the enclosure are bound to be present at the early morning rites, unless previously excused on the ground of ill-health or urgent private affairs. Failure to attend without adequate excuse would result in a temporary or permanent exclusion from the enclosure. Anyone sentenced

¹ According to Tertullian, early Christian priests took great care that no fragment of the Communion elements fell to the ground, lest the body of Jesus should receive injury.

² See Dr. Blackman, *E.R.E.*, vol. xii, p. 779: "The final act of the chief officiant before leaving the sanctuary was to obliterate his own and his assistants' footsteps. This he did by sweeping the floor with a cloth or with a besom made of twigs." For a description of the Egyptian ritual of removing the footprints, see Alan Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemkhet*, p. 93.

³ See Dr. Blackman, in *E.R.E.*, vol. x, p. 482.

to this, the highest form of disgrace which can befall any Jukun of importance, would seek the assistance and mediation of the Angwu Tsi in order to regain admittance to the select congregation.

When the king has finished the ceremonial draught, the Akû Nako or Ajifi directs the assistant acolytes to pour some of the beer into separate calabashes which are distributed among the various assembled officials, all of whom are bare to the waist.¹ This beer is drunk without ceremony, but it is nevertheless regarded as a form of Holy Communion with the ancestors and gods. If there is no beer for distribution, as sometimes happens in the smaller communities, the acolyte announces to the congregation that "The town is not well to-day". When all have finished drinking, the most senior officials are escorted forward by the Akû Nako or Ajifi to a point close to the door of the king's hut. The king greets them by saying, "Welcome, seniors," and all then kneel down, place their hands on the ground, and then on their shoulders, and slap their thighs. At Wukari it is not customary for the senior officials to make any verbal reply to the king's greeting, but in other localities the seniors may say, "Have you passed the night well, Angya?" (Angya being a title of peculiar respect). The king replies in the affirmative, and after inquiring as to the health of themselves and their households he listens to any news that the Abô and the various other officials may have to report. When the matters raised have been discussed the seniors withdraw and the king salutes the minor officials present and also the principal women of the palace.

These matutinal rites, which must be observed without fail, are known as "Kusha" or "The Lustration of the King", and it is noteworthy that they correspond closely with the daily rites which are performed in some Jukun shrines. Thus at Gwana the shrine of the god Adang is a replica in miniature of the private enclosure of the chief. It consists of four huts, one of which is the sleeping apartment of the god, one his day apartment, one the hut in which his food is cooked, and the fourth the hut of his wife. Rites, which are the counterpart of those carried out thrice daily for the living chief, are performed

¹ Among the Yoruba the Illari or pages at Ife must never cover the upper parts of the body (see Frobenius, *Voice of Africa*, vol. i, p. 278).

by the priest of Adang. At daybreak each morning he and the attendant acolytes proceed to the shrine, take the image of the god from its miniature bed and place it at the threshold of the door of his day apartment. Kneeling before it, the priest addresses the god saying, "The chief has sent me to inquire if you have slept well and if all else is well. Grant unto us, we beseech you, health, rain, food and fertility." He pours a libation of beer on the ground in front of the image and then retires, obliterating his footsteps with a brush. Having washed his hands carefully he and his assistants consume the remnants of the beer. Similar rites are performed at 2 p.m. and at sundown. On the conclusion of the evening ritual the priest addresses the god, saying, "Have you passed the day well? We are now going to our rest: do you rest well until the morrow." He then deposits the image on the couch of the sleeping apartment.

At Wukari the king may be again ceremonially served with beer about 10 a.m., this second rite being known as *Agyo*; but normally the *Agyo* rite is combined with that of the mid-day ceremony which is known as "escorting the Sun" (*bi nung Nyunu*) or as *Agbu anyutu*, i.e. the mid-day repast. General attendance at this ceremony is not required, as it would be clearly impossible for the majority of the members of the king's enclosure to go about their private affairs, such as farming, if they had to be present at the mid-day service. Before the ceremony begins the acolyte places two sticks at the entrance of the passage leading to the king's private apartments as a warning to all that there is no access to the king at this time. As the king enters the "bieko" the various Katô biene shout out "Agyo-o-o-o", and the six Ajifi slap their thighs a dozen times or so. There must be complete silence throughout the palace, and indeed throughout the town, for the king's meal is regarded as a sacramental communion with deity, it being said that "The king has gone to hear the voice of the Great Ones". The food is cooked by a male (the Katô Jô, or Katô Nako, or a small boy), but in some cases the cooking may be done by an old woman.¹ It is clear that the reason for the unusual procedure of leaving the cooking to a male instead of a female is the fear of menstrual blood. Incidentally this is the explanation of the custom which

¹ At the present time the king of Wukari's food is cooked (secretly) by an old woman who also does the milling. She is known as "Uwa bu hwa do".

is still practised by some tribes such as the Bolewa (who are now Muslim) whereby, on the occurrence of a drought, rites are performed, a main feature of which is the milling of flour and cooking of food by men, much to the amusement of the women.

When the food has been prepared it is handed by the Katô Jô to the Akû Nako or acolyte, who carries it to the day apartment of the king, setting the platters of porridge and soup on pads on the ground. He also sets a calabash of water on a pad. It is a strict rule that no dishes used by a king, chief or priest may be set directly on the ground, and this taboo would seem to be on a par with that which forbids a king to touch the ground with his hands or his feet. The reason for the taboo was not stated, but the idea is probably that of insulating the ground (and hence the crops) against the blasting dynamism of the king. The acolyte kneels before the king and extends to him the calabash of water in which the king carefully washes his hands. He then withdraws from the apartment leaving the king to eat in complete seclusion. When the latter has finished he either taps the calabash or coughs three times, as a signal to the waiting acolyte to reappear. The acolyte enters, goes on his knees and removes the dishes from before the king, placing them on one side. He then holds out with both hands a calabashful of water with which the king washes his hands. He proffers a cup of beer, and sits with head averted as the king drinks. Finally he goes through the rite of formally sweeping the ground in front of the king, retiring backwards as he does so. The acolyte, having washed his hands carefully, kneels down before the king with bent head. The king then utters a low hum and this is taken up by the Iche, or by the senior Ajifi, or by the acolyte, as the case may be, who gives vent to a loud "Oko-o-o-o-o" until his breath is expended. As the king retires to the *biene* the four or five Katô sê (i.e. Lustration Katô) announce the conclusion of the rites by slapping their thighs once and shouting out "Agbu-u-u-u". Those present in the outer enclosure then slap their thighs in answering salute. The prolonged hum or "Oko" which resembles the whistling of a distant steamer is known as the *abawowu* or "barking of the dog". When the women and children of the palace and the neighbourhood hear the "abawowu" they know that they may resume their domestic work and again engage in conversation. The acolyte now turns out the remnants of the

king's food into separate calabashes for his own use. He washes carefully the calabashes which had been used by the king and then washes his own hands scrupulously in a calabash of water specially set aside for this purpose. Next he takes some of the porridge and soup or stew from the main stock which had been originally supplied and divides it out into platters which he hands to those members of the enclosure who had been able to attend the mid-day ceremony. This food is eaten by them without ceremony, but is nevertheless regarded as a sacred repast. The acolyte, like the Christian priest at the Holy Communion, consumes the remnants of the food (left over by the king). None but he or an ex-acolyte may do so, for the food into which the king had put his hand is regarded as charged with a divine dynamism which would strike dead, as by an electric shock, any but the specially-appointed attendants on the king. This dynamism proceeds not merely from the king, but from the royal ancestors who are thought to share the meal. After the acolyte has eaten the remnants of the royal repast his hands are believed to be charged with a spiritual potency which would infect or injure any thing or person he touched. An assistant or ex-acolyte, therefore, pours water over the hands of the acolyte: for if the latter, at this stage, went and drew water for himself the water pot and all the water it contained would become contagious.

I have described this sacred meal as taking place about mid-day or soon after, and where such is the case the rites are repeated at sundown. As a general rule, however, most Jukun chiefs and priests repeat at mid-day the ceremonial drinking of beer only, leaving until the evening the ceremonial consumption of food. The evening meal is known as "Gedi" or "Agbu a nyunu zo" or "Agbu a tsunu" or "Agbu afêtse", i.e. Sun-down repast; and the rites, which are begun at sunset, are precisely the same as those described above. There must be complete silence in the town, and any children making a noise outside the palace would be driven away by the police or attendants of the king. At Wukari it is not incumbent on all members of the king's enclosure to attend the evening ceremony, but the most senior officials must be present in their respective stalls. It may be noted that if the king himself is not in his appointed place when the meal is ready to be served the acolyte goes to him and, kneeling down before him, strikes his thighs three times as a sign

that the time for the evening celebration had arrived. On the conclusion of the meal the king proceeds to his bedchamber escorted by the two senior palace officials, one of whom carries before him the royal sword. As he passes the attendant congregation of senior officials all sit reverently without formal salutation. On arrival at the *biene* or sleeping apartments the two officials hand the king over to the bedroom officials saying, "We have brought to you the king in health; may you restore him in the morning likewise in health." The senior officials, when they have finished eating, present themselves at the door of the king's sleeping apartment and there bid him a formal good-night, the method of salutation in the evening being by cracking the third finger and thumb (and not by touching the ground and then the shoulders, which is the form of salutation during the day).¹ It is an offence punishable by fine for any important official to fail to bid the king a formal "good-night". The king may converse a little with some of the officials, but if he feels disinclined for conversation he may send word to the officials that he dismisses them until the morning.

Such is the main outline of the daily ritual of the Jukun king, chief and priest. It is a ritual which is not confined to the Jukun, but is found elsewhere in the Benue regions and without doubt in the Southern Provinces and other parts of West Africa. Indeed it is probable that a similar ritual has existed at one time over a large surface of the globe. The ritual is a close secret, and it is probable that I failed to discover a number of essential details. That the liturgy of the Jukun was in many ways paralleled in ancient Egypt has been shown by numerous notes, and that it was also the current custom in the Sudan during the eleventh century of the Christian era is evident from the writings of El Bekri, who speaking of the daily ritual of the "Kanda" of Kaoukaou says, "When the king sits down (to eat), a drum is beaten and the negresses begin to dance, letting their hair float loose; no one engages in any business in the town until the sovereign's repast is finished; then its remains are thrown into the Nile; ² the attendants utter cries and exclamations and by this the public are informed that the king has finished eating."³

¹ At Kona the evening salutation is by clapping the hands.

² Among the Baganda the remnants of the king's food were given to his favourite dogs, "for no human being was permitted to eat any food left by a sovereign" (see Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 207).

³ *El Bekri's Travels in West Africa*, French translation, p. 342.

An interesting point in this description is that the Kanda (or Kant as we should say in Nigeria) was a professing Muslim. It may be added, in conclusion, that if any Jukun king, chief or priest, were negligent in his daily duties—an almost unthinkable thing—the senior members of the enclosure would come at once and remonstrate with him, and demand to know if it was his intention to involve the whole of the country in destruction! ¹ Or if, in a fit of anger, he threatened to forego the daily rites, the people, stricken with consternation, would take immediate steps to allay the royal wrath. I would suggest, therefore, that a main reason for the killing of the king during serious ill-health was that by continued ill-health he was unable to perform the daily rites by which the royal ancestors were fed and the life of the crops sustained.

The Death and Burial of the King.—According to Jukun tradition the Jukun king was only allowed to rule for a period of seven years, being put to death at any convenient time after he had reached this allotted span. There is a similar tradition among the Yoruba that the Alafin of Oyo ² might not reign longer than seven years, and among the Ibo ³ seven years was apparently the limit of rule for some priest-chiefs. ⁴ No reason is given for the limitation of the period of years to seven. The number seven is apparently a sacred number in all Jukun communities, based perhaps on an ancient Moon cult. But possibly the choice of seven is due to the observation that famines seem to occur roughly at intervals of seven years in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Some Jukun, however, state that in former times the allotted span was no more than two years; and with this we may compare the three years or four years traditionally allowed to the Yoruba chiefs of Abeokuta and Ijebu. ⁵ The Jukun period of two years was subsequently extended to seven, it being said (after the extension) that if the king were killed before that time his ghost would pursue his slayers, but that if he were killed at any later time his slayers had nothing to fear.

¹ The country would be destroyed because of the starvation which would follow as a result of the starvation of the royal ancestors. Moret in speaking of the daily ritual in Egypt says: "Si le roi ou les prêtres manquaient à ce devoir du service sacré, le dieu dépérissait" (*Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalier en Egypte*, p. 220).

² See Frobenius, *Voices of Africa*, vol. i, p. 183.

³ See Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 103.

⁴ Among the Kanakuru tribe the two sectional chiefs used to exchange office at the end of a period of seven years.

⁵ See Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 574.

We have seen that there were rites performed some six or seven years after the king had been crowned, the object of which was to advance the king to a higher degree of sovereignty, or in other words to secure a prolongation of his period of office. Kings might, therefore, reign for more than seven years and if any credit can be attached to the chronology of the lists of kings in the various Jukun communities it would not appear that the septennial rule was enforced during the last two hundred years. Further if we are to believe the concurrent tradition that a king who fell sick was put to death it must have been permissible to kill the king before the completion of seven years. It may be assumed generally that a popular king was allowed to remain in office so long as he was able to carry out the daily liturgy and as long as the harvests were satisfactory, but that at the end of seven years he was subjected to an ordeal which obtained for him a further probationary period. It is possible that an unsatisfactory king met his death during the ordeal, i.e. during the Ando ku rites.

It is not possible to give full and accurate details of the ritual of the killing and burial of the king, as these are only known to a few officials; or it might be more correct to say that parts of the ritual are known to particular officials, and parts to other particular officials, it being taboo and dangerous for one official to breathe to another a single syllable of the secret duty pertaining to his office. Even the king himself is ignorant of some parts at least of the procedure. The following account is based partly on hearsay and partly on such details as were revealed by persons who had official or accidental knowledge of the ritual.

When the king became sick, or infirm, or broke any of the royal taboos, or proved himself unfortunate, he was secretly put to death. Whether any king was, in the olden days, permitted to die a natural death cannot now be known, but it is noteworthy that many Jukun kings are said to have reached a hoary old age, so that mere old age was not in itself considered a sufficient cause for the ritual murder of the king. The mode of killing was by strangulation with a string or piece of cloth. It is never suggested that the Jukun kings, like those of the Yoruba and of Meroe,¹

¹ Strabo, according to Pory, "affirmeth that in old days the authority of the priests of this island (Meroe) was so great that by a meane and ordinarie messenger they would commande the king to murder himselfe." See Leo Africanus, vol. i, p. 29.

were invited to commit suicide, but it is possible that the stories of Jukun kings calling on trees or the earth to open and swallow them is to be interpreted in this way. Those appointed to commit the murder entered the palace at night having previously suborned the Akû Nako, Katô and Iche to assist, if not to take the principal part in the murder. The two executioners tied a noose of cloth round the neck of the sleeping king, and going off in different directions pulled the cloth until the king was strangled. It is said that if the king woke up and attempted to summon assistance the executioners reminded him that they were but performing the ancestral custom and that it behoved the king to behave quietly, as his royal ancestors had done before him. Another method was for the conspirators to bore a hole in the wall of the king's sleeping apartment and pass a noose through to the king's wife, who fastened it round his neck, the conspirators then pulling on the noose from outside. The king could only be killed by strangulation for two reasons: (a) that the executioners might not look into the king's eyes as he died, for if they did his departing soul would slay them; and (b) that the king's blood might not be spilt. It is also said that no one who had a claim to the throne might be present at the king's execution.

The king's demise was and is kept a close secret, and is not, in fact, revealed until many months afterwards, when the body is formally buried. Various reasons are assigned for this secrecy such as that the counsellors may have time to choose a successor, that bloody contests between aspirants for the throne may be avoided, or that the royal slaves and wives may not run away. But the real reason would seem to depend on the belief that the king is the crops. If he dies between March and December an announcement of his death would be tantamount to a repudiation of the central feature of Jukun religion, viz. the identification of the king with the annual corn; or to say that he had "returned to the skies" would be the same thing as saying that there would be no harvest that year. It would in fact be an invitation to the crops to wither up. His body is, therefore, kept preserved until after the harvest. Even at the present time, when it is no longer possible to preserve for long the secret of the king's death, it is believed that the crops harvested after his death are the late king's "seed".¹ If he dies in the dry season it might be supposed

¹ In Ancient Egypt grain was called the seed of Osiris. See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. i, p. 15.

that his death could be announced with safety, his functions being handed over to his successor ; but even in this case the normal rule is observed, though the ensuing crop is regarded as being that of his successor.

As the continued non-appearance of the king would excite suspicion among the people, especially the women of the palace, an announcement is made that the king is unwell. But he is never so unwell that he is unable to perform the daily rites. The palace officials, therefore, assemble every morning as usual and are served with beer, and one of the officials, viz. the Ajifi, personates the king. The same official also summons occasionally one or other of the late king's wives, and, speaking from behind a mat, intimates that he does not wish to see them for some considerable time. The secret is, however, revealed to the late king's principal wife. The Abô takes immediate charge of the late king's property, and it is said that an unscrupulous Abô turns the occasion handsomely to his own advantage, extracting even from the king's widows any loans he may have made to them under a pretence that he was acting at the king's request.

At Dampar, Kona, and Gwana, where the custom of king-killing and desiccation, if it ever existed, has long fallen into disuse, the period of secrecy is merely the interval of four to seven days required for the funeral arrangements ; and at Pindiga there was apparently a similar custom in the case of kings who died a natural death, it being stated (by Captain Abraham) that desiccation was only practised if the king had been put to death. If this statement is correct it would suggest that in former times no Jukun king was allowed to die a natural death.

The body of the king is, immediately after death, taken from the sleeping apartments to one of the huts of the king's *bieko* and is there handed over to those special officials ¹ whose duty it is to carry out the desiccation rites. It is laid on a platform of wooden planks or guinea-corn stalks. A frontal abdominal incision is made, and the heart is removed and placed on a pointed stick beside a fire. When it is thoroughly dried it is ground into a powder which is handed over to the Akû Nako that it may be secretly and periodically inserted into the food of the

¹ The Katô Puje and Iche Puje are said to be the officials primarily responsible.

king's successor. There are many parallels to this custom in Nigeria and elsewhere. Among the Gwana Jukun it was customary to eat the hearts of dead enemies in order to obtain complete possession of their life-soul, and some of the Yungur of Adamawa Province informed me that their forefathers always removed, when they could, the hearts of their dead enemies, dried them, powdered them and inserted the powder in their beer. Similar customs have been reported among the Ashanti, Basuto, and Sioux Indians.¹ Among the Yoruba it is commonly believed that the reigning kings feed on the hearts of their predecessors,² and among the Ibo the heart of the chief of Ebu is removed and made into a "medicine", which is used by his successor.³ The intestines, liver and lungs of the Jukun king are also removed, dried and buried separately, a custom which has been reported among the Toma, of the French-Liberian frontier, who also desiccate their kings.⁴ It is popularly believed also that the right hand of the king is cut off, dried and used as an amulet by his successor, and though it was denied by two responsible persons that this custom is now followed at Wukari, it is certain that at Kona it was the practice to preserve the right hands of chiefs. There is no evidence either that the skulls of kings of Wukari are preserved, but this also was a Kona custom, and Captain Best has reported that the skull of the Jukun founder of Gumshir (in Bauchi Province), who is stated to have come from Wukari, is worshipped at the present time. Among the Chamba, Bata, and Bachama it was customary to preserve the skulls of chiefs⁵; and Captain Ross has reported that it is a popular belief among the Yoruba that the corpses of kings of Oyo are beheaded and the skulls used as drinking cups by their successors. Mr. Farrow states that the practice of preserving the skulls of former kings was observed at Abeokuta during the 'nineties of last century.⁶ According to Mr. H. N. Nevins, the head of the king of Benin is removed at death and sent to Ife, the place of the head being taken by a model. It is possible that the skull

¹ See Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

² See Farrow, *Faith, Facts, and Fancies*, p. 21, and Talbot, *Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 827.

³ See Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

⁴ See *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (April-June, 1926).

⁵ See my article on these tribes, which will shortly be published.

⁶ See Farrow, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

of the king of Wukari is removed and a model substituted, for the present Jukun chief of Dampar stated that it was his belief that the body buried at Nando was nothing but a model. If this is so we may compare the custom of the Yoruba of Lagos by which a mock corpse of the king was buried six months after his death, the real desiccated corpse having been interred long previously.¹

The disembowelled body is sewn up, smeared with butter and salt, massaged and bandaged tightly with strips of cloth. It is then placed in an erect position in a hole in the ground, being supported by forked branches set under the shoulders and chin. A log fire is kept constantly burning all round the corpse. If the corpse is seen to swell up in any part an incision is made so as to permit the fluid to escape. It is said that the fat which exudes is collected in a pot and is, like the powdered heart, inserted by the Akû Nako into the food of the king's successor. With this we may compare the Benziri custom by which the fat of the desiccated dead is consumed by the relatives²; and the sentence in a hymn to Osiris, "Hap (the Nile) appeareth by the command of thy mouth, making men and women to live on the effluxes which come from thy members."³

The body of the Jukun king is tended day and night by the various Katô acting under the orders of the Katô Puje and Iche Puje. It is their business to see that the fire is not allowed to go out, to drive off flies and burn various kinds of leaves and roots so as to allay the odour from the corpse. For this purpose raw meat may even be thrown on the fire during the early stages of desiccation. The period of fumigation varies from four to ten months, according to the time of the year at which the king had died. Being the personification of the life of the crops he cannot be buried during the dry season. Otherwise the crops would die for ever. He is usually buried at the beginning of the wet season when the bulrush-millet crop has attained a height of about one foot.

It may be noted that preservation of the body of chiefs by fumigation is elsewhere in Nigeria practised by the Bini (Benin), some Ibo, the Igbara, some Yoruba, the Aro, and other tribes

¹ Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 480.

² Mr. Torday's information.

³ Budge, *Osiris*, vol. ii, p. 51.

in the Southern Provinces. Among the Toma of the French-Liberian frontier the body of the chief is lowered into a hole sunk in the middle of the dead chief's hut and a fire lighted over it to dry the corpse.¹ In Benin the body of the king is placed upright, covered with a thin coating of clay, and smoked by fires made all round the corpse. Among the Igbira, Owe and Igbedde the bodies of commoners as well as of chiefs are subjected to fumigation. Among other tribes of the Northern Provinces rites akin to mummification are practised. Thus among the Kilba and some groups of Margi and Higi it is customary to preserve the bodies of important people for three or four days, a fire being used to keep off flies. The body is given a temporary burial in sand for one night to loosen the skin. It is then placed on a bier and the epidermis is removed and thrown away. It is smeared with acacia juice (an agent commonly employed in tanning leather) or in a solution of mahogany bark. There can be little doubt that this custom is borrowed from peoples who practised mummification. In Ancient Egypt the body was laid for the mummification rites on a bier and was subjected to a saline bath which resulted in the complete denudation of the cuticle, the bath being given for the purpose of getting rid of fatty ingredients and preserving the tissues.²

A week or so after the death of the Jukun king the Katô Tûwo is sent to the Nani To, the head of the Ba-Nando kindred which is responsible for the carrying out of the royal burial rites, with a gift of five pieces of cloth and a message that the king is ill. The Nani To demands to know the cause of the illness, and when the Katô professes ignorance the Nani To replies that medicine must be administered so that the king's health may be speedily restored. Some months later the Katô again betakes himself to the Nani To with further gifts of cloth and says, "This illness is an illness indeed and passes our strength." The Nani To replies, "Well, if that is so you must bring my son to me" (the Ba-Nando being regarded as the "grandfathers" of all Jukun kings). In due course the Katô, accompanied this time by the seniors and numerous pieces of cloth, go to the Nani To and announce that the king's illness had proved too much. The Nani To makes a pretence of wrath and charges the senior men

¹ See *Bulletin*, op. cit.

² See Warren R. Dawson in *J.R.A.I.*, vol. lviii, 1928.

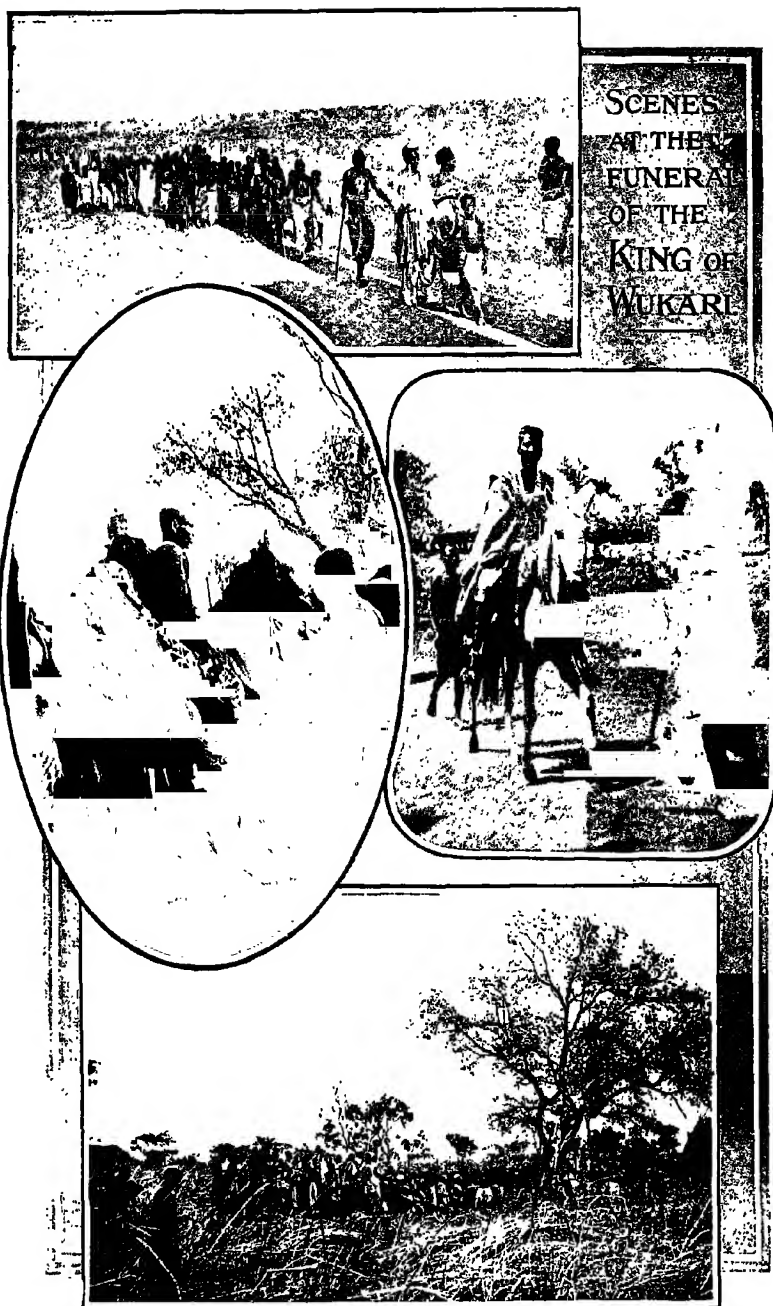
with the murder of his "son", but they say that the thing came from Chidô and had nought to do with them. The Nani To persists that they are responsible, and the senior men thereupon go down on their knees and throw dust on their shoulders, professing repentance. A day is appointed for the burial at Nando, and the Nani To, who is himself a priest, performs rites at his private shrine which permit him to go from Wukari to Nando, where he performs further rites which permit him to receive the body of the king. He and his followers then set about the construction of the burial enclosure. Meanwhile a public announcement is made at Wukari that the king is no more. His decease is expressed euphemistically by saying, "The Earth has broken my tooth," or by saying merely that the king has gone away. It is thought that he has returned to the skies because of the irreligiousness of men. On the other hand there is in some Jukun communities the Osiris-like conception that the deceased king becomes a Judge of the Dead in Kindo, i.e. the Lower World, for it was stated at Gwana that the ruler and judge of Kindo is Jirkar, the founder of the line of Gwana chiefs.

Several hours before sunrise on the appointed day the king's body is transferred secretly to the sacred enclosure at Puje, and later in the day large crowds assemble, each group of relatives and officials taking up the positions occupied by them during the Puje festival. About 2 p.m. a form of ritual is carried out, which, according to Captain Best, who was present outside the enclosure at the burial of the late king, is "punctuated by sounds reminiscent of the responses of a choir in a vestry". This ceremony lasts half an hour, and after a further pause of twenty minutes a special chant is beaten on a drum, while a fiddler strikes up the tune which normally signalizes the out-coming of the king from his palace. A section of the matting at the north-east corner of the enclosure is then undone and an unsaddled horse appears, ridden by one of the Akû (the Akû nguhwi or Adati) with the body of the king sitting astride behind him. The body is clothed in the royal coat decorated with red birds and scorpions, and the head is covered with a veil of white cloth which is sewn on to the neck and is surmounted by two red cloth topknots.¹ The hands are also veiled with white cloth, and the legs are either

¹ Compare the two feathers on the Crown of Osiris, indicative of Truth (see Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 320).

swathed in close-fitting white cloth or covered with riding-boots. The body is kept in position by two strips of cloth passed under the shoulders of the corpse and the horseman, and is supported at either side by footmen.¹ The horseman himself is bareheaded and wears a gown of blue cloth, but all the attendant Jukun are clothed, as always at religious ceremonies or in the presence of the king, in cloths rolled at the waist, the upper part of the body being kept bare. The horseman first faces south, then proceeds some paces north, then goes west and then returns eastward to begin the journey to the rising sun. At this stage all the people burst into loud lamentation, throwing themselves on the ground and crying out, "Our lord (*achindor*), whither are you going? Return, oh return! In whose hands have you left us? Our Corn, our Beans, our Ground-nuts!" The horsemen wheels the horse and a drummer plays a chant and sings, calling on the names of former kings and saying that the king whom they know is leaving them; may those who have gone before receive him well, and may he salute his ancestors on behalf of the people. The horseman again wheels his horse as though to go, and again the people break into lamentation. The Angwu Tsi falls on the ground saying, "And are you going off thus and leaving us destitute of rain and corn?" At this the horseman discharges some millet from the dead king's hand, and some water from a flask. Then, having bidden a final farewell to the Angwu Tsi and to the Abakwariga official who had conferred on the king one of the royal titles and now demands its return, the horseman rides off, accompanied by the senior officials and members of the royal family. These proceed as far as a small hamlet where the Kû Za or priest of the corn bars their progress with a demand for the return of the seed which had been conferred on the king at his coronation. A few seeds are handed to the priest who declares that they are worthless as they have been fully used. The Kinda protests that this is not their fault but is the doing of Chidô. They pray the priest to have patience and to allow them to spend the night there. On the following morning they proceed to the hamlet of the Kû Vi, who had conferred the kingship on the king, and there the progress of the party is again barred by a demand for the return of the royal coat, cap and whip. The priestly official known as the Katsô also demands the return

¹ The footmen are the Ahwo, Kû Shâ, Kû Njâ, Kôtsî, Kumba, and Kuju.



(Reproduced from "The Lighthouse," by kind permission of the Sudan United Mission)

of the rain-making cloth. The king is thus divested of his kingship and now becomes merely a corpse. He is given a new personal name and under this name the body is finally handed to the Ba-Nando.

At this stage (i.e. at the hamlet of Avi) all are compelled to retire save the Kinda Achuwo (who is solely responsible for the safe delivery of the body to the Ba-Nando) and the grooms. In former times there remained also four slaves and a second horse, two of the slaves and one horse to be used for sacrificial purposes, and the remaining slaves and horse to become the property of the Nani To. The reduced party, having crossed the marsh which separates the hamlet of Avi from Nando, is met by the Ba-Nando, headed by the Nani To.

The latter at first refuses to accept custody of the corpse, saying, "What is this? Take it away: I know nothing of it." But the Kinda and other officials fall on the ground, and, throwing dust on their shoulders, beseech him, with gifts of pieces of cloth, to receive his "son". Reluctantly the Nani To consents, and then with a flourish of sticks the Ba-Nando drive off the officials and withdraw to Nando with the corpse, slaves, and horses. The corpse is carried into the burial hut and laid on a bier which is covered with mats and with the royal rug known as *biewi*. Numerous cloths are laid over the corpse and beside it is placed the bag containing the late king's nail-parings and the hair which had been shaven from his head during his reign. The space between the bier and the walls of the hut is tightly packed with strips of cloth, the floor and walls of the hut having been first liberally coated with charcoal as a protection from termites. The doorway of the hut is then sealed up from the outside. The hut is entirely made of woven grass and is surrounded on the outside by a stockade made of the branches of the *Gardenia thunbergii* tree with the object of protecting the hut from wild animals.

This mode of burial closely resembles that of the king of the Baganda, whose body was buried in a hut on a bedstead and covered with bark cloths. The tomb was filled full of bark cloths tightly packed, and the hut was surrounded by a stockade. Mr. Roscoe adds that the nail-parings and hair which had been shaved during the king's reign were brought and placed by the body.¹ The late king (Ali) stated that he cut his own nails and

¹ See Roscoe's *The Baganda*, p. 107.

preserved the parings together with his head hair, shaven by a Hausa barber sworn to work no mischief. The oath sworn was accompanied by a rite of passing a firebrand in a circle round his head, and the king said that this was a symbol of the conversion of a non-Jukun into a Jukun, the circle being the sign of the circular tuft on the head which every Jukun wears and is possibly in origin a symbol of the Sun-disc that crowned the heads of the kings of Ancient Egypt.

Close to the burial hut a horse with its legs tied by ropes is tossed on the ground and killed with clubs. In former times two slaves, male and female, were killed by having their necks twisted, their bodies being left near the doorway of the royal tomb.¹ The king's spear was set in the right hand of the male slave, being kept in position by a binding of cloth. The horse's halter and the sickle used for cutting grass were laid by his head : for the dead slave was to look after the king's horse in the underworld. The female slave, an old woman, was laid in a reclining position with her right hand raised to the water pot beside her head.

It is said that in bygone days the favourite slave of a king would frequently himself express the wish to accompany his master to the other world. For a favourite slave was treated like the king's own son and fared royally. He could appropriate anything he liked, and if he committed a public offence was generally absolved by his master. On the death of his master he knew well that the days of his prosperity were finished and that if he remained alive there would be numerous persons ready and anxious to wreak their vengeance. If, however, a favourite slave did not offer himself the slaves themselves proceeded to choose one from among their number. It is said that when the slaves heard of their master's death some ran away and hid until the " election " was over. A runaway slave of a deceased king could seek asylum in the compound of the Nani To whose property he then became. The slave chosen for sacrifice was given plenty to eat and drink and was clothed sumptuously. He may have suspected his fate and tried to escape or, well pleased with the pleasures of the moment, have accepted his fate philosophically. The slave selected was known as *Abanuza*, i.e. the

¹ Some say that in former times the *Wakuku*, the king's principal wife was also put to death.

attendant of "The Corn". After death he became one of the slave ghosts whose cult is in the hands of the Ba-Nando. These ghosts are propitiated; and in times of drought, or when the harmattan wind is delayed, sacrifice may be offered to them, should the divining apparatus declare that the failure of the rain or wind was due to them, the king providing the sacrificial gifts.

When the Nani To and his assistants have completed their duties they carefully wash their bodies and perform rites at the shrine of Kenjo with libations of bulrush-millet beer and the blood of a black goat. The officiant says, "To-day we have brought to you your grandchild¹; do you receive him, and grant that we may have health of body and grain in abundance." The grave is guarded for a period of seven days in order that the bodies of the slaves and horses may not be seized by wild animals. Thereafter the Nani To and his assistants return to Wukari and receive the thanks of all. The hut over the king's grave is not, nowadays, kept in repair, but in former times it was rethatched when rites were occasionally offered on behalf of the living king. The occasions for such rites would be when a drought threatened and the divining apparatus had indicated that the rains were being withheld by the former king. Two slaves, provided by the king, were sacrificed, their necks being broken and the blood which exuded from the mouth and nostrils being caught in a calabash and poured on the top of the grave of that king who had been declared to be inhibiting the rains. The formula used was: "Your grandchild has given you this offering. If it is you who are withholding the rains then accept the offering and send us rain that we may harvest our crops and make libations to you."

It is further stated that in former times a slave was sacrificed on behalf of the new king at the grave of his predecessor. These rites have been replaced by offerings made by the Ba-Nando before their Atsi or Kenjo symbols.

Some Jukun aver that the body of the king was in former times placed in a boat of oziars plastered over with mud and set out to float on a small lake at Nando. It would seem difficult to reconcile this belief with the detailed account of the burial given above. But it may be that the body was at first placed in a boat and subsequently buried. Speke records of another part of Africa

¹ For this expression compare Roscoe's *The Baganda*, p. 109.

that when Dagara, king of Karague, died his body was sewn up in a cow-skin and placed in a boat floating on a lake, where it remained for three days, after which it was deposited in a hut on a hill, together with five maidens and fifty cows, all of whom died of starvation.¹ It may be noted that among the Jukun of Gwana, who do not practise desiccation, the body of the chief is wrapped in a sheepskin with the idea, it is said, that the sheepskin may serve as a mat for the chief in the Lower World : and that among the Pindiga Jukun the desiccated body of the chief was put into a canoe-shaped box before burial, and that after burial this box was placed on the top of the grave and covered over with earth.² Among the Igala, neighbours of the Jukun, the process is reversed, for the body of the king is first given a temporary burial in the ground and is then placed in a coffin which is buried in a vault.³ In this connection it is worth noting that Wiedemann considers that primitive Egyptians buried the body first in the ground or under the house until it had partially decayed and then transferred it to its final resting-place in the desert necropolis.⁴ Among the Dampar Jukun the chief's body is buried in the palace enclosure, but a week after death there is a mock ceremony of another burial, the official known as Awei Jô riding into Dampar late at night, as though he had, like the Kinda at Wukari, handed over the royal corpse to a family at Bieku, the ancestral necropolis. It is a general Jukun custom that, if any priest or important official dies at a distance from his home, parings from his finger and toe nails, together with his hair-lock, are sent back to his town for formal burial there, his body being buried at the place where he had died. The hair-lock of the Abô Achuwo, Abô Zikê, and Kinda is always buried at Puje, the owner's favourite horse being slain there at the same time.

It is not absolutely certain that at Wukari the favourite wife and the acolytes of the enclosure were put to death and buried with the king, but there can be little doubt that in former times this was the custom. For at Kona it was stated that the chief's favourite wife was strangled with string and placed in a grave beside the chief, and that a young enclosure-attendant was also killed that the chief might not lack someone to spread his mat for him in Kindo. This was the custom also at Pindiga.

¹ *Journal*, p. 181.

² Information of Mr. C. A. Woodhouse.

³ Information of Mr. Monckton.

⁴ *E.R.E.*, vol. iv, p. 459.

There is no formal post-burial mourning for a Jukun king ; but on the day on which the body is taken to Puje all Jukun shave their hair-locks and beards, and remain unshaven until the coronation of the new king. They then allow their hair to grow again, and the sprouting of the beard is likened to the sprouting of the new crops.

During the interregnum no pounding of corn in mortars is allowed ; the corn has to be beaten with sticks, and it is said that the people suffer considerable discomfort owing to this rough method of preparing the flour. The conception underlying this practice would seem to be that the late king, who has now become an Osiris, has gone away with the corn, and that the people are left destitute until the new king arrives from the skies to play the part of Horus. That year's harvest is regarded as belonging to the dead king, so that the new king may be said, like Horus, to " reap the barley of his father ".

CHAPTER IV

GODS AND GHOSTS

The Jukun, for all their devotion to the cults of royal and family ancestors, have a fundamental belief in the Supreme control of the Universe by an inscrutable Being who is known as Chidô or Shidô, i.e. the Sky-god. In his creative aspect the Supreme Being is also known as Ama or Ma, and most Jukun will assert that Chidô is Ama and Ama is Chidô. This identification is possibly due to the influence of the Muslim doctrine of the unity of God. It is quite clear, however, that there is still a definite distinction between Chidô on the one hand and Ama on the other, the former being identified not merely with celestial phenomena in general, but with the Sun in particular, while the latter is not merely the Creator god in general but the Earth god in particular, the fashioner of men and of everything that lives and grows, and also the lord of the Under World.

Thus a Jukun will say that it is Chidô who sends rain. But he would not apply this expression to Ama. He would say that Ama "fashioned" the world and men,¹ but it would be incongruous to say this of Chidô. He will say, "Ama has descended on the corn,"² i.e. endowed the corn with its nourishing qualities, but he would not apply this expression to Chidô, though he might say that Chidô causes the crops to ripen,³ Chidô being assimilated to the Sun, or the Sun being regarded as an emanation of Chidô. The fatherhood of God is asserted by the expression "Ata" Achidô, but this expression is not used of Ama who, though commonly referred to as a masculine deity, is, nevertheless, on reflection, stated to be a female, the "All Mother".⁴ In this we may compare the Jukun with the Wakulwe of South-West Tanganyika, who call the Creator god Mama or Mother, though they by no means regard him as feminine.⁵

¹ *Ama ma tswen.*

² *Ama tu ki biye za.*

³ *Chidô tsa yi aza biye ra.*

⁴ In Babylonia and S. Arabia the Great Mother became changed into a male god. See Perry, *Children of the Sun*, p. 219.

⁵ See Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, vol. i, p. 193.

That Ama has a separate personality from Chidô is shown by the common asseveration, "If I am lying may the ancestors (*aba ya jini*) Ama and Chidô repudiate me," an expression which, incidentally, the king himself may employ. Further, when the Supreme Being is referred to in a general way, e.g. by such expressions as "God help me", the term Chidô and not Ama would normally be used. If a Jukun is about to begin a journey he appeals for the assistance of Chidô, and not of Ama. For Chidô is above and watches his progress, but Ama is below in the Earth.

Among the Ibo and Ekoi, neighbours of the Jukun, we find the same tendency towards blending the original concepts of an Earth god or goddess and a Sky-god, so that the two together become aspects of a single Supreme Being. Thus Mr. Talbot in speaking of the religion of the Etche Ibo says that "Amade Onhia has practically taken the place of Chi . . . and reigns as Supreme Deity",¹ and "where Amad'ongha is paramount he appears to arrogate to himself the functions of Igwe, the Ibo Sky-god proper".² So great is this confusion that Chi is among some Ibo groups regarded as a male sky-deity, and is therefore the equivalent of the Jukun Chidô, whereas in at least one Ibo group Chi is called the Creatrix, an expression which among the Jukun could only be applied to Ama.

We find therefore the equation that Ama of the Jukun = Chi of some Ibo groups, and conversely that Amad'ongha of some Ibo groups = Chidô of the Jukun. This interchange implies a certain degree of syncretism, for the expression Amad'ongha can only mean "Ama of the firmament", just as Chidô means "Chi of the firmament".

Amad'ongha is in one Ibo group at least regarded as the spouse of Ala or Ale, the commonest name of the Ibo earth-deity. Among the Jukun, Chidô is similarly regarded as the husband of Ama. Ama is, therefore, presumably the equivalent of the Ibo Ala or Ale, and that this is so is made clear by the descriptions of Ala recorded by Mr. Talbot. Thus, "Ale is our mother and our god; all that we have comes from her, and without her gifts we must indeed be lost."³ When the earth first emerged out of

¹ *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 52. Cf. also Talbot, *Shadow of the Bush*, p. 14.

² *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 61.

³ *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 60.

chaos Ale cried, "When any man dies let him be brought and buried here." "Her own body she stretched over the land; she it is who made all, both the earth and the earth-folk whom she bore from her womb. When the dead are buried they turn to earth, so that our people say, 'We are of one body with Ale.' The trees too she brought forth."¹ This is an exact statement of the functions attributed to Ama by the Jukun.

When we turn to the Ekoi we find less confusion, for the functions of the Sky and Sun-god Obassi Usò and those of the Earth-god Obassi Nsi are clearly differentiated. But there is the same confusion among the Ekoi regarding the sex of Nsi as there is among the Jukun regarding the sex of Ama. Mr. Talbot states, however, that on reflection an Ekoi will decide that "Nsi is really our mother and Osaw (Usò) is really our father. For whenever we make offerings we are taught to say Nta Obassi (Lord Obassi) and Ma Obassi (Lady Obassi). Now I think that the Lord is Osaw and the Lady Nsi".² The Jukun in the same way will, on reflection, assert that Chidò is their father and Ama their mother.³ Ama is in fact the female counterpart of Chidò; and we thus find among the Jukun the same duality as pervaded the ancient world, a Father Sky and Mother Earth by whose union the crops and other living things are born.⁴

The meaning of the expression Chidò is not clear. Mr. Lowry Maxwell,⁵ who is a competent Jukun scholar, asserts that Chidò = "The one who is above," from the root *chi* or *hi* = to be and *dò* = above. This is the explanation also given by most intelligent Jukun. But as the root *chi* in the sense of sky-god, earth deity, sun, moon has a wide distribution not only in West Africa, but throughout Africa, it would seem probable that the above explanation is a late rationalization. The following table indicates the wide use of the term ⁶ :—

¹ *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, pp. 134, 135.

² Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 16.

³ The femininity of Ama is indicated by the Kona word for a "custom", viz. *bu za mam*, i.e. "the thing of Mother Mam".

⁴ This duality is found among numerous other tribes of Northern Nigeria, besides the Jukun. Thus among the Tigong there is a Sky-god and an Earth deity, the latter being called Giò, a word suggestive of the classical goddess Gaea. Among the Margi, Ba-Chi or Iju, the sky-god, is regarded as a male because he fertilizes (with rain) the Earth (*fi*), who is regarded as a female because she brings forth (the crops).

⁵ Mr. Maxwell, of the Sudan United Mission, has an intimate knowledge of the Jukun, and I am indebted to him for many suggestions.

⁶ The examples are taken from my own vocabularies, and those of Strumpell, Thomas, and Johnston.

A. NIGERIA AND BRITISH CAMEROONS

<i>Word.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Tribes by whom used.</i>
Shi	Moon	Kugama, Waka, some Yendang.
She	"	Verre.
Sheri	"	Bile.
Shele or Shela	"	Mumuye.
Sii	"	Kumba.
Se	"	some Yendang.
Shiya	"	Margi (of Minthla).
Sie	"	Minda.
Shie	"	Ndoro.
Utsire	"	Yukutare (Akia).
Shui	Sun	Mbum, Kpâso, Nde, Nki.
Shuu	"	Chamba-Daka (Dirrim group).
Chi	"	Bura.
Chichi	"	Chibbak.
Džui	"	Ekoi, Mbe.
Odžio	"	Ibo (some).
Bachi	"	Margi, Kilba.
Vachi	"	Higi.
Bisiri	"	Bali.
Usir	"	Zompere.
Usira	"	Cheke of Mubi.
Chidô or Shidô	God (sky)	Jukun.
Atawuchi	" "	Boki (Yakoro).
Shi	" "	Karim.
Obashi	" "	Ukelle.
Ovassi	" "	Bakwiri.
Obasse	" "	Bakundi.
Chi	God (sky) and also Oversoul	Ibo.
Chi	Rain-giving spirit.	Berom.
Ishi	God (earth)	Melamba.
Lotsi	" "	Ukelle.
Ssie	" "	Banso, Mensemo.
Nsi	" "	Ekoi.
Obassi	" "	Ekoi and Ekuri.

B. ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA

Obasi	God	Bakwiri.
Awasi	"	Balue, Bakundu.
Owase	"	Ngolo-Batanga.

<i>Word.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Tribes by whom used.</i>
Abasi	God	Barombi-Mbônge.
Motonda Use	„	Lifoma.
Ukishi	„	Nkusu.
Jina woeshi	„	Western Lunda.
Shabozhi	„	Mbunda.
Chi Uta	„	Tumbaka.
Shi Kwembu	„	Ronga, etc.
Chieng	„	Ja-Luo.
Iransi	Sun	Mambwe.
Ilanzi	„	Cina-mwanga.
Dazhi	„	Henga and Ci-Tonga.
Letsatsi, Le caci	„	Se-Cuana and Sesutho.
Wuese	„	Baya.
Ize or Isai	„	Tubu.
Buisi	„	Kivili.
Siu	„	Sari.
Dishashi	„	Olemba.
Wichi	„	Kapsiki.
Shiô	„	Buti.
Se	„	Laka and Mberre.
Shi	„	Dama.
Adži	„	Logba.
Shiki	„	Nagumi.
Okuezhi	Moon	Olu-Konjo.
Okuesera	„	Uru-Nyoro.
Shi	„	Potopo.
Omusi	„	Lusoga.
Sii	„	Kotopo and Namshi.
Mwezhi or mweci or muesi or mwesi or mweshi.	„	Numerous tribes.
Seu	„	Mbum and Mberre.
Usai	„	Umbundu.
Shio	„	Nagumi.
Si or tsi	Earth	Mabea, Nika.
Nsi	„	Nyamezi, Shi-Angazija, Irangi, Cina-Mwanga, Luba, Lolo, Ekoi, etc.
Ensi or insi	„	Lusiba, Bisa.
Isi	„	Abo, Zaramo, Kami, Irangi, Fipa.
Shi	„	Yaunde, Pangwe, Bulu, Zigula.

<i>Word.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>	<i>Tribes by whom used.</i>
Asi	Earth	Gogo.
Ishi	„	Kimbundu, Kombe.
Nchi	„	Lifoto, Kiwumbu.
Ntsie or nsie	„	Teke, Ifumu.
Nzi	„	Bati.
Nse	„	Mpama.
Inshi or nshi	„	Lenje, Ila, Yaka, Luba.
Usi	„	Nano or Umbundu.

To this list is possibly to be added the ancient Egyptian word for sun, viz. *šw*, which seems to approximate in sound to the Nigerian *Shui*.

It will be seen from these examples that throughout Africa the root *si* or *usi* is applied sometimes to the earth or earth deity, sometimes to the moon, sometimes to the sun or sun deity, and sometimes to the Sky-god. It is clear, therefore, that the word must originally have been an honorific title equivalent to "The Lord" and been applied in the same way as, for example, "Dominus" was applied by Latin-speaking peoples to Mithra the Sun-deity, and to Christ. I would make the further suggestion that *si* or *usi* is the essential part of the name of the great Egyptian god Osiris, whose worship pervaded the ancient civilized world in various forms and under a variety of names until it was displaced or absorbed by Christianity. Osiris is the Greek form of the word which was pronounced by the Egyptians and others who adopted the Osiris cult as Usiri, Usri, User, Asar, or Asari. The vowel sounds cannot always be determined, and the pronunciation appears to have varied in different localities. But Dr. Brugsch considered that the most ancient form of the word was Usiri.¹ Whether this is so or not there can be little doubt that the principal root was *si* or *usi*, and that Osiris was "The Lord".² He was the god of the Under-World and of resurrection. Originally he was identified with the Moon and later with the Sun.

Among some tribes of Nigeria and the British Cameroons the name of Osiris appears to occur in one or other of its earliest forms. Thus among the Yukutare *utsire* = the moon, and among the Zompere and Bali we have *usir* and *bi-siri* = the sun. Among the Cheke of Mubi the word for sun is *Usira*, which must mean

¹ See Budge, *Osiris, etc.*, vol. i, p. 24 sq.

² The ideogram for the first part of the word Usiri (Osiris) was a throne, a suitable representation of the idea of lordship.

either (a) "The Lord" or "The Lord Above" or (b) "Lord Ra". In connection with this last form, viz. Usira, I would suggest that the titles Kisira¹ and Sarki or Seraki = king, contain the same root, the *ki* being in each case merely an affix. Kisira is the traditional title of the great pre-Muslim kings of the Sudan, who were regarded as wonder-working divine beings. Sarki or Seraki is a Hausa title for king which has become general over a large part of West Africa; Se Ra was a regular title for king in Ancient Egypt.² It may be noted further that the root *si* or *se* occurs frequently in the personal names of ancient Egyptian kings (e.g. in Isi, Isesi, and Neusere of the fifth dynasty, and Sesi and Userkere of the sixth dynasty).

It is clear, therefore, that the word *si*, *usi*, *usir*, etc., which is current all over Africa to-day was current also in Ancient Egypt, and the interesting question arises as to whether the Ancient Egyptians merely made use of a widespread Nigritic root or whether they themselves were the *fons et origo* of this word and of the complex of religious ideas with which it is associated. There is good ground on the one hand for believing that all the principal African languages, including Ancient Egyptian, had a common origin,³ and that the culture of Ancient Egypt was in its main features African. On the other hand the cumulative evidence in Nigeria of direct cultural contact with Ancient Egypt is so strong that we seem forced to the conclusion that the universality in Africa of a common culture and vocabulary is due to the unifying influence of the civilization which reached its apogee on the banks of the Nile.

It has been said that Chidô is, among the Jukun, a personification of celestial phenomena, but that he is particularly associated with the sun. Thus if a Jukun loses some property by theft he will, every morning, hold out his hands to the rising Sun saying: "Chidô, who comest forth here (i.e. in the east) and goest there (pointing to the west), if the thing that I have lost was formerly stolen by me from someone else, then let him who has now stolen it survive to sleep this night in peace; but if the thing was obtained by me through honest toil then do thou look upon the thief (i.e. bring misfortune upon him)." He will repeat this

¹ See pp 22-4.

² See *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, art. "Kings" (Egyptian).

³ Mlle. Homburger has recently written a paper attempting to prove a close connection between Ancient Egyptian, Fulani, Sudanic, and Bantu.

prayer also at sunset. Similarly if a man loses his way in the bush, or finds himself in any difficulty, he will call on the Sun (*Nyunu*) to help him, and promise to offer a sacrifice to the Sun in return. "For if the Sun saves it is Chidô that has helped me."¹ In illness a man will call on either Chidô or Nyunu to deliver him, and if he recovers he will carry out the following rites. He first sets some corn to ferment, and early next morning builds a mound of sand in his compound on the eastern side. On this he deposits a dish containing some of the fermenting grain and covers the dish with a lid addressing the rising sun as he does so, saying, "I am setting a brew of beer for you, because you have brought me out of my trouble." In the evening he builds a second pile of sand on the western side with a similar address to the setting Sun. Five days later, when the beer is ready, early in the morning he brings the beer, together with a dish of porridge and a chicken, sheep or goat. He places a bunch of locust-bean leaves on the eastern mound of sand, and after pouring a libation of beer over the leaves speaks as follows, holding the chicken in his right hand: "Formerly I was in the throes of illness and I called to you for assistance, and you heard and restored me to health. In gratitude I prepared for you a brew of beer, and I have made an offering thereof. Accept it, and grant that I may remain in health, and my sons and wives and all my people, and my sheep, dogs and goats also. Let no evil overtake us." He then kills the chicken, and, after pouring another libation of beer, deposits some porridge, beans, ground-nuts and the wing of the chicken, dipped in palm oil, on the top of the mound. This ritual is repeated on the western mound at sunset. Extraordinary features of these sun-rites, which are also practised by the Hausa-speaking Abakwariga, are (a) that women and children are permitted to attend, and (b) that the young children of the compound are permitted to appropriate the sacrificial foods, the fiction being that the offerings had been taken by the Sun.

Somewhat similar rites in honour of the Sun are, at Takum, performed by the Jukun chief, at intervals of some years, on the conclusion of the guinea corn harvest. The cult is known as *Kéketé*, i.e. "Sun of the firmament". The symbols of the cult are two mounds of sand, one to the east to catch the morning rays, and one to the west to catch those of the setting sun. The

¹ *Anyuno ma tutu Achidô ma pèemi.*

chief himself performs the rites. Taking a chicken in his hands he says, "We have brought these offerings to you, O Sun, in order that we may be at peace. We call on your name in the morning: we call on your name in the evening. Look upon us with favouring eyes. Let no evil thing overtake us; let it pass to right and left. May food be plentiful in the town for all, so that even the leper and the blind may not go without." He then hands the chicken to an attendant, who cuts its throat and pours the blood over the mounds of sand. A goat is also sacrificed, and pieces of the chicken's and goat's flesh, together with libations of beer, are placed on the mounds. Half of the remainder of the food is consumed by the men present, and the other half is sent to the women of the town, an unusual procedure in the case of important cults. It is said that when rites are performed to the Sun all the other gods and godlings are in attendance. In times of drought, or if the crops seem likely to be meagre, the chief holds up his hands to the Sun saying, "We have sown corn and seen that you have not permitted it to grow. We beseech you to hinder it no more; let it flourish, and grant that we may reap a bounteous harvest and show our gratitude to you by the harvest sacrifice."¹ A feature of these Sun-rites at Takum is the presence, during their performance, of the various tutelary deities, personated by men wearing animal-headed masks.

At Kona also there is still a special Sun-cult in the hands of the Jan Hwamba kindred, and the following details of the rites performed annually before sowing were given. The chief sends an official to the priest of the cult with a sacrificial chicken and a brush with which the priest's attendant cleans up the shrine. At sunset the priest enters the shrine and pours some specially brewed beer into the three pots which are the symbols of the cult. On the following day, about 9 or 10 a.m., when the sun has begun to become hot, the people assemble and are made by the priest to sit down in the sunshine outside the shrine. It is taboo to sit in the shade. The priest himself sits at the door of the shrine, facing the symbols inside. The attendant or acolyte then slits the chicken's throat and allows the blood to drip into the pots. He calls on the priest to extend to him his right hand, and,

¹ At Donga there was until a few years ago a cult the name and ritual of which suggest that it was a Sun-cult. For full details of this cult the reader is referred to my paper on the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga, which will shortly be published.

dipping his finger into the blood, he smears the wrist and forehead of the priest. The head of the chicken is then cut off and mounted on a reed which is stuck at the threshold of the shrine. The head of a monitor lizard is similarly treated. The chicken is finally plucked and eaten by the priest and his assistants. At mid-day the priest rises and salutes the entire company in the name of the Sun, saying : " Let no one complain of having to sit in the heat of the Sun. For it is thus, since time immemorial, that we have done obeisance to the Sun. Let no man nurse evil in his heart, and let no woman be double-minded towards her husband. For such conduct is displeasing to the Sun, and the Sun will take the life of those who behave in this way." The priest then takes a mixture of flour and beer, and smears each person present on the right and left cheek and wrist, and over the solar-plexus. The people are then allowed to seek the shelter of shade trees, where food and beer are distributed. On the following day at sunrise the priest again enters the shrine, offers a prayer to Inû (the sun), and drinks some of the beer which he had previously deposited in the pots. These rites are known as Inû Hwamba, i.e. the Sun rites of the Hwamba kindred. It has already been remarked that one of the kings of Kona was called Inû.

Among the Jibu Jukun there is a regular sun-cult, the priest of which is known as the " kuru Nyunu " or " lord of the sun ". When the annual rites are due to be performed (at sowing time) the priest goes to the chief and announces that he has seen two suns. For it is believed that there is at this time an annual change of suns, discernible only by the priest, just as there is a monthly change of moons. The chief then directs the priest to perform the rites, and on the appointed morning at sunrise all the inhabitants (including women and children, and even babies in arms) assemble outside the shrine, which consists of an enclosure containing a mound of sand. On this mound are two circular pieces of pottery, placed one on top of the other, representing the sun's disc. The upper bears a cross painted on with red earth. The priest, accompanied by his assistant, enters the shrine, pours a libation over the pottery discs, and deposits beside the discs food-offerings prepared from every kind of cereal grown. He then speaks as follows : " In coming to you, O Sun, at this season, we are following the custom of our forefathers from time immemorial. Grant, therefore,

that all of us in this town may be blessed with an abundant harvest, with health and offspring, and with success in hunting and in trade." He pours a libation three times over the discs. His assistant follows suit, and then utters a loud cry of "Oho", on hearing which all the people assembled outside utter short petitions for health and prosperity. The priest and his assistant then come out of the shrine and order their attendants to distribute beer and food to all. One calabash of beer and one of food is given to every three persons, and males are served separately from females. On the conclusion of this sacred meal all return home; but in the evening the rites are repeated with more liberal supplies of food.

In the Jukunized villages of the so-called Tugum or Tigong tribe, who are neighbours of the Jibu, somewhat similar rites are performed annually at the first hoeing of the bulrush-millet crop. Two mounds of sand are raised, and the officiant places some locust-bean leaves and a hoe on the summit of each mound. After a formal petition for health and a good harvest, he pours a libation of beer on the hoe, drinks some himself, and offers some to the others present. Food is then served. The rites are carried out at sunset as well as at sunrise, the evening rites being known as "the escorting of the sun".

The Zompere neighbours of the Jukun equate the Supreme Being with the physical sun, the words for sun and god being identical. No regular rites are performed to the sun, but it was stated that when a man becomes old he raises a mound of sand on which he deposits oblations of beer and food, thanking the sun for bringing him safely to a ripe old age. Throughout the Benue basin the Sun is commonly associated with the Supreme Being, and the most solemn oath a man can take is by the Sun. Thus among the Verre, if a man is charged with some offence, he will snatch his bow, and, looking up to the Sun, will say: "If I have done this thing, then on the day that I next go hunting in the bush may the Sun deliver me into the clutches of a leopard."

Among the Ekoi, according to Mr. Talbot, the Sky-god "is partly identified with the Sun in which he lives", and there is a rite in which the officiating priest points a chicken towards the Sun, and the people exclaim "O God, the Sun".¹ It is also

¹ Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii, p. 68.

the Ekoi custom, as it is among some Jukun, for people to address a prayer each morning to the Sun, saying: "Sun of morning, Sun of evening, let me be free from danger to-day," the Sun being charged by the Supreme God Obassi to receive all prayers from the earth.¹ The confusion or identification of the Sun with the Sky-god is general over Africa, as Sir James Frazer has noted in his recent work on *The Worship of Nature*.²

It is usual to speak of the African Supreme Deity as an otiose and distant being about whom the people do not concern themselves at all. But if we applied this description to Chidô we should be misrepresenting Jukun belief. Chidô is the mainspring of the whole religious system of the Jukun, and so far is the Jukun from regarding him as a distant and listless god that they think of him as being ever present and ever-working, either directly or through Ama and the host of minor deities. The religious rites centre round the latter; and as the Jukun have carried ritualism to its furthest point, so that ritual has almost become religion, a casual onlooker might conclude that Chidô is of small account. But all Jukun offer direct prayer to Chidô, and it is a common saying that an oath by Chidô, especially if uttered by an old man or woman, is of more avail than a direct appeal to any minor deity. For the minor deity will kill the offender at once, but Chidô will first cause the sinner to waste away and become an object of derision to his fellow men, and then finally execute on him his judgment through his appointed agents. The very expression used for "Oath" is "joining a man to Chidô" (kwâ ba Chidô). Chidô is the ultimate cause not merely of the life of man but also of his resurrection and immortality, just as he is the giver of seed and the cause of the perennial re-birth of the crops.

Ama, the second Jukun high god, appears to be a fusion of two or more gods, being sometimes regarded as a male being, at others as a female, sometimes as the Creator, at others as the Earth-goddess or World-Mother. Like Khnumu "the shaper, who shapes living things on his potter's wheel" and created all that is,³ so Ama sits before Chidô creating men and things, "just as a wife sits making pots while her husband looks

¹ Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 21.

² Vol. i, p. 173.

³ See Wiedemann, *H.B.D.*, vol. v, p. 179.

on seated in his chair." She fashions the human body bone by bone just as a potter builds up her pot strip by strip. If she makes a slip Chidô smiles, and it is due to the slips of Ama that some men are born ugly or deformed. Some Jukun say that when Ama has finished fashioning a man, Chidô breathes life into his body, and for this purpose Chidô descends to the earth. Chidô, they say, is not therefore an ever-absent god, but is constantly present on earth. Ama also created the world at early dawn. He (or she) made the firmament and holds it up.

Ama or Ma, is like Isis,¹ Cybele, Demeter, and Gaia, the great World-Mother, as her name would seem to imply. She is the creatrix of all living things, the patron of childbirth, the nourisher of crops; she is identified with the Earth, and she is queen of the Under-World. Chidô is the giver of grain to men, but it is Ama who fashions it. When the corn is beginning to sprout and the days to lengthen it is said that daylight is delayed because Ama is busy shaping the heads of corn. It is Ama, too, who causes the grain to ripen, pervading it with life-giving nourishment. Ama is the earth, and when a man dies he goes to Ama; for every living thing that dies, whether man, beast, or bird, returns to earth. Ama reigns in "Kindo", the Under-World, whence men came, to which they all return, and whence a second time they may return to the earth. It is not said that Chidô has anything to do with "Kindo". Ama also is mother of some at least of the gods, for Atsu, the god of Night, is said to be a son of Ama, and a common feature of Jukun shrines is the twin pillars of Ajê Ma, or children of Ama, gods whose names are now unknown.²

The meaning of the term Ama or Ma is apparently "The Creator", for the Jukun verb to create is *ma*. But this verb is doubtless a derivative of the noun *ma* = mother, a root which is widespread throughout West Africa, as indeed it is throughout the world. Motherhood and creation are cognate ideas. The Jukun word for mother, however, is *ayo* and not

¹ Isis is described as "the abode in which all life originated, and her womb was the source whence sprang men and gods, the harvest and all living creatures." She was regarded as an Earth-goddess and the mother of all fertility, the "Queen of the Earth" and "the creatress of all green things". "Her benign influence made grain of all sorts to grow." She presided over the conception and birth of human beings. She was the personification of the Other World, and assisted in the Judgment of the Dead. See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. ii, pp. 272, 274, 278, 287.

² Horus and Anubis were commonly represented by twin pillars—see Budge, *Osiris*, vol. ii, p. 294.

ama, and this would suggest that the Jukun had adopted the name of Ama from some other people.

The name Ama appears in the sense of god elsewhere in Africa. We have already noted the form Amad'ongha (i.e. Ama of the Firmament) among some Ibo groups. Another Ibo form is Amade, and there is an Okrikan goddess called Amakiri. The Ekoi call Nsi the Earth deity "Ma".¹ Johnston gives Ama as the root for god among the Baluñ, Bañgante, and Bakosi tribes.² The Habe tribes of the Upper Senegal worship a high god called Amma,³ and among the Chamba of Nigeria the word for god is Na-Ama or Ng-ama. Among the Ewe of the Gold Coast the name of the Supreme Being is Mawu. The meaning of this term has been much discussed, and Sir James Frazer reviews the evidence in his latest work.⁴ According to Sir A. B. Ellis, the word is derived from a root *wu* signifying "to stretch over, to overshadow", and Mawu is taken to mean "the canopy of Heaven". According to J. Spieth *wu* means "surpassing", but Spieth considers that the essential part of the word is the syllable "ma".⁵ There can be little doubt that the word Mawu contains the name of the Jukun deity Ama or Ma, and that the expression is exactly parallel with the Ibo Amad'ongha, and means Ama of the Firmament.

Throughout Asia Minor the Great Mother of the gods was known as Ma or Ammas,⁶ and her functions were analogous to those of the Jukun Ma. But possession and self-mutilation were associated with the Asiatic Ma. Among the Jukun possession and self-mutilation are not associated with Ma, but they are with the cult of Mam which is widespread in the Benue valley. Mam is at the present time regarded by the Jukun as a different deity from Ma, but we shall see later that they were originally, in all probability, the same. It would appear as though among the Jukun an original earth goddess Ma, who is now represented by Mam, became identified or partly identified with a male deity who was possibly the Egyptian sun god Amon. The cult

¹ Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 16.

² *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, vol. ii, p. 307.

³ See R. Arnaud in the *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, ii, 1921, pp. 241, seq.

⁴ *The Worship of Nature*, vol. i, p. 107.

⁵ *Die Ewe-Stämme*, pp. 421-3.

⁶ See *Ency. Brit.*, vol. xii, p. 340.

of Amon was widespread in North Africa and Abyssinia. In Abyssinia he was known as Amane. The Temashight word for god, viz. Amanai, is probably the same name. The similarity between the Jukun name Ama (or Among as it is pronounced by the Wurbo groups of Jukun) and Amane may have led to a partial assimilation between the two deities.¹ Amon appears to have usurped in ancient Egypt the functions of Khnumu the shaper, and to have become regarded as the fashioner of men and of all other living things. Like Khnumu he is represented by a horned mask resembling a ram's head. The use of horned masks is common among the Jukun, particularly in connection with the cult of Aku-Ma. The Jukun are rather hazy as to the identity of this deity (Aku-Ma) but as the word seems to mean "Lord Ma" the probabilities are that the cult of Aku-Ma is one form of the cult of Ama. Reference will be made to this cult later, and the resemblance of the mask used to the ram's head will be apparent from the photograph.²

Incidentally, throughout the Benue regions there is a story which connects the sun with a ram. Among some Jukun the story runs as follows. The sun fell to earth one evening among some women who were winnowing corn. One of the women seized it and found that it was nothing but a ram. So she tied up the ram in her house, and the house straightway became filled with light. Next morning the sun did not rise, and the king promptly gave an order that if anyone was concealing anything strange in his house he was to reveal it. So the woman went to the king and said that she had found a strange ram. She was ordered to release it at once; the ram went up to heaven and the sun shone once more. A similar story is sometimes told of the moon. It is possibly not accidental that the Hausa words for sun and ram, viz. *rana* and *rango*, contain a prefix which is the name of the Egyptian Sun-god (Ra). Ra incidentally was also known as Mau.³ Further we shall see later that the Jukun cults of Adang, Adom, and Ado were probably in origin Sun-cults and that the titles of these cults mean "The Sheep".⁴

There is another story current among the Jukun which

¹ It is noteworthy that among the Katab of Zaria Province the word for sun is *mam*.

² See p. 272.

³ See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 445.

⁴ See p. 272.

is worth recording at this point, though it is doubtful whether the old lady of the tale is to be identified with Ama. The story purports to give the origin of witchcraft in the world, and is as follows: Once upon a time there lived a woman of whom it is said that when she bore a child she swallowed him. One day a lump rose on her thigh. As she looked in astonishment upon the lump a voice spoke and said, "Mother, you have given birth to me." The woman looked around, for she wist not whence the voice proceeded. The voice spoke again, saying: "Mother, if you will only cut this lump on your thigh I can then come forth." The woman replied that she would do as the voice requested. She took a dish, and cut the lump, and a boy jumped forth with his bow, arrows, quiver, and a bag; and his mother said to him, "You are Adi-bu-Ma," i.e. Adi, child of Ama; "and why did you not jump into the dish, that I might devour you?" But he replied, "Nay, mother, bide your time. For I am going to kill bush animals that you may eat them, and when I grow up and am big then you may eat me also." So he went forth to the bush and slew many game-animals and brought them to his mother and she devoured them. And when she had finished she called to her son that she might devour him also. But he said to her, "Nay, Mother, have patience." And continually he kept her fed with the produce of his hunting. When he grew to be a man, his mother announced that the time had come for him to fulfil his promise. But still he put her off, saying, "Nay, Mother, have patience for a short time more." One day he killed a roan of enormous size, and carried it to his mother, knowing that it would take her two days to consume the animal. And then he made off and travelled into a far country where he chose a pleasant site for a town, the circumference of which he delineated with his foot. Putting his hand into his bag, he drew forth an egg and broke it, and straightway the egg became a wall, with people inside, and animals and everything else. And Adi-bu-Ma became the king of this city.

One day the king called on his people to come and work uo his farm. But his principal wife, the head of the females of the palace, excused herself on the ground that she was unwell. The king thereupon directed that one of the maidens should remain behind to attend to his principal wife. But when all the people had gone forth to the royal farms, the king's wife arose and

went to the bush to obtain ingredients for flavouring soup. In the bush she met the mother of the king, from whom she purchased the ingredients which she required. But when the king's mother gave her small measure, she exclaimed in disgust, "Good gracious, Adi-bu-Ma,¹ your measure is small indeed." When the king's mother heard the name "Adi-bu-Ma" she increased the measure she had given, saying, "This I give you as a gift. Now pray tell me the name of the town in which you live." The king's wife replied, "Lady, come with me and I will show you our town." And so the king's mother arose and followed the king's wife. And when she came to the gate of the city, she seized the king's wife and swallowed her. And when she entered the town she swallowed up every living thing she saw, including the maiden whom the king had left behind to attend his wife. She swallowed all the domestic animals, and became so full in the stomach that she was unable to walk. But a chicken escaped her clutches, and took its way out of the town along the road leading to the royal farms. And as it went along it climbed a tree here and there, and sang out, "Adi-bu-Ma, Adi-bu-Ma, your mother has destroyed your home." Finally, as it mounted a tree close to the king's farm, the king heard the words spoken by the chicken. And he turned to his people and said, "Alas! Alas! our homes are all indeed destroyed, for my mother has found her way to the town. Verily I know that none could have brought her there save my wife, my principal wife. Do you all arise with speed and dig up the roots that I shall specify, and pound them to serve as a medicine." So they all rushed hither and thither and brought back the roots; and the king mounted his horse, calling on all horsemen to follow him, and those without horses to run with him at full speed. The king carried with him sixty spears, as many spears as his mother had teeth in her head. And when he reached the city he called out, "Let no man get in front of me." Soon he descried his mother, and he rode up to her, saying, "Mother, what have I done to you that you should destroy me in this relentless way?" But she answered him not a word. So drawing one of his spears he hurled it at her. But it missed her. And in return she hurled at him one of her teeth. But it missed him. He hurled

¹ It is customary for a Jukun woman, in expressing astonishment, to call out the name of her husband.

another spear, and she hurled another tooth. And so the combat continued until the king had but one spear left, and his mother but a single tooth. Then up spoke the chicken, saying, "O king, listen to me. Yon have but one spear left. I counsel you, therefore, to pretend to throw your spear. But let it not leave your hand. When the woman has hurled her last tooth at you, do you approach closely to her and stab her to death." When the king heard this, he perceived that the counsel was good counsel. And when his mother had hurled her last tooth at him, he went close up to her and speared her in the belly. Straightway bodies innumerable, of man and beast, fell out of her stomach. The king immediately directed that the roots which he had told the people to collect should be soaked in water. And when this was done he took the dead bodies and steeped them in the fluid. Straightway each of the bodies began again to pulsate with life, and soon all the men and animals that the king's mother had swallowed were moving about as before. Those which she had swallowed first, when restored to life, had white skins like white men; those she had swallowed later had red skins like Fulani; while those she had swallowed last reappeared with the black skins of Negroes. But as for the king's wife, she remained a corpse, for the king was not willing that one who had played so falsely by him should again become his companion. Her body was *cremated*, and her ashes were taken and scattered in the river. But the wind carried away some of her ashes, and they fell on the banks of a stream from which the people were accustomed to draw their drinking water. And the ashes sprang up as calabashes, and spread east and west, and north and south, and blocked the pathways to the stream. Above the main root of the plant there sprang a calabash larger than all the others, which swallowed up every woman who came down to the spring to draw water. And the smaller calabashes also began to swallow up the women. The king thereupon took a goat and fed the goat for seven days on a medicine which would render the goat proof against being swallowed by the calabash plant. The goat was taken down to the plant, and he stabbed it all over with his horns but was unable to uproot it. So he was taken back again and given more of the medicine, and in the end he destroyed the calabash plant utterly. Immediately all the people swallowed by the plant came forth and were restored to life by the king's

medicine. And the king collected all the broken pieces of calabash and burnt them and threw their ashes into the river. But some of the ashes fell on the grass, and an old woman who was passing by touched the grass. Some of the ashes touched her clothing also, and she became a witch. And this is the origin of witchcraft in the world.

There are features about this story which are reminiscent of some of the tales of the Egyptian gods. Birth from the thigh, for example, was a common mode of divine birth. Ra was believed to have been born from the thigh of Mehurt.¹ Among the Bachama neighbours of the Jukun there is a similar tradition that the great god, Nseanso, was born from the thigh of his mother, Venin.² The account also of the swallowing-up of living things and their subsequent resurrection reminds us of the Egyptian story according to which Set swallowed the moon, but Thoth caused him to vomit forth the crescent moon.³

Systematic rites are not usually performed in honour of Ama, but in some Jukun communities there are shrines of Ama characterized by twin pillars in which rites are performed at harvest, and on other special occasions the officiating priest using some such formula as "Ama, you created our ancestors. They sacrificed to you and left the earth. We now do as they did before us. Receive our offerings and grant to us health and an abundance of corn." There is also a cult known as "Yaku" or "Grandmother", the shrines of which are characterized by the presence, at the entrance, of the twin pillars known as Aje Ma or children of Ama. The inference might be that the name Yaku is merely another name for Ama. In New Ireland the Moon-goddess is referred to as "grandmother" or "mother". Among the Donga Jukun the "Yaku" cult is known as "Ayo" or "Mother". The Jukun themselves do not, however, consciously connect "Yaku" with Ama at the present time, and some Jukun assert that the term "Yaku" is applied to the priestess of the cult (when there is one) because she is regarded as one who has returned from the land of the dead, and is, as it were, a living ancestor. This explanation appears to be a rationalization of former beliefs which are not

¹ Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 385.

² See my article on the Bachama, *op. cit.*

³ Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 343.

apprehended at the present time. There will be more to be said about the cult of Yaku later.¹

Another cult which is widespread on the Benue is known as Mam. Possession by the god is its chief characteristic, and the excesses of the devotees of Mam are regarded with disfavour by Jukun of the older school in much the same way as St. Paul viewed with alarm the spread of "possession" among certain groups of the followers of Christ. It is denied that the cult of Mam has anything to do with Ama, the Creator deity, but there can be little doubt that Ama (or Ma) and Mam were originally one and the same. It is significant that in one group of the Verre tribe there is an important rain cult known as Yaku Mam. Details of the cult of Mam will be given later.² Among the Jen, close neighbours of the Kona Jukun, there is a more definite "worship" of Ma than is found among the Jukun themselves. Ma³ among the Jen, is definitely a male deity. He lives in close contact with the Supreme Being, whose servant he is, and from whom he obtains all things (corn, rain, etc.) for men. He is the fashioner of men and of all living things, and it is said that at times he feels evilly disposed, and in consequence produces indifferent work, such as ugly human beings. Those who have second-sight are capable of seeing Ma, but they can have no dealings with him, for the messages of Ma to men are only conveyed through the channel appointed by the god, viz. the priesthood. The chief priest is believed to live in constant communion with the god at night, and for this reason the priest must not sleep in any hut but his own, and no woman may enter that hut. A seer may accuse the priest of neglecting his duties, for a wicked priest may use his powers to act as a sorcerer at night, and be absent from his house, when the god comes to visit him. A Jen will nevertheless pray directly to Ma to help him in a difficulty, or, in illness, send gifts to the priest of Ma in order to ensure his recovery. Ma is surrounded by subordinate deities. Umwa, the god of war, and his attendant Nimbwi, the whirlwind, are subject to Ma, as also the Kue, or minor genii who are described as "the policemen" of Ma, the executive officers who punish those who give offence to the god.

Ama, like Achidô is regarded as a moral deity. What men consider evil she also considers evil. She is a retributive deity.

¹ See pp. 276 ff.

² See pp. 277.

³ The Jen pronounce the "a" of Ma like the neutral vowel in the French pronoun "me".

A man who works evil in this life may or may not be punished during his lifetime, but he will certainly receive punishment in the underworld known as Kindo over which Ama presides. Indeed, it is said that a very evil man may undergo a second death in Kindo, being despatched by Ama to the land of Red Earth¹ (*je bô*), "a bourne from which no traveller returns."² Men may be reborn into the world from Kindo, but one who has been doomed to *je bô* is lost for evermore. The kinds of offences which lead to this annihilation are murder and witchcraft, the killing of men by poison or spell, especially if the means used had been a protracted process. But those who were guilty of minor offences undergo a kind of purgatory in Kindo. They wander about foodless and homeless, being driven away even from the dwellings of their own earthly parents. But when they have purged their sins by suffering, they are, like the guiltless ones, permitted by Ama to return to the world. If a Jukun sees a man of blameless character, he will say to himself or to others, "When I go to Kindo I will ask Ama to refashion me in the form of that blameless man." If he has suffered much, he will declare that when he goes to Kindo he will beseech Ama to refashion him as a woman, or as a member of some other community. In these days it is not uncommon for a man to express the wish that he may be reborn as a European. Ama demands chastity from men and women, and those who commit adultery have to atone for their sin at her shrine. The rites in this connection are known as "Adama" and it is said that this term means "the thrashing of or by Ama". The ritual followed for dealing with an adulteress is as follows. When a woman falls sick she may consider it expedient to confess to her husband that she had been guilty of adultery. The husband, if of a forgiving nature, will immediately go to the shrine of Adama and with a libation of beer, poured before the symbol of the cult, which is a pot,³ will state that his wife has confessed to the grievous sin of adultery, and if Adama will restore her to health she will perform the customary rites of

¹ For the expression "Red Earth", see my article on the Bachama tribe, op. cit.

² In ancient Egypt there was a similar conception of the possibility of a second death, and one of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* bears the title "Chapter of not dying a second time".

³ A pot is a common symbol for female deities, just as the cone pillar is for male deities.

gratitude. If the woman recovers, she is required to prepare a brew of beer which she carries to the shrine. She is there met by two of her husband's relatives, one of whom takes the beer to the husband that he may offer libations to the offended deity. The other administers a sound thrashing to the woman, driving her to the outskirts of the town, where she is met by a female of her husband's family who washes her body with water. The husband, in offering libations, thanks the deity for the recovery of his wife, and petitions that she may bear children by him. It is noteworthy that it is not always the guilty party which falls sick in cases of adultery. An innocent husband may suffer in health from his wife's infidelity. But it does not appear that infidelity on the part of a husband is ever regarded as a cause for a wife's illness or that it requires expurgation by religious rites such as those described!

It is said that when Ama created the world she (or he) brought up from Kindo a man and a woman, together with an elephant, duck, bat, and boar. The woman's genitals were under her armpit, but Ama saw that this was unsuitable and altered their position. In the early days also when men were reborn, they were reborn old, as they had died, but this too Ama caused to be changed, so that they re-entered the world as children. She created corn for the use of men, and according to one story hoes were first brought to the world by a man who fell from the skies with his body all coated with earth and a hoe in his hand. Ama also begat or bore the minor gods and spirits. Among the former was the god of Night, Atsu, a word which seems to mean the stars and to embody the root (*su* or *sô*) for "moon". Among other deities are the departmental gods Achu or Shu, the upper air and rain, and Awo the wind. These are said to bear the same relation to the Supreme Being as the two senior officials, viz. the Abô and Kinda, bear to the Jukun king. The name Achu or Shu is no doubt the same as that of the Egyptian air-god Shu who was thought to hold heaven and earth apart. The general Jukun term for upper air, the abode of Chidô, is Wa-Shu-Shu. It is said of Achu that at one time he lived on the earth, but because of his evil treatment by men he ascended to the skies with his wife.¹ When lightning is terrific he is showing his

¹ In Egyptian mythology Ra the Sun-god formerly lived on earth, but being wearied of the wickedness of men he ascended to the skies accompanied by Shu and the other gods. See Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, vol. i, p. 593.

wrath, but when it is mild he is being restrained by his wives, who point out that the present generation of men do not deserve his anger. Thunder is called Achu Dõnde, and lightning Achu Nyande. Reference will be made later to the cult of Achu Nyande.¹ The firmament is known as *biedô* and clouds as *ahwa*, a term which is also applied generally to the sky. Black clouds are not, however, thought of as clouds but as rain. The rainbow is known as *akuwo*,² and is a portent of heavy showers. It is believed to be a serpent, the greatest serpent in the world, and to reside in a hole in the ground; and when it comes forth it drives the water up to the skies, whence it descends later in the form of rain. The stars are known as *atsui*, and meteors are believed to be stars carrying food to each other. They are thought to portend a famine, and hence the death of a chief. The Pleiades are called "The hen with the chickens", and the Great Bear is called "The Camel's Neck". The latter is considered unlucky, and it is said that for this reason the doors of houses are never set towards the North. The morning star is known as "Meeting the Lion", because bush animals which go to water at the first peep of dawn are liable to meet a lion. Incidentally, lions are the kings of animals, and hunters who meet lions in the bush salute them as they would their own king. Leopards are sons of kings, and are more feared than lions, just as the children of kings are more feared than kings themselves. (For the children of kings have all the privileges of kings and none of the responsibilities.) The wildest of animals is the hare, and folklore centres round this animal just as in other parts of Africa. I did not ascertain, however, whether the hare had any connection with the Moon or witchcraft, as it appears to have elsewhere of the world.³ The evening star seen near the moon is known as *washi*, i.e. the favourite wife of the king. The Jukun say that the Moon has her own road, and the Sun his; but that the Moon loses her way and gets caught by the Sun. This is the explanation of a lunar eclipse.⁴ The sun takes a long journey back to the east each night, and

¹ See p. 285.

² This word seems to mean the "ku" or ghost of the wind.

³ See, e.g. Briffault, *The Mothers*, vol. ii, p. 613 seq.

⁴ On the occasion of a lunar eclipse the Jukun beat calabashes and make as great a din as possible. The idea, it is said, is to draw the Sun's attention to the fact that if he persists in overthrowing the Moon the heavens will fall and the world of men will be destroyed.

is cool in the morning because of his exhaustion. His nightly progress can be discerned by dogs and fowls. It is surprising that no Jukun with whom I conversed on the subject had any idea that there was such a thing as a solar eclipse. Nor had he any real interest in celestial phenomena. But the Harmattan wind is included among the number of minor gods, and the Angwu Tsi is the priestess. For this wind is regarded with favour by all except the old, as it is believed to bring health to men, and to aid in the ripening of the crops. Among the Ewe also the Harmattan wind is regarded as a god.¹

In addition to the cosmic deities the Jukun believe in a host of minor gods and spirits. Thus there is Aki the spirit of Death. It is related that in former times Death walked on the Earth and when he met a man challenged him to a bout of wrestling, on condition that if the man won he should remain alive, but that if he lost he should die. But later an ant pointed out to Death that if Death would follow the methods of ants he would obtain more victims. For ants work slowly and unseen until suddenly the edifice falls. So Death followed the advice of the ant, and he now enters the human body secretly and eats away the inside slowly until the victim suddenly collapses and dies. Diseases, it may be noted, which kill individuals are caused by witchcraft or the attacks of gods or ancestors, but death-dealing epidemics come directly from Chidô. Another Jukun god is Kenjo, the god of the land and of hunting and of war, the same god, perhaps, as the Yoruba worship under the name of Aganju, the god of Land.

There is the god Akwa, whose rites are, with those of Kenjo, the most widespread in Jukun communities. Though full details were obtained of the rites, part of which include a ceremony known as "The releasing of the cloth", as in ancient Egypt, I was unable to ascertain the precise position of Akwa in the Jukun theology. He appears to be a god of the dead. It may be noted that in ancient Egypt there was also a god known as Aqa.² There are innumerable spirits which haunt both land and water and are known as *ajô*. Of these some description will be given later.

Psychological Beliefs.—Before proceeding to give an account

¹ See Sir A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking peoples*, p. 76.

² See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. i, p. 103.

of the religious system of the Jukun as actually practised a few remarks may be made on the psychological beliefs of the people.

The physical body of a man is known as *adi*, and when it is born into the world it is accompanied by a separate spiritual individuality known as the *dindî* or *adidi*. When the body dies it becomes *aki*,¹ or a corpse, but the *dindî* does not die; it continues its existence. The *dindî* corresponds to the Egyptian *ka*. The Egyptians placed a figure of the dead man in his tomb that his *ka* might enter it. Some of the Ankwe neighbours of the Jukun also prepare figures of the dead for the same purpose, but among the Jukun rounded stones, pieces of old corn rubbers as a rule, are used instead of figures. In some Jukun communities, however, the *dindî* of dead chiefs are believed to reside in the wooden images which represent them, or in the skull, hand, or other part of their body, which has been preserved. In all cases where material objects are used in shrines as emblems of deity the objects are considered sacred, because they are regarded as embodying the *dindî* of the deity. The *dindî* of the dead have to be provided with food and drink, and it will be seen later that they must also be provided with clothing to protect them from the cold of Kindo. The *dindî* do not consume the material substance of offerings, but they consume the spiritual substance, as material things have also their spiritual double.²

The *dindî* is regarded as composed of two separable parts, viz. the *dindî mba* or *dindî* of birth (i.e. which is capable of being reborn into the world), and the *dindî kpanki*, the unreincarnated soul which remains in Kindo and requires the offerings of living men for its continued existence. It is said that the *dindî mba*, if intent on reincarnation, enters in the form of locust-bean leaves into the house of a man while he is having sexual intercourse with his wife and that from the leaves he jumps into her womb. In pursuance of this purpose he wanders from house to house in search of a suitable occasion.

A man's *dindî* during sleep revisits every place he had been in that day, and dreams are therefore a re-acting of daily events.

¹ The term *aki* is also used for (a) the spirit of death, and (b) the cult of the dead.

² But Jukun women are led by the men to believe that the material substance is also consumed.

When anyone is slow in waking up it is because his *dindî* is still absent. But one who wakes up quickly had his *dindî* with him at the time he was aroused. Even in the day time a man's *dindî* may go wandering, and if you see a person in a dreamy condition suddenly give a start it is because his wandering *dindî* has suddenly returned to him. A person's *dindî* is closely associated with the clothes he wears and the utensils he uses, and in particular with his hair and nails. It is on this account that by obtaining these a witch can, with his *dindî*, capture the *dindî* of someone else. But the *dindî* of the witch can be driven off by the use of certain concoctions which are offensive to it. A witch can do nothing to a man by day, for during the day a man's *dindî* is present with him and under his control. But when his *dindî* wanders at night it is liable to capture. There will be more to be said on the subject of witchcraft later.¹

A man's life is known as *chîdî*, a word which means "head of the body". But the seat of life is not the head but the heart (*akî*). The heart is the seat of intelligence, thought, and the passions. A Jukun reasons with his heart, and the thought goes to his head and comes out by his mouth. A good or a bad man has a white or black heart. A courageous man has a strong heart. A person loves with his heart. The heart is, in fact, a separate part of the personality. Jukun belief, therefore, in this respect is similar to that of the Egyptians who regarded the heart as the centre of thought and life.² The expression "heart" is also applied to corn and trees in the sense of being the centre of life. Sometimes, however, the Jukun use expressions in which the word "head" takes the place of "heart". For it is usual to say of a man who has a poor memory that he has "no head at home", or of an obstinate man that he has "a strong head".

Nerves, veins, and tendons are all classed together under one term, viz. *azu*. The shadow (*ngwuni*) is not apparently regarded by the Jukun as a very important attribute of the human personality. It is merely a reflection of his *dindî*. When a man sees himself in a looking glass the reflection seen is regarded as that of his *dindî*. Nor is the breath (*hongwo*) regarded as

¹ See p. 295 seq.

² See Budge, *Osiris, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 130. The Egyptian word for heart was *ab*, and was regarded as having a separate personality.

a separable entity persisting after death. It is noteworthy that the Jukun have no word for ghost in the sense of the frightening apparition of the dead. The dead are too real to them to require a special word of this character. But they use a word *bwi* to denote the pursuing or avenging spirit of a man, of certain animals, and of large trees. The *bwi* of a murdered man will, if that man had been possessed of a forceful personality, pursue his murderer relentlessly. A Jukun who had obtained the head of an enemy or highway robber had to take steps to allay the *bwi* of his victim. On arrival in the village he was greeted with loud yodelling by the women, but no one who had not obtained a head dared approach him closely from fear of the dead man's *bwi*. The head-getter was then escorted with dancing to the house of the local chief, where he was presented with a cloth, but he had immediately afterwards to betake himself to the hut of the *ata bwi* or priest of the *bwi*, and live in seclusion for two or three days, undergoing a process of fumigation by which the pursuing ghost was driven away. The head was cleaned by being buried in mud, and was then striped with red, white, and black marks, being finally deposited in the *bwi* hut. Rites were (and are) also performed to allay the *bwi* of the following animals (whether killed accidentally or by design): (a) lion, (b) leopard, (c) hyæna, (d) crested crane, (e) vulture, and (f) the small bird known as *adi*.¹ As regards the lion the *bwi* has to be pacified not merely because the lion is a dangerous animal, but because he is the counterpart of the king. To slay a lion is presumed to be an offence against the king, and the slayer has to make a formal apology to the king and receive a thrashing, or the semblance of a thrashing. The king appropriates the skin and bestows the gift of a cloth on the lion-slayer.

If a man kills a leopard he is taken in procession round the town followed by the corpse of the leopard which is carried on a piece of matting. He visits various houses, and is given gifts by all. He has to go into seclusion for three days in order to be fumigated against attack by the leopard's *bwi*. There is also a mourning ceremony for the dead leopard, which is regarded as a relative or ancestor of the king. The leopard's

¹ In some localities rites are also performed for the *bwi* of a python, hornbill, pigeon, and red cat-fish, roan antelope, and wart-hog.

whiskers are removed in the presence of the king; for the whiskers are regarded as a powerful charm by which one king can kill another. The hairs are carefully counted, and if there is any deficiency the leopard-killer is called to account; for he is believed to have concealed them for some sinister purpose. The whiskers, when removed, are burnt. Similarly, if a badger is killed its claws are removed and buried, as the claws of badgers are considered potent to work evil. It is not apparent why the *bwi* of crested cranes, vultures, and *adi* birds should have to be allayed. The custom may have reference to totemic conceptions of the past. It was stated that if *bwi* rites for the crested crane were not carried out the slayer would ejaculate the cries of this bird every morning at early dawn. If a man failed to allay the *bwi* of a vulture which he had killed he would be seized with coughing and die. The *adi* bird is respected because, though a small bird, he is, like a king, surrounded by attendant birds which build for him his nest.

If a Jukun requires a large tree-trunk to make a canoe he must perform rites to prevent pursuit by the *bwi* of the tree. He brings a cloth¹ and ties it round the trunk, and with offerings of a chicken, porridge, and beer, and invocations to his ancestors, requests that, if there is a spirit resident in the tree, it will take its departure in peace and leave the tree to him. By doing this he avoids subsequent pursuit by the *bwi* of the tree.

The precise relationship of the *bwi* to the *dindî* is not clear, but it would seem that the *bwi* is the personified dynamism of a living thing and that it persists after death with a power commensurate with that exhibited in life. It is the quality known to the Hausa as *kofi*. A Hausa believes that he can strengthen his *kofi* by sleeping over graves or under large trees, so that his body or soul becomes galvanized by the *kofi* of dead human beings or of spirits that tenant trees. Some Jukun follow the same practice in order to strengthen their *bwi* in view of wrestling or boxing contests, believing that their *bwi* will thus be enabled to overcome or "catch" the less fortified *bwi* of their opponents. It is sometimes said that the *bwi* of a murdered man is unable to take vengeance on the murderer if the latter's *bwi* had been more powerful than his own.

¹ The idea of the cloth is that just as cloth is a precious thing to a Jukun, so it must be to the spirit which can utilize the "substance" of the cloth.

The Ancient Egyptians had a term *sekhem* to denote some kind of quality attaching to the *khu*. The functions of the *sekhem* are not exactly known, but Sir Wallis Budge states that the word means "power", and that it may be an immaterial personification of the energy of a man.¹ Such would appear also to be the Jukun *bwi*.

Side by side with the belief in the *dindî* or soul there is the further belief that every human being has a spiritual guardian in Kindo, the personification apparently of his own *dindî*. This guardian or double is usually described as a mother, and with this we may compare the Ewe doctrine of the *ta-si* or spiritual aunt. But a Jukun also speaks of his friend or brother-in-Kindo. His friend-in-Kindo comes to him often, it is said, during his sleep and wrestles with him. If the living person wins the bout all is well, but if he loses, evil is portended. The brother-in-Kindo is known as *ajo-wa-kindo*, and he acts as a kind of protector. When a man dies and goes to Kindo he will be welcomed there by his spiritual brother. Moles on the skin are commonly identified with friends-in-Kindo. Similarly living men and women have spiritual wives and husbands. The proof of this is that a person may dream that he is having sexual intercourse with someone other than his own wife.

Rites connected with these beliefs are only, however, observed as regards the mother-in-Kindo, and they are known as *Abî* and *Aya*. Every Jukun has his *Abî* or *Aya* cult. When a woman bears a child her husband immediately reports the matter to his paternal relatives who direct him to set up at once an *Abî* or *Aya* for the new babe, the question as to which should be used being determined by the position of the placenta at birth. The symbol of *Abî* is a pot, and of *Aya* a pillar of mud with some of the blood of childbirth. The pillar is surmounted by a cross lying flat and shaped like the letter X.² The husband places the symbol at the door of his wife's hut and addresses his child saying, "Here is your *Abî*, your second self, your *dindî*, your mother, and your wife (or husband). May your crying be for milk or water only" (i.e. may your crying not be due to illness). If a child cries much, his father consults

¹ Budge, *Osiris*, vol. ii, p. 133.

² With this we may compare the passage in Plato (*Timaeus* xii), in which the Creator is described as forming the soul of the world in the shape of a cross like the letter X.

the divining, apparatus, which may declare that the child's *Abi* is the cause of his tears. And so the father goes to the symbol of the cult with a chicken and says, "If you, *Abi*, are causing the child to cry I shall know to-night. If the child sleeps in peace to-night then I shall come to you on the morrow and offer sacrifice." Should the child not sleep well the father once more consults the divining apparatus, which may then indicate that the child's tears were not due to *Abi* but to some other cause. It is sometimes said that a child's whimpering is a sign that the child is quarrelling with his former companions in Kindo, and for this reason a mother will say to her whimpering child, "Stand up to them and fight them." Throughout his lifetime everyone offers periodical libations to his guardian mother-in-Kindo, and when he dies the symbol of the cult is destroyed, the pieces of the pot being placed over his grave. It is thought that one's guardian in Kindo escorts one to the world and also summons one away from the world. The guardian mother may be unhappy at the separation from her child, and one sign of this is that when a person eats and is not satisfied or derives no benefit from his food his guardian spirit has eaten the substance of the food. If a child dies young it is because he had merely wished to see the world, and, having done so, had sought reunion with his mother-in-Kindo. Some Jukun assert that it is a person's guardian-in-Kindo who determines his character and qualities, but others assert that this is the function of Ama. Others again say that it is Ama, and not the guardian spirit, that calls a man away from the world. But it would appear that the guardian spirit is subject to the control of Ama. For without the permission of Ama nothing can be done. And so if two men are fighting one will say to the other, "Why are you always seeking a quarrel with me? Are you my Ama that you are attempting to rob me of my life?"

This Jukun conception of a transcendental self is common in other parts of Nigeria, particularly in the Southern Provinces.¹ It persists even among the Muslim Hausa in the veneration commonly paid to the after-birth, which is regarded as a symbol of the double. It is part and parcel of the Egyptian conception of the *ka*, which is the double or genius belonging to a man, the ancestral emanation which guides and protects a man during

¹ See Talbot's *Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii, chapter xv.

life and to which he returns at death. Among the Ibo it is called the *chi*, and it may be in this sense of "over-soul" that the root *si* which has been discussed earlier in this chapter has come to mean god, some identifying the World over-soul with the Sun, some with the Moon, and some with the Earth. Chidô, the Supreme God of the Jukun, would thus be the "Over-Soul" of the Heavens.

Reincarnation and the Future Life.—Some account has already been given of Jukun belief as regards the future life and reincarnation. But a few further remarks may be made as to the conception of the state of the dead.

When a man dies his *dindî* or soul goes to a region which is believed to be under the world and is known as Kindo, a word which means "the home (*ndo*) of the dead (*aki*)".¹ Those who go to Kindo are known as Ba-Kindo, and this word is used as a generic term to include ancestors, spirits, and all occult influences. Kindo is a replica of the world above. There are houses and fields, and a social organization which does not differ from that of this life. There are chiefs, officials, and commoners. Ama controls all on behalf of Chidô, and allots to every newly-arrived *dindî* his place in Kindo according to his merits and his rank. But some Jukun are of the opinion that Ama delegates her duties in this respect to the senior king or chief. Thus when a Gwana Jukun goes to Kindo he first seeks out his father, who takes him to his grandfather and all his other relatives. He is escorted finally to Jirkar and Zankat, the founders of the Gwana dynasty. Jirkar's word is law to all the Gwana *dindî*. He settles all disputes and examines all newcomers, revealing to each the cause by which he had met his death on earth in order that those who had met an unnatural death may, in the form of ghosts, return temporarily to the earth to take vengeance on their slayers. But other Jukun state that, although there are kings in Kindo who rule the subjects they had on earth, their judicial powers are restricted; for Ama is the Supreme Judge of the dead. And if a *dindî* arrives in Kindo before his time, i.e. as a result of murder or witchcraft worked on him during his life on earth, he is escorted by his parents to Ama, who will probe

¹ This word is sometimes pronounced *akhi*. It is applied to (a) the dead, (b) death, (c) a cult or cult-symbol, and (d) a tutelary genius.

into the matter of his early return to Kindo before his days on earth had been fulfilled. When Ama has interrogated the *dindî* and heard all the evidence she will give her decision. She may indicate that the *dindî* had justly deserved his fate because of his own wickedness, and on hearing her decision the relatives of the *dindî* will point out that there is nothing that they can do to help him. But if Ama declares that the *dindî* had done nothing on earth to merit the destruction of his body the relatives of the *dindî* will urge him to return to earth in his ghostly form and slay his murderer. And when the *dindî* of the murderer arrives Ama will settle the dispute between the two. For those proved guilty of such heinous offences as witchcraft and murder suffer a second death at the hands of Ama, being driven out from Kindo to regions beyond, from which they never return.¹ Ama is a just god and righteousness rules in Kindo. For this reason it is customary for a Jukun to speak of Kindo as "The House of Truth" (*ndo ji biè*).² With this insistence on truth-speaking we may compare the Egyptian belief that in the Great Judgment in the Hall of Osiris (one of whose titles was the Truth-Speaker) the man who had spoken the truth on earth triumphed.³ In Kindo there is no illness and no mourning and all abide there in peace. And it is for this reason that the Jukun say, "Everything will be straightened out in Kindo." When a new-comer arrives he is met by his relatives and conducted to his abode with joyous greetings. When he has rested awhile he is asked all the news of the earthly relatives, and he delivers the messages and salutations with which he had been charged during the burial rites on earth. But one who had had an evil disposition on earth is not received with favour; he wanders about in a homeless condition, for his relatives are unwilling to receive him into their abode. All have the same social status as they had in the world, so that a rich man remains rich, a poor man remains poor, and a slave remains a slave. But there is no thought-out philosophy on the subject. It is a common belief that during his residence in

¹ Some Jukun believe that the wicked are punished by fire, but this belief does not appear to be general.

² This expression is also used at Busa.

³ The Egyptians actually called the world of the dead "The land of truth-speaking". See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 346.

Kindo a person can, by prayer to Ama, secure that on his return to the world he will enjoy a higher status than that held by him formerly. Thus a Jukun who is poor will say, "Dear me! if I return to this world a second time it shall not be in my present condition of poverty. I will ask Ama to make me a member of the royal family." Or a man who does not get on with the other members of his family will vow that when he is reborn it will be as a member of a different stock.¹ A childless man will say, "When I go to Kindo I will ask Ama to grant that, if I return to the world, every woman I marry shall be a bearer of children." A crippled old man will say, "When I go to Kindo I will again ask Ama for old age, but I will ask her not to let me live on until I am wearied of the world on account of illness." If a man or woman observes that a father is kind to his children he will determine to be reborn by one of the wives of that man. I have heard a Jukun mother say to her female baby, "Stop that excessive crying, or I will be reborn in you one day and treat you as you are treating me." It is said that some *dindî* in Kindo, before returning to the world, ask Ama to give them bitter blood, which witches on earth will have no desire to drink.

But it is not suggested that Ama will grant the petitions of all dissatisfied *dindî*. A person is what Ama appoints him to be, and with that he must be content. The Jukun are determinists and believe that a man cannot alter his character any more than a leopard can change the character of its skin. It is believed that Ama provides a new body but not a new *dindî*. But it is also believed that the physical appearance of a person in one of his earthly lives is perpetuated in the next. Thus if a man who had a lump on his body dies and returns to the world, the mark of the lump will be visible. This is one of the means by which the identity of a returned ancestor is detected. The chief of Takum stated that he had disinherited his elder son in favour of his younger, as the younger was the physical replica of his (the chief's) father and was in fact the chief's father. If the chieftainship were bestowed on the elder son it would be an

¹ But normally a man is reborn into his own family (reckoned patrilineally at the present time). Some Kyâtô defend the practice of marriage with the half-brother's daughter on the ground that the father of the girl is thereby enabled to be reborn by his own daughter without having to be reborn into a different family (see my article on the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga, *op. cit.*). Young children are always buried close to the door of the mother's hut, with the idea that they may be tempted to re-enter their mother's womb.

insult to his father (present in the person of his younger son) who would leave the world in disgust and cause infinite trouble afterwards! It is said also that the reason for removing a child from the womb of a mother who had died in childbirth is to secure that when the woman is reborn into the world she will not be reborn with a big stomach. People born lame and blind were lame and blind in a previous earthly life.

It has been said that when a man goes to Kindo he carries out the functions which he performed in life. Even priests, it would seem, continue to exercise priestly functions. They live in close contact with the living priest on earth, and it is through them that the living priest is able to obtain for the people the benefits which the cult is believed to confer. For the ancestor priests in Kindo have direct access to Ama. The ancestor priests of a rain-cult can inhibit the rains if they see that the rain-ritual is not being strictly carried out, or if their living representative is not being treated in a proper fashion by the chief and people. Hence the great importance of the hereditary principle. The living priest must be one known to and respected by his predecessors, and in all religious rites there is an appeal, implicit or expressed, to the former holders of the priestly office.

In Kindo there is no marrying or giving in marriage, for a man abides with the wives which he had in the world. Or it would be more correct to say that a man abides with the wife whom he had married as a virgin. Every woman who dies seeks out in Kindo the husband who was her first husband. She has no dealings with any of the subsequent husbands she may have had in the upper world. (And most Jukun women have had numerous husbands.) If she predeceases her first husband she waits in the home of her relatives until he arrives in Kindo, and if a man dies before the wife he had married as a virgin, he also awaits her arrival. Thus in Kindo monogamy is the normal rule, but in exceptional cases a male *dindî* may have more than one wife, for in his terrestrial life he may have married more than one virgin girl. On the other hand a male person in Kindo may have a female paramour, as in the Upper World. Indeed, it is thought that a male *dindî* who becomes incarnate on Earth is sometimes accompanied by his paramour of the spiritual world. It is said that birth-marks are the outward and visible sign of the spiritual presence of the paramour from the Under World. In

spite of these beliefs it is asserted that there is no procreation of children in Kindo.

The *dindî* in Kindo are said to have no teeth. Teeth are not required, as the only available form of sustenance is the red worm known as *tana*.¹ But a diet of worms is considered insufficient, and if a *dindî* is to be happy in Kindo he requires an amplification of diet from the upper world in the form of those offerings which are daily and periodically made by descendants.² Unfortunate, therefore, is the position of the *dindî* who has left behind in the Upper World no younger brothers, cousins, sons, or nephews, or adopted children who can minister to his wants. The absence of "family" is, to a Negro, the last state of degradation, and the prevalence of the practice of what may be called interadoption is not to be ascribed wholly to the immediate economic advantages derived therefrom, but in a considerable measure to the eschatological belief that a *dindî* in Kindo who has no relatives or adopted children on earth suffers continuously from hunger and thirst. If a *dindî* has descendants on earth who are remiss in their duties he does not hesitate to show his wrath, and he will strike his living son with his spiritual stick, thereby causing a severe illness. On this account it is said that the *dindî* in Kindo are without affection, for if neglected they inflict remorseless penalties. *Dindî* who have no sustenance but worms are believed to collect under large trees at mid-day and at night, and at cross-roads near villages, in order to strike with their sticks anyone who happens to pass by. On the other hand it does not appear that the *dindî* are solely dependent on their own relatives; for just as in the upper world a man invites his friends to share his beer, so in Kindo, when a *dindî* goes to the earthly shrine to receive an offering from his descendants, he is accompanied by numerous other *dindî*, his companions in Kindo. But presumably a *dindî* who was constantly unable

¹ The "tana" worms emerge from underground in millions during the wet season. At Kona it was stated that parsimonious people are fed on excrement in Kiro (which is the Kona word for Kindo). In ancient Egypt it was a common prayer to ask that the deceased might be delivered from the worms of the Under World (see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 365).

² Before beginning any meal the head of a Jukun household always pours a little beer on the ground and throws behind him a piece of porridge dipped in sauce as an offering to the souls in Kindo, saying: *Kafara, Basho, ni pa*—"Great Ones, graciously receive." Women do not observe this custom except in cases of food prepared for the Akuma and Atsi rites, which women are allowed to eat.

to return hospitality received would not be permitted to share constantly in the offerings made to fellow-*dindî*.

The *dindî* in Kindo wear no clothes other than those with which they had been buried. They are believed to suffer from cold if not occasionally re-furnished with garments, and it is for this reason that at the annual "feasts of all souls" it is customary for living relatives to hand to the officiants of the cults gifts of gowns and cloth. These are appropriated and sold by the officiants and their friends, but the substance of the gifts is believed to be conveyed to the *dindî*.

The *dindî* in Kindo excel men in knowledge and numbers. They see and hear everything that goes on and is said on earth. They are ever present with their living relatives, and on this account a Jukun is always careful about what he says and thinks. If he is in doubt as to the wishes of the *dindî* he consults his divining apparatus, which is the recognized means of communication with Kindo. Most Jukun indeed consult their divining apparatus each morning in order to assure themselves that their daily conduct is in accord with the wishes of the unseen powers. A Jukun also utters a prayer every morning that his ancestors and the other powers in Kindo may go with him that day. Not merely do they go with him wherever he goes, but at the same time they act as guardians of his house during his absence, and they accompany any member of the household who goes on a journey. People swear oaths by their ancestors. Thus a man will say, "If I have done so-and-so may my grandfather in Kindo slay me." Or he may utter an imprecation saying, "May my grandfather pursue and kill the man who stole my property." Even if a man is engaged in committing evil he will call on his forefathers to assist him and will expect them to do so. Thus, though it is said that falsehood has no place in Kindo, the *dindî* are in practice non-moral. If a man pays attention to his ancestors they are expected to protect him under all circumstances, whether his conduct, from the point of view of Jukun morality, deserves it or not. If a thief commits a theft and is discovered, he will consult his divining apparatus, which will usually declare that the cause of his unsuccess was his failure to give adequate attention to the *dindî* of his ancestors. Some Jukun even go so far as to say that a man who is not naturally a thief may be urged to commit a theft by one of his forefathers whom he had neglected, and

I have been told that when false messages have been received by the divining apparatus they had been sent by ancestors who, being thirsty, did not hesitate to tell lies in order to obtain a drink.

The protective abilities of the ancestors and their powers to injure are not absolute. The ancestors can promote childbirth or cause barrenness; they can afflict a person with temporary lunacy or cause his sudden death. They can ensure that a man's wife will behave herself, and they can set fire to the house of a neglectful person. But they are powerless to assist against the operations of sorcerers and witches. Deaths from snakebite are due to witchcraft and never to displeased ancestors. Sun-stroke and permanent insanity are the work of evil spirits and not of the ancestors; while syphilis, plagues of locusts, leprosy, small-pox and other epidemic diseases come only from Ama or Chidô. The ancestors are able to palliate the sufferings of the prolonged and final illness of an old man, but his ultimate death is the work of Aki, the servant of Ama.

Though a Jukun worships the plurality of his ancestors, and in the rites recounts the names of as many ancestors as can be recalled, he devotes his attention primarily to those dead ancestors who were one or two generations his senior. A great-grandfather does not interfere with his great-grandson. A father and grandfather appear to act as one; but, according to some Jukun, if a man has both a dead grandfather and father his chief concern is his dead father. For his father during his lifetime had looked after the grandfather, and it is the living man's duty merely to look after his father. The term father includes, however, all paternal uncles. A maternal uncle who requires sustenance can cause the sickness of a nephew, but the maternal uncle's father has no such power as he belonged to a different social group. The ghosts of females as well as of males can protect or injure their descendants. A *dindî* in Kindo cannot injure or help any person on earth who was senior to the *dindî* during the latter's life on earth. Thus a dead child cannot injure his living parents, nor a dead brother his living elder brother.

The activities of a *dindî* are normally confined to his own living relatives (reckoned on both sides of the family), but in some cases he may disturb the welfare of the whole community, e.g. the ancestor of a rain-controlling family may inhibit the rains

(for reasons already stated). In such cases it becomes the business of the community to see that libations are offered through the appropriate channels. The *dindî* of a dead friend who is no relative may bother a man by constantly appearing to him in his dreams. In such cases the living man can do nothing on his own account. He must seek out the senior living member of his dead friend's family and request him to make offerings "to allay the ghost".

It will be seen therefore that the *dindî* are regarded from two points of view: (a) private, and (b) associative. In the former character each *dindî* pursues the purely selfish purpose of obtaining for himself the utmost benefit from his descendants; in the latter he associates himself with the plurality of other *dindî*, and together they go about in bands attending any beer-rites of the living which happen to be in progress. The association of *dindî* is not confined to the kindred or any major social group. It is not even always a purely tribal association; for just as a Jukun may invite a member of the Ankwe, Arago or Kyâtô tribe to attend his religious feasts, so a Jukun *dindî* may invite the *dindî* of tribesmen other than his own to share in the libations and food offerings of his relatives.

This section on psychological beliefs may be concluded with a few remarks on dreams, a topic to which I did not devote much attention.

Many dreams are interpreted as meaning the opposite of the dream. Thus if a person dreams he is very rich he will always be very poor, and *vice versa*. But the interpretation by similarity is commoner. Thus to dream of a white cloth is a sign of death in one's own household or in that of a friend, a white cloth being the normal burial garment. To dream of red worms means a funeral, as the dead are believed to feed on red worms (a belief which is also that of the Ashanti¹). To dream of a mound of corn is also a portent of death, as the mound is likened to the mound over a grave.

To dream of your ancestors means that the ancestors require libations; and to dream that you are having sexual intercourse is taken as evidence of the existence of a spiritual wife or husband in Kindo.

If a man dreams of fish it means that his wife will conceive.

The falling dream is common, and a Jukun often dreams that

¹ See Rattray's *Ashanti*, pp. 143, 146.

he is falling into a deep pit. Or he may dream that a python is mounting his body, or that he is being charged by horsemen in a narrow lane, or assailed by a lunatic from whom he tries to run away but cannot. One Jukun stated that he dreamt he had become a member of a Muslim compound, and that one of the members of the compound fell sick and died. As the illness was believed to have been sent by an evil spirit, the body was wrapt in a mat and buried in the bush. On the journey home the dreamer became aware that everyone behind him was running for his life, and so he ran too. He could not state what it was that caused them all to run, whether the evil spirit that had killed the man or the ghost of the man himself. Disturbing dreams of this character can, it is thought, be best allayed by a libation to one's guardian mother in Kindo.

A riverain Jukun stated that he had been pestered for months with the dream that he was going up the Benue in a steamer with his mother. He enjoyed the sensation at first, but soon grew tired and finally horror-stricken as the boat steamed on and on to Eternity. Another stated that he dreamt constantly that he was watching a wrestling match in which a young boy kept challenging and defeating much bigger boys than he. So he said to himself, "That boy must have some magical charm. If he went to Hausaland he would make his fortune; but in his own country all he gets is applause."

CHAPTER V

THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH

The Cult of the Dead.—It will be apparent from what has been said that the work-a-day religion of the Jukun is the cult of ancestors. On the national side this assumes the form of the cult of dead kings, who become gods ; and in its private aspect it assumes the character of a propitiation of ancestors who are regarded as being in close association with the gods and even with the supreme deities Chidô and Ama. The cult of ancestors is thus not to be thought of as a distinct cult from that of the higher deities. For the cult of the one is the cult of the other, and *vice versa*. When national rites are performed on account of a dead chief or of any deity the ancestors are thought to be present ; and when private rites are performed on behalf of ancestors the gods are also believed to be close at hand. When a man dies rites are performed not merely at the special shrine of the dead (viz. that of the Aku-ahwâ), but also at the shrines of such deities as Akwa, Kenjo and Akuma. For not only are these deities regarded as the mouthpieces of the ancestral spirits in Kindo, but the dead are believed to hover round all shrines at which during their lifetime they had been officiating priests. It is almost true to say that the *dindî* of the dead are associated with all religious symbols.¹ The gods and the ancestral spirits are indeed classed together in the single denomination of " Basho " or " The Mighty Ones ".

We have seen that a Jukun regards his ancestors as ever present, that he never eats foods without making an offering to his ancestors,² and that when things go wrong he is directed by the divining apparatus to pour a libation to some particular ancestor who requires sustenance. If he even dreams of an ancestor he will go to his household shrine of Atsî (or Têse)

¹ Compare Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 353. " Thus the living enjoyed communion with many of them (i.e. souls of the blessed) at every shrine during the celebration of every great festival."

² This is also an Igala and Bini practice (see Baikie's *Exploring Voyage*, p. 286, and Burton, p. 281).

with an oblation of beer and porridge, addressing his ancestor by name and saying, "I have seen you in my sleep. Whether it is good or evil I know not. But I remember you now with these gifts and beseech you to give me and mine health." The ancestors can inhibit rains and prevent conception; they can ensure a successful salt season; and when a man finds a dead game-animal in the bush he ascribes his good fortune to his ancestors. Even in the election of a chief the ancestors play a part, announcing the name of the chief-elect. The ancestors are, in fact, the dominating influence in the life of a Jukun.

In order to understand more fully the attitude of the Jukun to the dead it will be advisable at this stage to give some account of the burial and post-burial ritual. In this ritual there is considerable variation not only as between the different groups, but even within the same group, the order of events being altered to suit the convenience of the deceased's family and one series of rites being frequently amalgamated with another. This makes it a matter of some difficulty to give a generalized account and to disentangle the underlying hazy beliefs of the people.

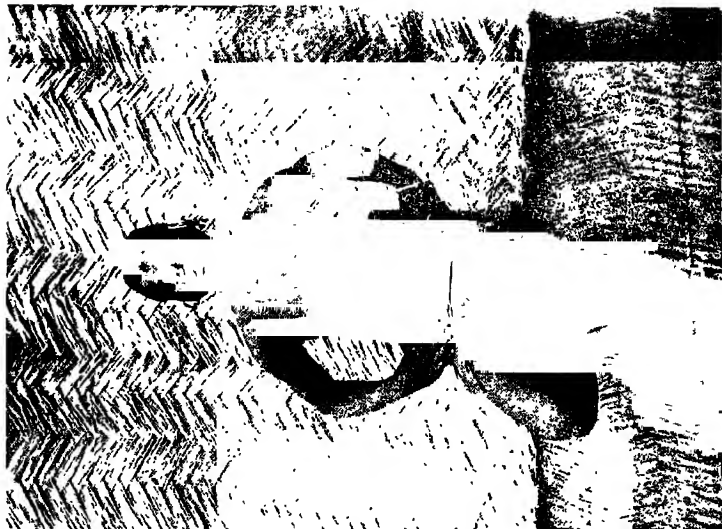
When a Jukun falls seriously ill he is looked after usually by a brother, whose mother was the same as his own. But a father or mother, son, or sister's son may perform this service, as also a wife, should the husband have no other relatives available. A sick woman is attended by her sister, if available.

On the occurrence of death word is sent to all the principal relatives on both sides of the family, and also to the "in-law" relatives. The king is informed, and if the deceased had been an important person the king sends, through the Abô, his condolences together with a gift of a burial cloth, the Abô adding a further gift of a cloth or some cash, and sending all to the Abô zikê and Kinda, who also add gifts on their own account.¹ In the meantime, the body had been washed by some relative, such as a paternal or maternal uncle, or senior brother (or, in the case of a woman, by a father's sister or sister). The body is washed with warm water outside the hut, and if the deceased had been the head of the household the washing is done in the private enclosure, the body being laid on a bed of guinea-corn

¹ In ancient Egypt the Pharaoh was accustomed to bestow funerary gifts on the death of any important subject. See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. i, p. 247.



A KONA YOUTH



RESTING HIMSELF

stalks beneath which there is a hole to receive the water. The deceased's hair lock is shaved off and preserved. The abdomen is massaged to clear the intestines, and the limbs are moved backwards and forwards to allay stiffening, the muscles also being massaged with the same intention. The body is then smeared with oil mixed in the juice of boiled leaves, but the oil is not allowed to touch the palms of the hands or soles of the feet (Kona). The body is then taken back to the hut. The orifices are blocked with cotton wool, and the mouth and eyes are bound up with a strip of cloth (or with a turban). The chest is bound round with white cloth, and if the deceased was a male he is (at Dampar) given a white cap, or if a female a headkerchief. The corpse is then sown up in strips of white cloth (some given by paternal and some by maternal relatives), and over this one of his ordinary wearing cloths may be bound. This work is carried out in silence; but as each female relative arrives at the compound she bursts into tears of grief.

Meanwhile, the grave-diggers are busy making the grave, which for a senior male is inside his private enclosure, while for a female or junior it is placed at the back of the compound. The grave-diggers need not be relatives. The grave is dug with a small hoe with shortened handle, but if the ground is hard a digging-stick tipped with iron is also used. The excavated earth is passed out in calabashes. The grave may be either of the oval pattern with lateral niche, or rectangular with central niche. When the grave is finished the grave-diggers announce that all is ready. Among the Kona Jukun the choice of the site of the grave and its preparation are made by uterine relatives, who, on completion of their task, report to the other relatives assembled at a distance that they have built a "house" for the deceased, it being taboo to mention the word grave. The latter reply, "Very well, go and bid him farewell; it is his turn to-day, to-morrow it will be ours." The inhumation is carried out by the uterine relatives.

At this stage there is considerable variation of procedure. Among the Kona Jukun the body is carried on a bed and is then transferred to the grave, being laid on a flooring of three or four mats. Mats are also slipped in at each side, so that when folded over they form a wrapping for the corpse. Each male relative then comes forward, and taking the right hand of the dead man

says: "To-day our association in this world is ended. Your knowledge is now greater than ours. Bow your head where Chidô has placed you." The side mats are then bent over the body, and the loose earth is thrown in. An official known as the Wunseni takes a bundle of straw, and, having rubbed it between his hands, gives a wisp to each person present. He also pours a little water into the palms of their hands. All then slap the soil of the grave first with the palms and then with the backs of the hands. This is done three times.

Among the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga, before the body is buried, the elder brother or cousin of the deceased takes a chicken in his right hand, and, addressing the dead man, says: "You have left us and gone to the beautiful place (i.e. Kindo). Whether the cause of your death proceeded from above or from below you can discern, for you are now in the 'House of Truth'. As for me, your brother, if I say that you became beef or fish for me (i.e. that by sorcery I devoured you), go first to your forefathers and then come back and take me. But if I am innocent, then bend down your head before your father and let him conduct you to our ancestors; and before the expiration of a beer-week (i.e. six days) let us hear news of you" (i.e. hear that you have taken vengeance on the person who killed you, unless you were yourself to blame). The deceased's wife then comes forward and, curtsying before the corpse, says: "If I had a double heart towards you during the time that you and I were together, you will know to-day when you have gone to the beautiful place. If I said in my heart that you were an evil person, and so went and sought medicine or sold you to witches that I might kill you and marry another; inasmuch as you have gone to your forefathers you can return and take me. But if I knew no husband save you only then turn your eyes to the ground; and may I find strength of foot and hand and be free from illness of every kind." She then touches the chicken with her hand. When the corpse has been placed in the grave the chicken is killed and laid at the feet of the corpse. The dead man's soul is said to ride on the chicken to Kindo.¹ The body,

¹ In other groups the chicken is not killed but merely held by the senior man of the family, who says: "Here is a pullet, mount it and find your forefathers." In other groups again, where the chicken is killed, it was stated that there was no conception of the dead man's soul riding on the chicken to Kindo, but that the sacrifice of the chicken was an essential part of the oath of the relatives that they had not been responsible for the dead man's death, the chicken being regarded as the carrier of this declaration to the dead man.

it may be noted, is laid reclining with the hand under the head, that of a male facing east and that of a female facing west. The intention of this is said by some to be that husbands and wives may see each other : but the usual explanation is that a man faces east in order that he may see the rising sun and get up early to go to his farm ; a woman on the other hand is reminded by the setting sun of her principal duty of the day, viz. the preparation of the evening meal.

The priest of the Hwâye at Donga is buried in a special position, viz. lying on his back, his head being raised by sticks set across four forked branches. After the body has been placed in position a senior relative enters the grave and lowers on to the chin the face cloth so as to uncover the eyes and mouth. (We shall see later that there is among many groups of Jukun a further rite known as that of releasing the cloth, a ceremony which refers to this custom of lowering the face-cloth before filling in the grave.) The entrance to the side niche of the grave is blocked with two mats covered with a plaster of grass and mud. The shaft is then filled in, a small mound being left at the summit to mark the spot. On this mound is deposited the haft of the tool which had been used to dig the grave.

Among the Jukun of Wukari and Dampar there is a similar ritual, but sometimes the chicken ceremony is not performed until after the inhumation. When the body has been deposited the two grave-diggers turn their backs to the grave, and with both hands throw some loose earth over their shoulders into the grave. They then turn their faces, and fill up the grave. The head of the household takes a chicken and, holding it in his right hand, says, " You and I shared a compound. We ate and drank together. If I did you any evil, whether by poison or witchcraft, then come and kill me : may I die while drinking the beer prepared for your funeral rites." Another brother, taking the chicken, may say : " You my brother ! Aforetime we quarrelled, even to the extent of striking each other. To-day you have died ; and if your death was the result of evil done by me in consequence of our quarrel, then may I also die before the brew set for you has matured. But if my heart is one with yours then turn your eyes to the ground." Finally, his wife may take the chicken and say, " You my husband ! from the day you married me I abode in your house. We

quarrelled sometimes, and when you abused me I abused you ; when you struck me I struck back. A man may have sought me and given me money, and I may have consented. But if I, your wife, was the cause of your death then may you kill me before the period of my mourning is complete." The chicken is then handed to the gravedigger, and the women take their departure. The gravedigger kills the chicken with the hoe-haft and plants its dead body in a small hole over the grave. His assistant takes a calabashful of cold water and walks round the confines of the grave sprinkling the water. He is followed by the senior gravedigger who holds a bunch of cotton grass and smoothes the ground where the water has been sprinkled, a third man holding up his cloth behind, like a train-bearer. And so they circumambulate the grave three times. The intention of the cold water is that the dead man's *dindî* may be sent to Kindo cool, and not hot with revengeful intentions. In this connection it is worth noting that among the Chamba, neighbours of the Jukun, if a person dies before his mother, the mother applies her breasts to the dead person's lips that he may not go thirsty to the lower world. This rite is known as " The Last Suckling ". He will henceforth receive nourishment from his spiritual Mother-in-Kindo.

Immediately after the burial all those who had touched the corpse proceed to purify themselves. The gravediggers collect their hoes and picks and hold them in the burning feathers of a chicken. The others wipe their hands in the charcoal of the burnt feathers. These precautions are said to drive away Death.

It may be noted in passing that the above rites are not accorded to all Jukun. A person convicted of witchcraft or murder and put to death was buried without rites outside the town ; or the body was left on the surface to rot. This prevented the reincarnation of the soul of the criminal. Burial was also denied to suicides. The relatives might bury a suicide secretly, but they would be fined by the king if the matter came to his knowledge. Suicide, incidentally, is not uncommon, being carried out usually by hanging, or by an intra-venous injection of poison. People assailed with smallpox are segregated in the bush and fed on a diet of porridge and ground-nut soup, with hot floury water as a beverage. They are attended by persons who had already suffered from smallpox. If they die

their bodies are washed, but the corpse is buried *in situ* without any clothing save some leaves stitched together. There is no open lamentation, for it is said that this would provoke the spirit of smallpox to come and take other members of the household. Smallpox is, they say, an *aku* or king; and just as no one would question the king's right to put a man to death, so no one may question the right of the Spirit of smallpox to kill anyone. During an epidemic of smallpox all drumming and noise is stopped in the town. Business is reduced to a minimum, and people avoid going out in the middle of the day or at night. Smallpox is an evil spirit who wanders about with a stick, and anyone he strikes is assailed with the disease. He haunts especially places where there are fragments of pottery; and it is for this reason that children are not allowed to beat pieces of pottery during an epidemic. Indeed, all fragments of pottery are collected and deposited outside the town. Sorcerers are blamed for introducing the evil spirit into the town, or for keeping him there longer than is necessary. Doctors (*basê-hê*) can provide charms for keeping off smallpox. These may be hung on the neck or buried at the threshold of the compound.

One suffering from sleeping sickness is also segregated. No one will touch anything belonging to him or have anything to do with him. If a person so much as calls loudly on him while he is asleep he will catch the disease. When the patient dies his body is wrapped up in his old rags and buried in the confines of the town without ceremony. His property is thrown out into the bush or buried.

It is not customary among the Jukun to destroy any of the property of the dead; but if an *Aku kê* (or leader in war) dies one of his old bows is broken and deposited at a cross-roads, together with a few wisps of straw taken from the roof of his hut. It is considered an unfortunate thing among the Jukun for a person to die during the hot hours of the day, as this will mean that he will suffer great hardship from heat during his journey to Kindo. So strong is this belief that a Jukun in saluting an old man or woman will say, "May you die early in the morning, or in the cool of the evening." Death at night is regarded with mixed feelings. The soul will have a cool journey, but is liable to the assaults of evil spirits.

Sudden deaths, especially of young people, are usually

regarded as the work of sorcerers (*ba-shiko* or *ba-shibu*). If the deceased had been noted for his disrespect to his seniors his death would be ascribed to offended ancestors, and he would go to his grave with "bloodshot eyes"; but otherwise it is thought that one who had died suddenly had met his death by the foul means of witchcraft and would take vengeance in his own time.

To return, however, to the burial ritual, immediately after the burial the brother of the deceased reports to the "in-law" relations that their son or brother-in-law had been duly buried. These relatives then depart and send gifts of food in the evening for the mourning women. For it is the custom among the Jukun that female relatives of the dead (on both sides of the family) mourn the deceased for a period of from three to six days, some sleeping in the hut of the deceased, and some in that of his widow.

The men retire to the sacred enclosure and there discuss the question whether the beer for the ensuing rites should be set that evening or on the following morning. This depends partly on the lateness of the hour of burial, and partly on the question whether sufficient corn can be raised before sundown. On coming out they announce their decision to the women, some of whom are detailed to obtain the firewood, others to do the grinding, and others to see to the brewing. The men then proceed to discuss the financial position. The father (or paternal uncle or brother or maternal cousin) asks the question whether the deceased had any debts. If the deceased had been living with his maternal uncle at the time of his death this question is put by the maternal uncle. The maternal uncle is primarily responsible for the dead man's debts; but if he is a poor man himself he receives assistance from the deceased's paternal relatives, as well as from his own. The maternal uncle was also in former times the principal inheritor, though he would normally leave half the inheritance to the younger brother (by the same mother) of the deceased. If he were a rich man he would make no claim at all.

The same evening word is sent to the owners of the cult of *Aku Aşkê ki*—the tutelary genius who (at *Wukari*) has a special interest in burial rites—to come and perform the customary ceremony in honour of the dead. The permission of the king must be obtained, and in giving his permission the king advises

the mourners to avoid excessive drinking and quarrelling. The man personating the Aku duly arrives, salutes the bandmaster, women, and others, and then breaks into a chant saying: "Death has severed you from so-and-so (the deceased); you will never see him again. He has gone to salute his ancestors" (who are mentioned by name, both paternal and maternal). The Aku then speaks of the former kings of the Jukun, mentioning the deeds and the accomplishments of each, and he finally addresses the widow, saying: "You have no husband to-day. When you die you will meet him. But let not your heart be broken. When you have finished your period of mourning you may take another husband." The woman, in gratitude, gives offerings of cash to the followers of the Aku. At a late hour the same evening, i.e. the evening following the man's death and interment, the ancestral spirits (called either Aku-ahwâ or Ba-hwa) arrive in the town in order to escort the dead man's *dindî* to Kindo. On the arrival of the ghosts all women and young people secrete themselves in their houses, for it is death to them to look upon a ghost. The leader of the ghosts addresses the senior relative of the deceased, saying: "What has happened that you have summoned us?" The latter replies, "Nothing that I can understand. But your son is dead. If a pup dies you call the mother-dog. Your son is dead and so I called you." The leader of the ghosts replies: "We thank you for calling us, and we shall take away what belongs to us." He then calls on the dead man by name. There is no answer. He calls again, and again there is no answer. But at the third time of calling a squeaky voice¹ replies: "Oga," i.e. "Here I am." At this the ghosts emit yells and break up, beating the surrounding huts and finally disappearing into the bush with the soul of the dead man who has become one of their number.

In many Jukun communities the ancestral spirits are believed to be summoned by the tutelary deity after the latter has inspected the body of the dead man, the dead man's soul being taken away by the ghosts before and not after the burial of the body. This would appear to be the logical course of events (judged by the Jukun standard). But frequently in practice the whole of the proceedings are reserved until a later and more

¹ The squeaky voice of a "ghost" is produced by speaking through the tibia of a vulture, covered with spider's web.

convenient period, which may be six, twelve, or eighteen days after death, or may even be postponed until the dry season. As I was able to obtain a fuller account of the postponed rites, some of which I witnessed personally, I have reserved for later paragraphs a more detailed description of the post-burial ritual.

Formal lamentation for the dead man is kept up by the female relatives for a period of from three to six days. It is the Jukun custom for these female mourners to sleep in the hut of the deceased. Each morning large quantities of beer are sent to them by relatives and friends. The women give expression to loud cries of grief every day at sunrise when relatives and friends come to salute them. Beer is distributed at frequent intervals. In some family groups (e.g. among the Ba-Vi and Ba-Ma) one of the gravediggers strikes three times the roof of the hut in which the female relatives are sleeping. This is regarded as a knocking by the deceased's soul, and all the women burst into lamentation.

Mourning women may not eat of certain kinds of food, slimy foods in particular being taboo (for some reason I was unable to ascertain). On the third day all female relatives shave their heads. The widow does not sleep in her late husband's hut, but she is shaved on the third day and has to observe a period of mourning for twelve months. This period is commonly reduced nowadays. A husband may on his deathbed express the wish that his wife's period of mourning may not exceed two or three months on account of the hardship which a lengthy mourning entails. For a widow has to observe numerous taboos. She must remain in seclusion and avoid conversation with men; she must avoid eating certain foods, and she may not drink out of any calabash save her own. If she were to talk to or share a calabash of beer with a man with whom she had had sexual relations during her husband's lifetime she would, it is thought, be killed by her husband's *dindî*.

It is also the custom to set out every morning for a period of six days a pot of beer and in the evening a dish of porridge in order that the *dindî* of the deceased may refresh himself. If this were not done the ghost would haunt his relatives. Another important duty, performed by the men, is the formal ascertainment, by means of the divining apparatus, of the cause of the dead man's death. If the deceased had reached a hoary

old age the diviner would declare that his death had come from Chidô ; but otherwise it may be announced that he had met his death by witchcraft or because of the neglect of some ancestor or god. The decision of the divining apparatus is supported, as we shall see, in later ceremonies when the dead man himself appears to salute his relatives and acquaint them with the manner of his death.

On the sixth day after death the first brew of beer matures, and rites for "Releasing the Cloth" are performed. These rites have, as the title indicates, the same intention as the Egyptian ceremony of "Opening the Mouth". They usually (but not always) centre round the cult known as Akwa, and it will be necessary, therefore, to give some account of this cult before proceeding to give details of the ritual of Releasing the Cloth.

Most Jukun have a cult of Akwa private to their own family ; but the symbols of the cults of a number of families may be centred in one spot outside the confines of the village. These symbols are usually (a) a circular hole in the ground, beneath which an iron ring is sometimes buried, and (b) a circular piece of pottery about the size of the lid of a cigarette tin, which, when rites are not being performed, rests in the centre of the hole. Among some groups of Jukun (e.g. the Awei) there may be two circular holes, one representing the god or genius, and the other his wife. In some also the devotees of Akwa wear the iron ring of the cult on the right wrist.¹ I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the term Akwa. In most cases Akwa was simply regarded as a personification of dead ancestors, but in others he was definitely regarded as a god. It is possible that the name Akwa is the same in origin as that of the Egyptian god Aqa.² Among one group of Jukun (viz. the Hwâye) it was stated that Akwa was formerly the name of the war amulet, and that when wars became less frequent the spirit of the amulet announced, through the divining apparatus, that he desired the seclusion of a sacred enclosure, i.e. he did not wish to have rites performed to him in public, nor did he wish women to share in the remnants of the sacrificial foods.

¹ Among the Ewe the worshippers of Khebioso, the lightning god, wear an iron arm-ring that the god may thereby discriminate between his worshippers and those who neglect him. See Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 38.

² See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. i, p. 103.

Rites are performed to Akwa regularly at harvest or on irregular occasions when circumstances demand. Thus at the millet harvests rites are carried out by each family in rotation, all the senior members of other families being permitted to attend the rites of the particular family. The rites are a general thanksgiving to the deity and the ancestors for the harvest crop. In other cases the rites are performed immediately prior to the harvest with a view to obtaining a magical increase of the standing crop or to preventing the diminution of the crop during the process of harvesting.¹ Irregular occasions for Akwa rites are numerous. Thus if the head of a household has been ill, he will, on recovery, go to the shrine of Akwa accompanied by senior members of the family, sweep the ground in front of the symbol, and pour into the circular hole a preliminary libation of water "to wash the face" of the god. He then pours some beer from a pot into a calabash and empties it into the hole, saying, "I have been ill, and when I consulted the divining apparatus it was revealed to me that you, Akwa, were the cause of my illness. To-day I come to you with beer, a chicken and porridge. You seek food from me and I seek health from you. Keep me in health, I beseech you, and let no evil thing come near me or any member of my household." He then pours a further libation of beer, together with the blood of a chicken whose throat has been slit by an attendant. Three feathers are taken from the wing and stuck round the edges of the circular hole. Small pieces of the porridge are also set on the pottery dish, and in conclusion there is a final libation of beer. The remnants of the food are eaten by the officiator and the others present, care being exercised that none of the offerings are seen subsequently by women. Thus if one of the worshippers had accidentally smeared his leg with some of the porridge he would wipe off the mark with the utmost care. If the food supplies had proved excessive the surplus would be buried in the ground, for if any were left lying on the surface a dog might enter and take it outside, thereby revealing to women that the god had not consumed the food in its entirety (as women are led to believe). In making offerings to Akwa the names of family ancestors are commonly recited, and in some cases the prayer is

¹ For a description of rites of this character see my article on the Jukun of Awei (to be published shortly).

addressed to a particular ancestor without any mention of the name Akwa.

The cult of Akwa may also be used to purge a wife's adultery, the rites being similar to the Adama rites already described.¹ The guilty wife provides the sacrificial chicken and the corn from which the beer is brewed. After a formal confession to the husband outside the shrine she is thrashed with a cane four times by the husband's brother. The object of the thrashing is not merely physical punishment; it is thought to drive out the spirit of adultery. The brothers then enter the shrine and petition the god to forgive the woman, to drive adultery from their midst and to cure the woman of the illness which her sin had caused. It is worthy of note, also, that a Jukun will not consummate his marriage until he has first made offerings to Akwa with beer prepared by his fiancée, and when he makes the offering he utters some such prayer as: "Let not the mat on which we lie at night grow old without my wife conceiving."

Such are a few instances of the numerous occasions on which the Akwa cult is used. It is a cult which imposes many taboos on its owner. No possessor of an Akwa may come into contact with a menstruous woman or eat food that might have been cooked by a woman in that condition. He may not, therefore, mix with members of other tribes who do not observe the same taboo, and he may not absent himself for any length of time from the service of the family god. If he were accidentally to touch a menstruous woman he would have to purge himself by sacrificing a chicken at the shrine of Akwa, saying: "In ignorance I touched a woman with blood, and I come to wash my body and obtain health." It is said by some that the man's offence is transferred to the chicken. Akwa also cannot tolerate a man who has been in contact with a corpse, a taboo which, incidentally, is also applied to the Jukun king. If, therefore, a worshipper of Akwa has touched a dead body he must purge himself with an offering of some soaked guinea-corn and a small chicken, or failing that, of a chicken's egg. He goes to the shrine of the god and says, "I have touched a corpse and have come, therefore, to purge my body. Here is my offering of a chicken." He deposits the soaked grain in the platter of Akwa, and buries the chicken (or egg) in the ground.

¹ See p. 198.

It may be of interest to describe here the mode by which an Akwa cult is established in a household. Normally the cult is inherited in the male line, a man receiving it from his deceased father, father's brother, or elder brother. This is the rule even among the matriarchal Jibu. But it is not an invariable rule; for it is permissible for a man to bequeath his cult to a sister's son, if he regards his sister's son as likely to be a more suitable custodian than any of his relatives in the male line. The sister's son would transfer the bracelet-symbol of the cult at night to his own home, and, when he had made the circular hole, would bury the bracelet in the centre underneath, fastening round it a piece of cloth which is said to symbolize the marriage of the worshipper to the bracelet, in which the god is believed to have taken up his abode. He has to fashion for himself a new pottery disc to serve as a platter, for when an owner of an Akwa cult dies it is customary to smash the platter of the cult. Sometimes a household may contain more than one shrine of Akwa. Thus a case came to my notice in which a father and son were each the owner of an Akwa cult, and the explanation given was as follows. The son had fallen ill, and when the father consulted the divining apparatus, he was told that the illness was an indication that Akwa wished to take up his abode with the son. The son, therefore proceeded to set a brew of beer, and provide himself with necessary gifts of corn, fish, beans, benniseed, and a chicken. Members of the household and other relatives assembled on the appointed day, and the father entered the enclosure of his own Akwa and spoke as follows: "It has been revealed by the divining apparatus that the sickness of my son is due to you. He has brought offerings, therefore, that he may become wedded to you. May these offerings prove acceptable, and may he and all our household have health and prosperity." Libations were poured, and on the same evening offerings of porridge were deposited on the platter of Akwa, the prayer being repeated. Next day the son set a brew of beer, and when it was ready his father once again entered the shrine of Akwa, poured a libation, and spoke as follows: "To-day we are going to take you to reside with my son, for the divining apparatus has shown us that this is your wish. Do you protect and care for him and bring health to us all." The same evening the son provided himself with all the paraphernalia of the cult—a dish, bracelet,

and bag for transporting the offerings. His wife furnished two new calabashes to be used exclusively for the Akwa rites. She also prepared a supply of porridge. On the following morning the son, accompanied by his father, proceeded to the site chosen as the shrine of his new cult. Taking a knife he hollowed out the circular hole which is characteristic of the Akwa cult. He then placed some of the porridge in a dish and emptied it into the hole saying: "To-day I have brought you to abide with me. Do you care for me and make me prosperous in order that I may be able to offer you frequent libations." He then poured in some more of the porridge and finally washed his hands carefully. This concluded the ceremony.

To return, however, to the post-burial ritual, the ceremony of "Releasing the Mouth-cloth" is always performed on the occasion of the death of any man who was the owner of an Akwa cult. As soon as possible after the death a brew of beer is set by the relative (brother, cousin, or son) who had served in the Akwa shrine with the deceased, and had been trained up by the deceased in the ritual with a view to becoming the inheritor of the cult. As a preliminary to setting the brew, the chosen relative summonses the other relatives of the deceased, including females, and says: "To-day I am going to set a brew of beer for my brother in order that we may release the cloth from his mouth." They reply: "Since you have said so, it is good. A man begets a son that when he dies his son may remember him." They then proceed to select the corn for the first process of brewing, and the females of the compound set about collecting the necessary firewood. On the morning of the day on which the beer is ready the officiant sends a lad to summon the relatives and displays to them the various sacrificial foods collected by him for the rites. These include a supply of corn, two chickens, fish (or dried meat), benniseed, beans, and salt. None of these may be omitted. The officiant says: "Here are the things which I have provided for the rites." They reply, "There is abundance, and we congratulate you on amassing so much. Let us proceed with the business." The officiant then distributes the foods to the women that they may be cooked. He instructs one of the boy-attendants or acolytes to put some of the beer into flasks and to convey them to the shrine of Akwa. Another brings a calabash of water. The senior men then enter the

shrine, and sit down in a circle on their heels. The officiant takes his seat on a stone directly in front of the circular hole of Akwa. His first act is to sweep carefully the ground all round the hole, using a grass brush for this purpose. He then takes the sacred ring of the cult, which he may have been wearing on his arm or have concealed in the shrine, and places it close to the circular hole. The attendants scrupulously wash all the dishes to be used in the rites, and the officiant also carefully washes his own hands. Then, taking a small jug of water, he empties the contents into the hole "to wash the face of Akwa". He next pours a little beer into the calabash cup and turning to the senior men ranged behind him says, "Ajô" (i.e. "The rites"). They reply, "Yau Yiya" (i.e. "Carry on"). Holding the cup with both hands he tilts a libation of beer into the right side of the hole and another libation into the left side. Laying the cup down he takes from his clothing a straw of a red grass, which is sacred to the Jukun and may not be used for any profane purpose (such as removing grit from food). He breaks a piece of the straw and deposits it in the circular hole saying, "You my (dead) brother, take up your abode here." He then pours some more beer into the cup and empties its contents into the hole. He now fills the cup with beer to the brim and sets it on the ground. He takes the brush once more and sweeps round the symbol. Having washed his hands carefully he turns to the seniors and says, "Ajô vinda" ("The rites are concluded"). They reply, saying, "Akura" ("Very good"), and slap their thighs once in salutation. The officiant now raises the cup of beer and holding it out to the senior man present says, "Ajô." The latter refuses the proffered drink by slapping his thighs and saying, "Yau yiya," i.e. "Proceed". The officiant similarly offers the cup to all the others present. (The reason for this rite is that it is a standing rule that no man may offer sacrifice unaccompanied by others, who are regarded not merely as witnesses of the rites, but as sharers in the responsibility if the rites are not properly carried out. By proffering the cup to the others before he drinks himself the officiant involves the others and so divides his responsibility.) The officiant now pours a little of the beer on to the iron ring, and having done so drinks some beer himself. He instructs the attendants to fill other dishes with beer and these are handed round to all present, who drink in silence.

The attendants also drink. A little beer is always left over at the bottom of the beer pot and this is poured into the officiating priest's cup and is drunk up by him. The priest then says, "Now we had better go out," and all retire for the time being.

They re-assemble shortly afterwards, and if anyone fails to present himself he is sent for. The attendants proceed to the kitchen and bring another pot of beer, together with the cooked foods, the women who had done the cooking withdrawing from the kitchen as they are not allowed to look on the food during its transport to the shrine. The brother of the officiating priest takes one of the sacrificial chickens and goes with it to that part of the compound where the women are assembled. The women are invited to come forward and deliver, by the mediumship of the chicken, any messages they may have for the dead man. The principal woman of the compound then speaks, saying: "You, so-and-so, have died. We do not know what took you. If it came from Chidô, then turn your face to the ground (i.e. be content to remain in Kindo, without looking up to the world to take vengeance on men), but if it came from men then lie with your face turned upwards." She then places her hand on the chicken saying: "And may I and all of us receive strength of body." The other women then come forward and each touches the chicken and asks for health. The man in charge of the chicken then places the chicken against the heads of each of the children of the compound who are too young to make requests for themselves. He then takes the chicken to the shrine. There the acolytes have thoroughly washed the dishes; and the officiant, seated in front of the symbol, having washed his hands, pours some beer into the sacrificial cup and holding the cup with both hands turns to the seniors and says, "Ajô" ("The rites"). They reply, as before, "Akura, yau yiya." He pours two libations, and then turns to his brother, who is still holding the chicken, and says: "Let us hear what you have to say." The brother repeats what the women had said, and the officiant, taking the chicken in his right hand and turning to the elders, says: "I am going to speak"; to which they reply, "Proceed." He says: "What am I to say? You, my brother (addressing the dead man's spirit), we are here with you to-day. I know not what occurred, but you fell and died; and to-day I bring you to the house of Akwa in order to

release the white gravecloth from your mouth." Then addressing the dead father of the deceased, he says: "And you, my father, I have brought to you my elder brother; do you receive him and take him to your father; and may you all hold a conference and demand to know the cause of my brother's death. If his death was from Chidô then may he go and abide with you and turn his eyes to the ground. But if an enemy killed him may he return and find that enemy. And as for me, may I hear that enemy calling out in agony the name of my dead brother and asking for his help. Thus shall I know that my brother and my father and my grandfather are alive in Kindo." He then repeats the prayers of the various women and requests that those prayers may be answered. Turning to the elders he seeks their concurrence in all he has done by saying: "Is not that so?" and all present slap their thighs in consent. The officiant now places the chicken's beak in the beer lying in the circular hole. If the chicken refuses to drink the beer he dilutes some of the beer with water in his left hand, and this the chicken will usually drink. The officiant then holds the chicken, while one of the attendants slits its throat. He allows the blood to drip into the hole, and taking a few feathers from the right wing plants them in a circle round the edge of the hole. The corpse is thrown to one of the attendants to pluck and parch. When this has been done the officiant takes a lump of cooked porridge, pours some soup over it, and places it in a platter before the symbol, together with the parched wing of the chicken. Taking a little of the porridge from the platter he deposits it in the centre of the hole, saying: "Abu jô" (i.e. "The property of the spirits"). He also deposits the chicken's wing in the hole, saying, "Asa vo kwê" (i.e. "The chicken's wing"). He adds some more porridge, and finally takes the platter and scrapes out all its contents into the hole. Some beans, etc., are also added. The officiant now fills the cup with beer, and the sacrificial dish with porridge and sauce. He brushes the ground round the symbol, and, having washed his hands, pours a little beer on the ring. Then turning to the elders, he says: "Ajô vinda," i.e. "The rites are concluded". There is the usual reply of "Akura, yau yiya", accompanied with a slapping of thighs. As in the previous rites the officiant first offers the cup of beer to the others, who refuse, and he thereupon drinks himself. He may then hand the cup to a

friend who is himself the owner of an Akwa cult, but usually those present drink from separate cups. Having drunk, the officiant, after depositing a small quantity of porridge on the iron ring, eats a little himself, and then directs the attendants to issue porridge and soup to the elders present. He and the elders then consume the remains of the chicken. The residue of the beer is poured out into the sacrificial cup and is drunk up by the officiant. Finally all wash their hands and go out, the attendants remaining behind to wash the sacrificial dishes. This must be done with great care : no fingerprints may be left, as the women believe that the food taken into the shrine of Akwa is devoured *in toto* by the ghosts of Kindo.

The elders, on withdrawing, from the shrine, sit down near the entrance to the shrine. At this stage a rite known as *zha dist* or "beer of the hearth" is carried out by the women, a calabash of sacred beer being given to them by the officiant for this purpose. The senior woman takes a wooden spoon and pours a libation in front of the three pillars or pots which constitute the hearth in every Jukun kitchen. Calling on the name of her dead predecessor, she says : "This is the beer of so-and-so (the lately deceased man). They have taken him to-day to the house of Akwa to release his mouth-cloth. If his death was occasioned by some fault of his own, may he turn his eyes to the ground, but if it was due to the fault of another then may he return and take that man. May we women who are in the kitchen receive strength of body." She pours two further libations, and then takes a cup of beer, which she drinks, afterwards distributing beer to the other senior women present. There are other occasions for rites to the hearth-deity which will be noted later. In the Southern Provinces hearth rites are also practised among some tribes.¹

When the women have concluded their rites the officiant directs one of the women to carry a pot of beer to the king. He himself distributes beer to his guests in order of seniority, and the beer is consumed in the outer section of the precincts of the shrine, no woman being present. A sister's son on such an occasion does not wait to be offered beer ; he is allowed to appropriate two pots for his own use. A pot of beer is also given as a gift to the woman who had prepared the beer. When all

¹ See Talbot's *Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii, p. 147.

the guests have drunk liberally they return home, but the officiant remains behind drinking with the senior male members of his own household. This concludes the ceremony.

These rites are known as "*gbwe ku yi jô ; fê dôm bu*", i.e. "the taking of a person to *jô* (the spirits) and the releasing of the white cloth". The primary object of the rites is to permit the double of the dead man to speak in Kindo, to inquire of the Powers there the cause of his death, and to declare the cause later to his living relatives on earth during the Aku-ahwâ ceremonies which he attends. The intention is, therefore, the same as in the ancient Egyptian ceremony of Opening the Mouth; for in the Book of the Dead we find the prayer, "May my mouth be given unto me that I may speak therewith in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of the Tuat."¹ There is also among the Jukun the further idea that the dead man's soul may be enabled to partake of the offerings of his living relatives, and in particular the *jê bô* offering, which will shortly be described. There is not, as far as I know, any series of acts by which the cloth of the real or of a mock body is removed. The cloth of the real corpse is lowered on to the chin immediately after the body has been placed in the grave. In some Jukun groups rites, which will shortly be described, are subsequently performed with a mock body, but it did not appear that in these rites there was any formal act of removing a cloth from the mouth.

Other tribes, no doubt, in the Benue regions have a similar ceremony of "opening the mouth", and it may be possible to obtain details which will show an even closer connection with the Egyptian ritual. I have been told that among the Tangale there is a rite of loosing the string which is tied round the head and under the chin of a corpse. The Jibu ritual of releasing the mouth-cloth is described later in this chapter.

It may be added that in ancient Egypt the general object of the ceremony was the reconstitution of the body of the dead man and the restoration to it of the heart-soul (*ba*) and the double (*ka*). At death the immaterial elements left the body. The immortal spirit-soul or *khu* went to join the other *khu*, but the *ba* and *ka* remained near the body and had to be provided with sustenance. The *ba* was apparently an essential part of the *ka*. Among the Jukun there is the same conception.

¹ See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 367.

The dead man's soul joins the *Aku* and becomes "*Aku*". But his *dindî* requires sustenance at the earthly shrines, and part of his *dindî*, viz. the *dindî mba* is capable of rebirth into the world.

Following on the Akwa ceremony (but sometimes preceding it and sometimes serving as a substitute for it), there is another ceremony known as *achê jê bô*, or "the beer of the Red Earth". A special brew of beer is set, and when it matures the senior member of the family proceeds to the grave of the deceased, accompanied by other grown-up males of the household. Holding in his hand a calabash full of beer he addresses the *dindî* of the dead man saying: "You have gone to the place of truth; you have found your forefathers. The reason for your death, whether it was from earth or from heaven (i.e. from men or from Chidô) you know. We have brought to you "the beer of Red Earth"; receive this libation and go to your father and inquire after the cause of your death. If the cause was your own affair (i.e. your own fault) then turn your eyes to the ground. But if it was not your affair then return to the world and take him who was responsible. If among us who drink of this beer there is a guilty person, may we ascertain his name to-day by hearing him call out (in agony) your name. And even if the guilty one isn't amongst us, may we hear that he has met with the fate which he deserved. And do you pour upon us the cool water of health, that we may come to the end of our days in peace." He then empties the whole calabash of beer over the grave. All retire to the centre of the deceased's compound and are there served with beer. As they drink they discuss the deceased, relating his merits, wagging their heads if he had died while still in his prime, and hoping for prosperity if he had died as an old man.

The apparent object of these rites at the present time is (a) to enable the living relatives to swear a formal oath of guiltlessness, and (b) to provide the dead man's *dindî* with sustenance. This explanation does not, however, account for the use of the expression "*jê bô*".

It was stated in one group that the name Red Earth was given to these rites because the earth scooped out of a grave is red. This is a fictitious explanation, for we have seen that among the Jukun the term Red Earth is applied to the Second

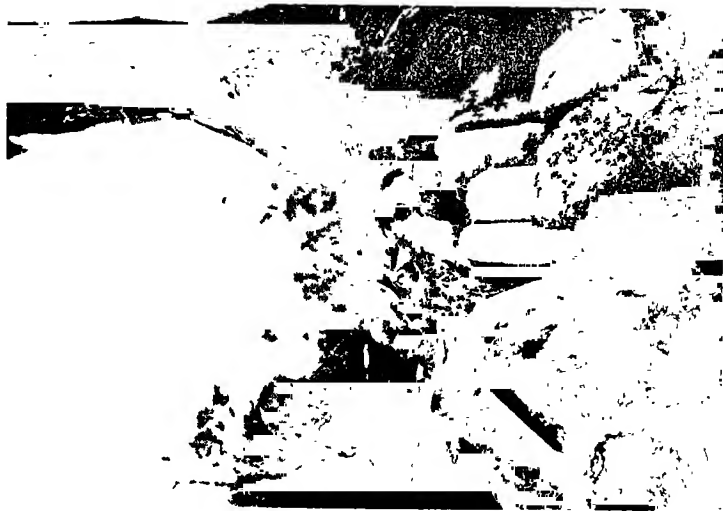
Death of those who are driven out of Kindo. The presumption would therefore be that, whatever significance the rite may have at the present time, its original intention was the prevention of dying a second time. This suggests a further parallel with ancient Egyptian ritual, for in the Book of the Dead there are numerous references to the possibility of dying a second time and formulæ for preventing this calamity. The Egyptian land of the second death is described as a place that "hath not water or air, it is depth unfathomable, it is black as the blackest night and men wander helplessly therein. In it a man cannot live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be satisfied therein."¹ The Egyptian, therefore, prayed that he might be given instead the state of the Spirit souls, i.e. of the *khu*. As a further link between the Jukun expression "Red Earth" and the doctrine of the ancient Egyptians it may be remarked that in the Osiris Cycle Set, the "Red Fiend", is apparently so-called because he stands for the red desert soil as opposed to the black soil of the alluvial plain.² The term Red Country is still used by the Hausa Muslims to describe a part of the Spirit World from which there is no return.³

We now come to the final group of ceremonies which are known as "Aku-ahwà" among the Wukari, Takum, and Donga Jukun, and as Ba-hwa among the Jukun of Awei and Abinsi. But before describing these ceremonies it may be as well to repeat that there is so much diversity of practice among the various Jukun groups that it is not easy to co-relate the various underlying conceptions. We have seen that it is sometimes the practice for the ancestral ghosts to appear on the same night as a person dies, and carry off his soul to the shrine of the Aku-ahwà in the bush. In other groups this ceremony is postponed until the twelfth or eighteenth day after death, and may be performed in the presence of a mock-body; in others again, the dead man's soul is formally established in the Aku-ahwà shrine by his relatives who set up there a stone symbol. In all groups there is a formal return of the dead man's soul for "the hearing of his voice". This final rite may be carried out immediately after his formal installation in the shrine of the Aku-ahwà, or later, in the dry season.

¹ See Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 563.

² See *E.R.E.*, vol ix, p. 220.

³ See Tremearne, *Ban of the Born*, p. 255.



SHIRINTS OF THE AKU AINW A

The following is an account of the Aku-ahwà ceremonies as practised by some groups of Wukari and Donga Jukun. As soon as possible after the conclusion of the Akwa and Jê bô rites three brews of beer are made, (a) one of bulrush millet for the Aku-ahwà; (b) one of guinea-corn for the accompanying Atsi rites; and (c) one of guinea-corn or maize for presentation to the king. It may be noted that no Aku-ahwà rites may be performed in the king's absence or without his permission, for the king is the head of the Aku, and he can even order the stoppage of rites which had already been begun.

When the beer is ready the grown-up men of the household, together with friends and relatives, assemble at the house of the deceased, where the head of the household displays to all the beer and viands he has collected for the rites. All congratulate him saying, "Excellent! Things are not easy to obtain nowadays." They then set off for the Aku-ahwà shrine, preceded by young boys carrying the beer and viands. Before leaving, the head of the household takes one of the sacrificial chickens and holds it in front of the women who lay their hands on it saying, "And may we also receive health." He presses the chicken against the head or body of each of the small children, saying, "And may you also receive health." As they leave the compound they take off their caps and lay them flat on their head.¹ When they reach the shrine they place their caps in their left hands or under the strings of their loin cloth. The officiating relative brushes the ground round the Aku symbols, which are a number of stones representing the ancestral spirits. He then washes his hands carefully with water, and the attendants also wash the sacrificial dishes which are never taken away from the shrine. The officiant then produces a well-shaped stone which he had brought with him. It is usually a fragment of a disused corn-rubber, and he may have picked it up in the bush. He washes it carefully and, addressing the dead man by his name, says: "Come and take up your abode here." He deposits the new stone besides the others, and again washes his hands carefully. Sitting on a stone in front of the symbols, he takes some water and sprinkles it over them "to wash their faces". Having poured two libations of beer over the stones he takes a chicken

¹ Members of the Bolewa tribe observe this custom in the presence of their king.

in his right hand, and, turning to the elders, says: "What are we going to say?" They reply, "Well, you have come here to carry so-and-so to his forefathers. He has died. What shall we say except that to-day we call upon him to declare what it was that killed him?" The officiant takes the two chickens and holding them over the symbols says, "You grandfather so-and-so (mentioning one of his ancestors), and you grandfather so-and-so (mentioning another), and you father so-and-so (mentioning his father), you father so-and-so (mentioning a paternal uncle), I come to you to-day. I know not what happened, but my brother so-and-so died, and I bring him to you. I have brought two chickens and a goat, and also some fluid to give to him who is now with you. He is to-day coming to our home to declare what it was that killed him in order that the womenfolk, no less than the men, may know the reason. May my household reside in peace and prosperity, and let none hear it said of me that I am suffering from sickness, whether of the head, chest, or abdomen. Grant that the elders who have come here with me to-day may be given power over all their limbs. If we stumble on the journey home, may it be a lucky stumble" (i.e. with the right foot and not with the left). Having said this he hands one of the chickens to an elder, while he himself takes the other and thrusts its beak into one of the pools of beer lying between the sacred stones. If the chicken drinks all is well, but if it refuses it is a sign that there has been some omission in the prayer, and an amendment has to be made. The older men present often draw the officiant's attention to a mistake in ritual. If the chicken refuses to drink a second time, the officiant pours some of the sacrificial beer into the palm of his hand and adds a little water. This the thirsty chicken, having been denied water for twenty-four hours, will usually drink. The officiant then either cuts the chicken's throat or pulls its head off by placing the head between his big toe and the next. The blood is allowed to drip over the sacred symbols, the head of the chicken being left lying at the side. Some feathers from the right wing are pulled out and set in a circle round the symbols. The second chicken is similarly sacrificed. One of the elders then cuts the throat of the goat, and the blood is caught in a dish which is handed to the officiant, who dips his right hand into the blood and sprinkles it over the symbols. He then washes his

hands with water, and after offering a further libation of beer, he once again fills the sacrificial cup with beer and sets it on the ground. He now takes the straw brush and sweeps the ground smooth all round the symbols. Having washed his hands once more he turns round (still sitting) to the elders and, slapping his thighs, says, "*Ajô vinda*", i.e. "The rites have been performed". The others, striking their thighs in return, reply "Akura" ("Very good"). The officiant pours a few drops of beer in front of the symbols, and then proffers the cup with both hands to the head of his kindred, or to the most senior man present, saying, "Ajô, kafaro Basho", i.e. "Spirits! Permit us, ye mighty ones". The person to whom the cup is proffered does not receive it, but merely slaps his thighs, saying, "Akura, yau yiya" (Good! Proceed). The officiant holds out the cup to the others, but they also refuse. It has been stated that the object of this rite is to involve all present in the officiant's responsibility, but there is also the further idea that by a moment's delay the excessive potency of the draught may be abated. To drink hurriedly of the divine fluid from a cup which had just been used to pour a libation to the spiritual powers might cause immediate death, or at least a paralysis, more especially if there had been any slip in the ritual. The officiant then drinks some of the beer, and the elders present are also served with beer from separate calabashes. The younger men help themselves to beer, two drinking together from one cup. A little beer must be left in the pot, and this is drunk up by the officiator to mark the conclusion of the Holy Communion. All then return home, the attendants remaining behind to wash the dishes scrupulously inside and out.

On arrival in the village from the Aku-ahwâ shrine all proceed at once to the household shrine of Atsî, or Têse as it is sometimes called. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of this term, but it would seem to contain the same root *sî* or *chi*, which is discussed in the previous chapter.¹ It was stated that the Atsî cult is the home counterpart of the Aku-ahwâ cult, the shrine of which is in the bush, and that it is necessary to have an ancestor cult close at hand, so that people may be able to offer libations at any time without having to wait for the special occasions of the Aku-ahwâ ceremonies. The officiant enters the shrine,

¹ pp. 180 sq.

and, after the usual procedure of sweeping round the symbols and pouring out preliminary libations, he takes a piece of mud and moulds it into the shape of the mud prongs which surmount the pillars of the cult of Atsî. These prongs represent the ancestral spirits, there being usually one pillar for the male ancestors and one for the female. Taking the newly-fashioned prong, the officiant fixes it on to the top of the pillar saying: "You, my father (or brother), be pleased to take up your abode here." He then washes his hands. (Among some Jukun-speaking groups the procedure is different if the deceased had been head of the family, the Atsî pillar of the deceased being broken down, and a new one substituted containing two prongs only, one representing the deceased's father or senior uncle and the other the deceased himself). The officiant then takes some locust-bean leaves and places them on one of the sacrificial dishes, which is covered with a lid. He takes a cup of beer and pours a little over the dish and also over the mud prongs. He rises and proceeds to the pillar representing the female ancestors and does likewise. Both sets of libations are repeated twice. Holding the two chickens in his right hand, he proceeds to address by name the various ancestors represented by the mud prongs, beginning with the most remote ancestor. He then says: "So-and-so has died and we have brought him to you here in order that he may abide with you. The 'beer brewed for the hearing of his voice' we have also brought that he may come to-day and declare to us the cause of his death." The chicken is then killed after the usual preliminaries, some of the blood being allowed to drip on to each of the prongs. Next he goes to the pillar representing the female ancestors and performs similar rites. It may be noted that the female ancestors are nowadays reckoned patrilineally, so that the prongs may represent a father's sisters, but not mothers, as rites for mothers would be performed by members of their own family. A mother, however, who had no relatives of her own would, on her death, be given a place in an Atsî shrine. The officiant next pours a libation of beer over the dish containing the locust-bean leaves and also over the mud prongs, saying "Basakwi" (i.e. "Moisten the blood"). He finally transfers some beer to the sacrificial cup, which he sets down beside the symbols. Then he washes his hands. Taking the cup, he pours a few drops of the beer

on the ground. It should have been remarked before that the intention in pouring a few drops of the beer on the ground before partaking himself is to allay any possible jealousy on the part of the ghosts. There is the usual pretence of offering the cup first to the elders and the usual refusal. The officiant drinks himself, and beer is distributed to the others. A pot of beer is sent out to the women who perform the *disi* or hearth-rites which have already been described.¹

On the conclusion of the hearth-rites, the senior woman allots to the various women of the compound who are not in a menstruous condition the duty of preparing the foods for the further ceremonies which are to be held that night.

About four in the afternoon all the men, accompanied by lads bearing the viands, resort once more to the shrine of the *Aku-ahwâ*. Young men had been left there in the morning to prepare the chickens and goat sacrificed (the goat is skinned and the intestines are cleaned and cooked). The officiant takes his place in front of the stone symbols, washes his hands, and pours the preliminary libation on the stones. He then takes a little porridge and deposits it in the sacrificial dish, adding afterwards some benniseed soup, the right wing of the chicken slain in the morning, and the cooked intestines of the goat. When he has done this he says "*Abu jô*", i.e. "The property of the spirits". He then takes a little of the porridge smeared with soup and deposits it on the stone symbols. He does likewise with each of the other kinds of food, mentioning the name of the food as he lays it on the stones. Next he pours a libation of beer over the food saying "*Suagbu ba jini*", i.e. "Put the food down and let it lie" (just as a man has a final drink to wash down his meal).

He now deposits in a dish a more liberal supply of porridge and soup. Into a second dish he puts some of the other viands, and into a third he pours a quantity of beer. Then he takes a brush, sweeps the ground round the symbols, and after washing his hands, turns to those present, slapping his thighs, and saying: "*Ajô vinda*," i.e. "The rites are concluded". He proffers the beer in the usual fashion to each of those present, spilling a little on the ground each time. He takes a little of the porridge, dips it in the soup, and throws it on the ground as a gift to the

¹ See p. 235.

ghosts. He does likewise with the other viands. He drinks some of the beer and eats some of the various foods. Beer and food are then distributed by the attendants to all those present. The goat's flesh is served in separate dishes, each senior man being given a dish to himself (two junior men share a common dish). If a considerable amount of beer is left over, the senior men are invited to drink again; but the final dregs can only be drunk by the officiant. The shrine attendants are allowed to eat up the remnants of the food, and it is permissible for pieces of the goat's flesh to be carried off for consumption at home. But flesh taken home in this way is treated with the utmost care. It is concealed and is regarded as a kind of reserved sacrament. In some cases it is given to members of the community who were, on account of illness, unable to attend the rites.

On the conclusion of this sacred meal, all return to the town and again enter the Atsî shrine (just before sundown). The officiant may here call on his younger brother (or cousin) to perform the complementary rites. The younger brother offers libations and places porridge, soup and the right wing of a chicken in the sacrificial dish which is set in front of the symbols (as in the case of the Aku-ahwâ symbols). No formula is used except the words "Abu jô", i.e. "The property of the spirits". Libations of beer are offered to wash down the meal, and the final rites are similar to those already described. Beer is issued to the women, and is consumed by them in the vicinity of the kitchen. A pot of beer is also despatched to the king.

By this time the sun has set, and about 7 p.m. the head of the household sends out boys to summon (a) the drummers, (b) the elders, and (c) all owners of buffalo horns, the musical symbols of the cult of Aku-ahwâ, to assemble at 9 p.m. at an appointed place outside the confines of the town. The buffalo horns are laid out in a row, and the bandmaster pours before them a small libation of beer. It may be noted, incidentally, that the owner of an Aku-ahwâ horn may not have sexual intercourse on the night preceding that on which he is going to take part in an Aku-ahwâ ceremony. The leader of the company, which is supposed to represent the ghosts of the dead (or *Aku*), opens the proceedings by taking one of the horns and speaking through it, the resultant muffled tones being regarded as the voice of

the ghosts in Kindo. He breaks into the weird chants of the Aku-ahwâ, and his lead is taken up by the others present. All then proceed towards the town, the leader chanting in muffled tones "My house is fallen. I have become one of the toothless". When they reach the vicinity of any large tree they stop, for they know that the people of the town can trace their progress by the large trees, which are a common meeting-ground for the spirits of Kindo. Beneath the tree they dance, and so proceed on their way until, with ever louder cries, they reach the compound of the man who had died. All women of the town shut themselves up in their huts throughout these proceedings, for to look on the Aku would cause their immediate death. The Aku proceed at once to the dead man's grave and dance. During the dance the leader of the Aku calls out the name of the dead man. But there is no reply. He calls a second time, but again there is no reply. At the third time a man personating the deceased replies from behind the hut: "Yes! Yes!" He then calls out: "You women! I have come. I have become one of the toothless." He addresses some close female relative present, saying: "So-and-so, you must bind up my head and chest." The woman addressed, already provided, hands out of her hut a cloth which is taken away by an unseen hand. The ghost then addresses by name another woman, saying that he is cold and requires something to cover him. The woman addressed, in her turn produces a cloth. And so on. The Aku then dance and sing, and the women within the huts answer them.

After an hour or so the Aku enter the private enclosure of the head of the household, and there, as they regale themselves with beer, they keep on shouting out various remarks in the muffled tones of the ghosts. The younger male members of the household give an answering cry of "Oh my father! oh my father!" Occasionally during the night, those acting the part of the ghosts come out of the enclosure and dance round the compound, withdrawing again to partake of beer. And so on throughout the night, during which there is no sleep for the frightened women and children. About 4 a.m. the ghosts break into a final song, declaring that they are the Aku-ahwâ, and that if any living person sets eyes on them he will die a speedy death. After a final bout of beer the Aku depart, each personator going off to his own home. The attendant lads carefully sweep

the compound to remove all traces of the ghostly visitors, and when the sun rises, the head of the household provides the women with a morning draught of beer.

About 3 p.m. in the afternoon, the elders once more assemble at the compound. The buffalo horns are again produced in the sacred enclosure, and the leader of the Aku-ahwâ once more pours a libation in front of them. He drinks some of the beer himself, and gives some to the others present. He then takes up one of the horns and, holding it in his right hand, proceeds to utter the weird calls which are believed to be the voices of the ghosts. The others answer back. The leader then begins shaking his horn, a jingling sound being produced by the iron rings attached to the horn. The others begin to dance. At this stage women arrive in the vicinity of the enclosure, and ululate and cry "Oh so-and-so! oh so-and-so!" (mentioning the dead man's name). At intervals the Aku relapse into silence while they drink beer in the privacy of the enclosure. They then burst out again into song and engage in dancing. About five o'clock in the evening the Aku cease from their activities. Having allowed themselves to cool down they depart quietly and unseen each to his own home. The women also depart to have an early meal in order that they may be in attendance when the Aku once more assemble in order to give their various messages to the women. Soon after sundown the leader of the Aku-ahwâ, accompanied by one or two of his principal companions, re-enters the enclosure, and after consuming some of the goat's flesh which had been left over from the morning rites, and laying small pieces of the flesh in front of the sacred horns, takes one of the horns and begins calling out in a muffled voice the name of an immediate female relative of the deceased, saying: "I am so-and-so (giving the name of the deceased), and I have come to tell you why I left you." His words are interpreted by one known as the Kuku. The woman replies: "I know not why you left us. And it is in order to hear the reason that I and all the other women are assembled here." The ghost may then inform them that the reason of his death was either (a) that he had set aside corn or a chicken for sacrifice but had used it for his private consumption, and so had been killed by Akwa¹; or (b) that he had sold property belonging

¹ Compare the Egyptian "I have not defrauded the gods of their cake offerings." Budge, *Book of the Dead*, vol. ii, p. 574.

to some cult ; or (c) that he had made some error while offering rites, such as failing to sweep the ground round the symbols before depositing the sacrificial foods ; or (d) that he had come into contact with a menstruous woman and had failed to purify himself ; or (e) that it was a punishment for showing disrespect to senior men ; or (f) that a certain man or woman (a wizard or witch) had met him and captured his soul. If he had died of snake-bite he may say that a woman had turned herself into a snake and bitten him. It is to be noted that immediately after a man's death the reason for his death is discovered by the divining apparatus, and that the reason given by the divining apparatus is that which is publicly announced later by the man personating the ghost of the deceased.

After this any woman who may have a request to make hands a cloth to the interpreter (the Kuku), and may say : " I am not well and would like to know the reason " The ghost may reply that it is because she has not been quite faithful to her husband. The woman may accept this rebuke as true, or she may reply that her illness cannot be due to that cause as she has always been loyal to her husband. The ghost may then make a number of equivocal remarks such as : " Well, I will tell you. Aforetime I was with you. But now I have gone to Kindo and become a toothless person, and one who subsists on worms. Whatever you do you know whether it is good or evil. You must abide patiently with your husband and listen to what he tells you, and I will look to see what happens," i.e. I will help you if you have behaved properly. The ghost may then call on the husband and direct him to obtain certain leaves and boil them ; and he will assure the husband that during the process of boiling he will come and add the spiritual fire of his own potency to that of the material fire. The woman must drink the concoction and wash her body with it, and she will then recover. (If the woman does not recover she does not charge the ghost with lying ; for she believes that the ghost had helped her to the best of his power, and that the disease from which she suffered came from Chidô himself and was therefore beyond the assistance of the souls in Kindo.)

Another woman may state that she is suffering from an illness. Her husband, present within the enclosure, may then whisper to the man personating the ghost that his wife had polluted the compound during some period of menstruation, and had failed

to have her offence purged by sacrifice. The ghost thereupon informs the woman that Akwa had brought illness upon her because she had polluted the compound and had made no atonement. She may reply that the failure was due to her husband's refusal to provide the necessary sacrificial gifts. The ghost then asks the husband in a loud voice if he has heard his wife's charge. The husband may reply : " I have : but why should I provide things for a wife whose sole object in life is her own enjoyment ? " The ghost will then address the woman saying : " Your husband shall provide the sacrificial gifts ; but if you do not mend your ways a worse evil will befall you, and you need not look to me for help." Another woman, carrying a small child, may offer a gift of a cloth or a few pence with the request : " I have a small child on my back ; grant that he may have health and that I may have health, and that what he eats and drinks may nourish his body and not pass through him uselessly." Other women may offer gifts of pence without making any request ; for women consider it an honour to give offerings to the ancestral spirits.

The ghost of the dead man then thanks them all and expresses the hope that each of those present may have strength of foot and strength of hand and that no evil may befall them. He must, he says, now return to Kindo. The leader of the women replies : " It is good. We were not able to prevent your death, so how can we prevent your return to Kindo."

The women then depart, and the officiant or head of the household gives one-quarter of the gifts received to the leader of the *Aku-ahwâ*, one-eighth to those who had lent their buffalo-horns, and the rest he keeps for his own use. The members of the band are careful to wash their hands before returning home, for if they did not do so they would infect everything they touched, and might even die themselves.

It might appear at first sight that in some of their features the *Aku-ahwâ* rites are nothing but an imposture on the women who are disciplined and mulcted by fraudulent means. It must be remembered, however, that the male members of the community themselves live under the perpetual discipline of their cults, and are constantly required to incur heavy expenditure. The *Aku-ahwâ* rites provide an outlet to the women for the expression of real religious sentiments. In conferring the gifts they believe that they are showing reverence to the dead and

supplying their wants. Moreover, it is the general belief that the ghosts accept the substance of the gifts, just as it is also the belief that in eating and drinking the remnants of sacrificial foods and beer the worshipper is absorbing divinity. To a Jukun the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation would present no difficulties. It may be added also that the ghosts which appear and deliver messages include female ancestors no less than male.

Among the Jibu Jukun the post burial rites shed so much additional light on the magico-religious beliefs of the people that no apology need be offered for describing these also in full detail. When a Jibu dies he is buried the same evening or on the following morning, in a flagon-shaped grave, the mouth of which is closed by means of a ceiling of sticks laid across the neck of the grave at an angle, and covered with matting and a plaster of mud. When the body is deposited in the grave the cloth which had been bound over the mouth is lowered on to the chin.¹ After inhumation the deceased's brother or cousin takes some locust-bean leaves in his hand and standing beside the grave says: "If this thing came upon you from 'Shidô' then turn your face to the ground. But if any human being compassed your death then hold up your right hand and take that man before he has drunk the beer of your funeral rites."

On the third day after death the brother, accompanied by three senior relatives, goes to the grave with a pot of beer and speaks as follows: "For two nights you have been ill and we have been battling with your illness by means of medicine. But now you have recovered and we have brought you something to quench your thirst. Be patient for six days, and we will come again and take you to the bush (*ahwâ*) so that you may see your ancestors and become an 'Aku'." The brother then pours out a little beer at each corner of the grave and finally smashes the beer-pot over the grave. These rites are known as *Bua Mivu* or "The beer for the opening of the hand", i.e. for the unclenching of the dead man's hand that he may partake of sustenance. It is to be noted that the fact of death is denied. For two days after death the deceased is regarded as one who is seriously ill, fighting for his life. On the third day he overcomes

¹ The pipe of the deceased is deposited in the grave, and if he had been a man of importance a grass hut is built over the grave. His gown is stretched across the thatch, a custom followed by the Idoma or "Okpoto" tribes.

the illness, relaxes his hands which had been clenched in pain, and is able to drink a nourishing draught. According to one informant it is not the dead man's body, but his soul, or *dindî*, which struggles against illness for two days, and recovers on the third day. In either case it is a doctrine of resurrection on the third day.¹ The pot is smashed with the intention presumably of conveying it to the dead man, but some added that a further object of smashing the pot is to prevent it being taken home again. For if it were taken back the women of the household would believe that the mourners, and not the deceased, had drunk the beer which the pot had contained.

A brew of beer is then set, and when it matures in six days' time the rites known as *She afâ* are performed. *She afâ* means "The fiery beer", i.e. holy or consecrated beer, and dangerous because dynamized by spirits. At sunrise on the morning of the sixth day the Aku or ancestral spirits arrive from the bush and go to the grave, where the deceased is represented by a pot covered with matting, and with a piece of his shroud wrapped round the neck. The leader of the ghosts addresses the senior relatives of the deceased, saying: "This thing (i.e. the dead man) is spoilt: shall we take it away with us to the bush or leave it with you?" The relatives reply: "If this is a thing that should be left, then you yourselves would now be in your homes in the village and not in the bush. Where his forefathers have gone he should go also." The leader then asks the senior relatives to inquire of the women if they agree. The women, who are concealed in the house of the deceased, at first protest, and make as though they would rush out to prevent the carrying-off of their dead relative. But the senior men restrain them by blocking up the doors of the hut. The leader of the Aku then addresses by name the dead man, symbolized by the pot; but there is no reply. When he addresses him a second time, and there is still no reply, he says: "Why do you not reply? If we leave you here your wives and brothers and children will not discern your presence. No one will see you save me. What is the use of that? But if you come with me you will see your forefathers." A grunt of assent is then heard proceeding from the direction of the pot, and the leader of the Aku says to the other Aku: "He has answered: shall we take

¹ With this compare the death and resurrection on the third day of the Mambila moon-god, as described in Chapter III, pp. 124-5.

him with us ? ” They all reply : “ Yes.” The leader then calls to the dead man, saying : “ Arise, and let us go hence.” At this some of the Aku begin chanting : *Angu da ngaiyo ; anga da ngaiyo*, i.e. “ Death has taken him by force ”. Others sing the refrain *Ngaiyo, Ngaiyo*. The relatives and friends of the dead man then raise their spears and say to him : “ This is a matter of theft (by death), of theft by stealth ; were it a matter in which we could fight we should be ready to do battle on your behalf.”

The pot representing the dead man is then carried out to the shrine of the Aku in the bush, where it is buried in the ground with the neck protruding above the surface. The leader of the Aku speaks, saying : “ If we, who are here, are the initiators of what we have been doing to-day, then may we live our lives on earth devoid of good fortune. But if we are but following in the footsteps of our forefathers may we be prospered in all things.” Having said this, he pours a libation of beer around the neck of the pot and also on the pots representing the other ancestors. All present then drink a little of the sacred beer, and return to the town. On arrival there the senior male relative of the deceased sets a dish of the beer on the ground before the assembled female relatives, saying : “ We have taken so-and-so to the Aku, and they received him with both hands and showed him a beautiful place wherein to reside.” At this the women yodel loudly and the senior man empties the dish of beer on the ground. The intention of this rite is to wipe out the footprints of the Aku, for if the women or others were in their ignorance to tread on the spot where the Aku had trodden they would be paralysed by the dynamism left by the footprints of the spirits. Thus we have a new explanation of the Jukun custom of removing footprints from shrines on the conclusion of religious rites and of sweeping the ground in front of the king, priest, or chiefs, on the conclusion of his ceremonial meal, a custom which was also followed in ancient Egypt.¹

On the conclusion of the *She afa* rites a fresh brew of beer is set, and, when it is ready, six pots of beer are taken to the shrine of the Aku. The senior man of the cult pours some of the beer into each of the small dishes, which are set before the pots symbolizing the ancestors, and addressing their late comrade, says : “ We have come to-day to look after your welfare, and

¹ See p. 158.

your condition among the Aku." Having said this he sprinkles with his fingers some beer from the dishes on to the pots representing the deceased and other ancestors. All present then drink some beer. Finally the senior man rises, takes a piece of cotton, kneels before the pots, spits on the cotton, and says : " We have performed our duty, we have looked to your welfare, grant that our foreheads may be white (i.e. free from evil) as this cotton ; may men love us, and may we prosper in all things : may we find game-animals in the bush, and fish in the rivers, and may our wives bear us children." Having said this, he deposits the cotton before the pot-symbol. All then return home. These rites are known as *Kā bar*, i.e. " The beer of following the footsteps."

Having returned home they proceed to the dead man's grave, where the senior man smooths the top of the grave, saying : " You have gone to the House of Truth, and to-day we are repairing the place from which you came forth (i.e. we are blocking up the hole in your grave by which you came out to join the Aku). May your widows and descendants have health of body." He then pours some beer over the centre of the grave. These later rites, which form part of the *Kā bar*, are known as the *She amir* or " Beer of the grave ".

The *Kā bar* rites are followed a week later by the *She afen dombua*, i.e. " The beer of releasing the mouth-cloth ". When this beer is ready it is carried out to the Aku shrine, where the senior member of the cult deposits it in dishes and sprinkles the pot-symbols as before. He then takes a chicken which had not been permitted to drink for twenty-four hours, and, placing some beer in the hollow of his left hand, he applies the chicken's beak to the beer, saying : " If the things which we are taught by our forefathers are lies, then refuse to drink ; but if they are true refuse it not." When the thirsty chicken drinks, all the men present yodel for this action on the part of the chicken is regarded as a sign that the Aku had accepted the libations of beer. The yodelling by the men can be heard by the women in the town, and is believed by them to be the yodelling of the Aku. The officiant then slits the chicken's throat and allows the blood to trickle into the pot-symbols, saying as he does so : " We have given to you this chicken's blood ; may our blood be as strong as the chicken's. We have released your mouth-cloth in order that you may be able to speak, and that we may be able to inform your

female relatives that we have heard your voice. You are sending us to them to say that all is well with you, and that when we have prepared the necessary beer you will come yourself to speak to them with your own voice. All present then drink some beer, and on returning home they inform the women that they have released the mouth-cloth of their dead relative, and that he will come in due course to hold conversation with them in person.

A brew of beer may be set immediately for this purpose ; but it is more usual to postpone the final ceremony until the dry season when there is greater leisure, and also a greater abundance of corn. For the final ceremony is regarded as a festival, and every householder in the town prepares bountiful supplies of beer and food for the occasion. When the beer is ready the senior men repair once more to the shrine of the Aku, where the officiating priest places offerings of food beside the pot-symbols, saying : " We give you food so that you may not feel hunger." After a minute or two the officiant kneels in front of the symbol, pours some beer into the dishes, and sprinkles the beer on the pots, saying : " You have eaten, and now we give you beer to wash down the meal. In due course we will escort you to your former home that you may hold converse with your relatives." All the men present are then liberally helped to beer and food.

On the conclusion of the meal the senior relatives of the deceased return to the village, but those deputed to personate the Aku remain at the shrine until nightfall. The latter, disguised in the costume of the cult, dance into the town and proceed to the compound of their late comrade, singing a weird chant and shaking the buffalo-horns, the ring attachments of which produce a jingling noise which is believed by the women to be the footsteps of the ghosts. The women cower in their huts. The men dance and drink all night, the cries of the Aku being heard at intervals. Early in the morning the Aku come to the hut where the women are assembled, the door of the hut having been previously blocked up to prevent any of the inmates catching sight of the Aku. For it is fatal for a woman to look on the Aku. The leader of the Aku then addresses the senior male relatives in a falsetto voice, saying : " The thing that we have brought, shall we show it to you, or shall we return with it to the bush ? " The senior men reply : " His forefathers are in the bush, so he must go to the bush. But as he is here we should like to hear him speak." The leader of the

Aku says : " Very well, but you must ask the women also if they wish to hear him." The women are then asked, and all urgently reply that they would fain speak with the dead man. They hand out through the door numerous gifts (of cloth, chickens, and money) for the Aku. The leader of the Aku then calls on the dead man by name. The latter answers with a grunt. He is invited to speak. At first he interjects a few slow remarks in a muffled voice, but when he is called on by the leader to speak freely he raises his voice and says : " Formerly I was with you. But Death, in his hunting, found me. Nevertheless, I am with my forefathers. Mourn not for me any longer, for all is well. And may all be well with you. Abide together, one with another, in peace." On the conclusion of this speech a sound like a mighty wind is heard. The Aku rush hither and thither beating the huts with sticks, and then disappear back into the bush, their cries becoming fainter and fainter. When the sun rises the women see broken branches of trees lying on the road, the sign of the devastating visit of the ancestral ghosts. The Aku revisit the town for three nights running, but there is no further conversation with their living descendants. After the final visit offerings of beer are made at the shrine in order to mark the conclusion of the rites and secure the permission of the Aku to distribute the dead man's property. These final rites are known as the *She Aku* or " Beer of the Aku ".

We may conclude this account of the post-burial rites with a description of the rites performed by the Jukun of the Awei district, of Abinsi, and the Jukun-speaking Kpwâtê of Takum. In these a mock body is used, after the interment of the actual body, to represent the actual body or some kind of spiritual body. In some groups the mock body appears to be merely a substitute for the real corpse, for it is only used by (a) the maternal relatives of a person who had been buried by his paternal relatives, or (b) paternal or maternal relatives in cases where a person had died at a distance and been buried by strangers.

Thus among the Jukun of Abinsi the maternal relatives come to the dead man's village and are given pieces of the deceased's finger nails, wrapt in a cloth, with the words " Here is your child ; we know not what happened to him." The maternal relatives bind the bundle in a cloth, and a frame-work of sticks is inserted beneath the cloth. This mock body, with the sham

legs and sham head, is then carried off to the village of the deceased's mother. On its arrival the women burst into lamentations. In the evening the Ba-hwa come to take away the dead man's soul, and on the following day the framework of sticks is removed, and the bundle containing the finger nails is deposited in the large burial pit which the Jukun of Abinsi use. The bones of the dead are placed on one side, and the grave-diggers have to protect themselves by various charms from attack by the *dindî*.

In the Awei district the following rites are observed on all occasions of the death of an adult. A week or so after the interment of the corpse the dead man's relatives begin preparing a mock body of the deceased. They bind the dead man's hair-lock, together with some parings of his nails, in a turban, which is then rolled up in a mat covered with two cloths, one black and one blue. While this is being done a young man detailed to personate the tutelary deity known as Aku-Maga begins to emit grunts as an intimation to the inhabitants of the town that something is on foot. The bundle representing the body is then placed on a new mat and carried outside the compound to an open space in the village, where it is deposited under a canopy of grass matting. Here friends and relatives (including women and children) assemble. The senior member of the family then arises and demands silence. He says he is unable to guess the reason of the death of the deceased; the matter is quite beyond his ken; but he prays that good fortune may follow the deceased and that he may find his forefathers in Kindo. At this the women burst into loud cries of grief, while the men interject remarks such as: "Oh, this death, this death! I do not understand it at all." At this stage some of the men return to the private enclosure in the compound in order to bring forth the tutelary genius (Aku-Maga), who, having heard the wailing, is aware that something untoward had happened which called for his investigation. The genius appears, clad in his costume of palm fronds, and wearing a wooden mask studded with red berries. As he stalks along he keeps calling, "*Ehe a ke tsa ri?*" ("Dear me! what has happened?") He goes straight up to the bundle representing the corpse, and, holding his staff in his right hand, bends down and examines it. He then snorts three times, but as the corpse makes no movement he comes to the

conclusion that it must indeed be a corpse, for no living being would fail to move when he, the tutelary deity, snorted. And so he begins a chant : " You, so-and-so, why do you lie there so silent ? You who were wont to play the musical calabash¹ are now yourself being played for. You have left me thus, and I stand here looking upon you with bent head and my hand on my chin. The canopy which we raise on our farms that young boys may mount thereon to drive away greedy birds is now placed over you. Verily you must have committed some grievous sin, for you are a young man.² But if you are guiltless we shall surely know before the passage of six days. For if a human being encompassed your death he shall die before the expiration of this ' beer-week '."

Up to this point in the proceedings there has been a lamp standing beside the canopy, which resembles a Catholic altar dimly lit. The lamp is now extinguished, and all the women and young people beat a hasty retreat, for the Ba-hwa or Aku, the ancestral spirits, are approaching from the bush. Some of the senior men go forward to receive the ghostly visitors, who announce their presence by singing a weird chant. They are led by the senior ancestor who says : "*Wi je hwa we*" (" Alas ! land of the upper world "). The others reply in a screech "*Ii*" (" Yes "). The leader continues, "*Wi je ma we*" (" Alas ! land of Ama "). The others reply in low tone "*Ii*". By this time the spirits have arrived before the canopy in front of which stand the senior relatives of the deceased, headed by the tutelary genius. The leader of the spirits then addresses the genius, saying, "Maga, Maga what has occurred ?" The accompanying spirits add, "Yea." The leader continues : "I was in my house in Kindo, and I saw the coming of Adashâ (the messenger of Aku-Maga to the souls in Kindo). I inquired of him if all was well, and he said that all was well. But I said, "All is not well." Adashâ thereupon disclosed the news and said, "So-and-so has died to-day, and the Aku (Maga) has sent me to inform you." So I replied, "Return to the Aku, and in the evening we will

¹ The calabash rattle is used at the Ba-hwa ceremonies. It is an ordinary calabash covered on the outside with strings to which nut-shells are attached. It is beaten with the hand, shaken from side to side, and sometimes thumped against the thigh. At the Ba-hwa rites the band consists of six calabash rattlers.

² The deceased, on the particular occasion of these rites, which I witnessed, was about thirty years of age.



AKUMAGA



THE WIFE OF AKUMAGA

come to inquire into the occurrence." We have come, therefore, to see whether the news is false or true."

Aku-Maga then speaks, saying, "I was in the enclosure and I heard wailing, and so I came forth and saw that it was true, and immediately I sent Adashâ to inform you." The leader of the ghosts then addresses himself to the dead man saying: "Why is it that I speak to you and there is no reply? Have you closed your lips to-day? The thing that has overtaken you, whether it be from Chidô or mankind, is fully known to you, and we have nothing more to say." At this all the ghosts give a loud shout, and, suddenly breaking up, they begin rushing hither and thither, striking with their sticks the walls of all the huts in the vicinity. The intention of this is said to be to drive the soul of the dead man before them to Kindo. The women inside the huts cower in terror, and are much relieved when they hear the cries of the ghosts becoming fainter and fainter as they withdraw to the bush-shrine whence they had come. After the departure of the Ba-hwa the women are allowed to re-appear and a dance is begun, the genius Aku-Maga appearing from time to time.

This rite is known as *Bende nedia ya mbi* which was said to mean "The taking of the soul to the grave". Unfortunately, I omitted to inquire fully into the meaning of these words.

On the following morning there is the further ceremony of taking the mock-body to the shrine of the ancestral ghosts. From early dawn the canopy is surrounded by relatives and friends, and small boys keep fanning the mock-body with fly-whisks. Women curtsy before the body and deposit gifts of coin and cloth. No offerings are made by the men, and the explanation given of this was that whereas the women are taking their final farewell of the deceased, the men can by their religious rites, keep in constant touch with him. The tutelary genius (Aku-Maga) appears about 10 a.m., accompanied on this occasion by his wives, who could not appear on the previous evening as the occasion was then one of trouble and danger. The genii dance, and the calabash band plays. About 11 a.m. the dancing is stopped for the sorrowful ceremony of the final good-bye. The canopy is dismantled by the male relatives of the deceased who then proceed to lift the mat containing the mock-body in order to carry it off to the Ba-hwa in the bush. At this stage

there is a *contretemps*, as members of kindreds which are "play-mates"¹ of the kindred of the deceased prevent the departure of the mock-body until ransom has been paid. The ransom is only paid after considerable argument, accompanied sometimes by an exchange of fisticuffs. To a European onlooker these proceedings appear to be wholly out of keeping with the general solemnity of the occasion. The mock-body is then carried off in the direction of the bush, a long procession being formed. The women give vent to uncontrolled expressions of grief, for after covering some three hundred yards the procession stops and the women are requested to return to the town. They are accompanied back by the tutelary genius whose heavy costume does not permit him to undertake the lengthy journey to the shrine in the bush. (This at least was the reason given.) Details were not obtained of the ritual followed at the bush shrine, but it appears that the bundle containing the hairlock and nail-parings of the deceased is formally buried there, together with a few strings of the cloths and mat, the actual cloths and mat being appropriated by the male relatives.² When the bundle is buried the senior male relative takes a stone, an old corn rubber, and after washing it holds it in his right hand, and says: "Behold we have brought you to the house of the great, your forefathers. Whether your death was from Chidô or not you know and see better than we. If it was due to a human enemy, then you will return to the world and kill that man. Grant that we, whom you have left behind, may enjoy health of body, that we may obtain bountiful harvests, and that sickness and quarrelling may have no place amongst us. May we all of us, even the youngest, have success in hunting, whether it be by killing game-animals ourselves or by finding the bodies of dead animals lying in the bush." The stone is then deposited beside the other stones which represent deceased male ancestors. Stones representing (a) deceased female ancestors, and (b) deceased slaves are located separately.

On returning to the town final oblations to *Aku-Maga* are offered as evidence to the tutelary deity that the dead man's soul had been delivered to the *Ba-hwa*. The official in charge

¹ See p. 115.

² In some other Jukun groups the deceased's hairlock, wrapped in a cloth, is put into a pot which is buried close to the *Aku-ahwâ* symbols. The cloth is sometimes covered with leather.

of the cult of Aku-Maga, after sweeping the ground in front of the mask of the deity pours a libation of beer and says : " To-day we have taken your son to the Ba-hwa. If his death was from Chidô may he leave us in peace ; but if his death was from man, may he return to the earth and take the man who killed him. As for us who are left, grant that we may have health. Let us not hear anyone saying that the land has been ruined on account of the death of him whom we have taken to the Ba-hwa. But may we, young and old, derive from the earth all the benefits thereof." The officiant concludes, as always in Jukun rites, with the addendum : " And if what I have done is not correct, receive it nevertheless, and make good the fault, whether it be one of commission or omission."

Later in the dry season a formal visit is paid to the shrine of the Ba-hwa in the bush. The officiant sweeps the ground in front of the stone symbols and pours over them a libation of beer. Holding the sacrificial chicken in his right hand, he says : " You, so-and-so, whom formerly we brought to this shrine, we have come to-day to look upon you and to give to you our offerings. Grant unto us whom you have left behind the favour of bountiful crops. May we all, man, woman, and child, live together in peace and prosperity." The chicken's throat is cut and the blood allowed to trickle over the stone symbolizing the dead man, and also over the other stones. A second libation concludes the rites and, on returning home, rites are also carried out at the Atsi shrine in the compound, as already described.

The precise significance of the mock-body in these rites cannot be explained by the Jukun. It does not apparently represent the dead man's soul (*dindî*), for the soul is carried away by the ancestral spirits during the night, whereas the mock-body is taken to the shrine on the following day. Two explanations of the mock-body may be offered, viz. (a) that it represents a spirit-body like the Egyptian *Sahu* which served as a tenement for the soul, or (b) that it is a substitute for a mummy.

As regards the first explanation Sir Wallis Budge, in speaking of Egyptian beliefs, says : " When the body died there could be raised from it, by means of words holy or magical, and ceremonies performed by priests, a spirit-body called *Sahu*

which the *khu* (spirit soul) could inhabit at pleasure."¹ But the Jukun do not perform any such magical rites, and they have no special term for the mock-body, and no conception, apparently, of a spiritual body of the kind indicated.

On the other hand, the mock-body appears clearly to be regarded as a substitute for the actual body which, owing to the heat of the climate, has to be interred within eighteen hours after death. It is significant that those parts of the real body which are not subject to decomposition, viz. the nails and hair, are used in the make-up of the mock-body. It would appear, therefore, to be probable that the mock-body is a Jukun substitute for a mummy, and that the Jukun burial rites are a survival of the rites practised by the Ancient Egyptians in connection with mummification. This presumption becomes a certainty when we remember that the Jukun ceremony of releasing the mouth-cloth is carried out in connection with a substitute for a real body. In some groups this substitute is, as we have seen, merely a wisp of grass,² in others it is a fragment of corn-rubber,³ among the Jibu it is a pot,⁴ while in other groups it is this simulacrum of a body.⁵ It will be remembered that the body of the Jukun king is actually preserved for many months, and that among the Kilba and Higi, who are not distant neighbours of the Jukun, the practice of removing the epidermis and treating the body with acacia juice appears to be a clear case of borrowing from peoples who practised mummification.⁶ We have seen also that among the Jibu Jukun there is a definite conception of a resurrection of the body, such as is associated with the practice of mummification,⁷ and this conception is found also among the Gabin tribe, who throw seeds on the bodies of the dead, presumably with the intention that just as seed, an apparently dead thing, springs into new life, so the human body will be resurrected.

The use of the Aku-ahwâ cult is not confined to the post-

¹ Budge, *Osiris, etc.*, vol. ii, p. 134. Among the Japanese at the present time there appears to be a similar conception, for after the death of the Emperor his spirit-body is taken from the tomb and enshrined in the palace sanctuary at Tokio. The *Illustrated London News* of 11th February, 1928, contains a photograph of the holy palanquin and its bearers proceeding to the shrine.

² See p. 232.

³ See p. 239.

⁴ See p. 250.

⁵ Among the Cheke of Mubi, after the burial of a chief a dog is killed and dressed up to represent the chief. Dancing is maintained round this symbol for a period of three days. The body of the dog is then thrown away.

⁶ See p. 170.

⁷ See p. 249.

burial rites just described. The cult may be used, like any other cult, for general purposes. Thus if a woman falls ill she may confess that she had accidentally or deliberately set eyes on the *Aku-ahwâ* (ghosts) during some ceremony. In such a case she would have to provide gifts in order that special rites should be carried out on her behalf. She would be assisted in providing the foods and beer by members of her own family as well as by those of her husband's family. Sacrifice would be made at the *Aku-ahwâ* shrine, the woman's confession be repeated, and a prayer added that the *Aku* would forgive her. In the evening the *Aku-ahwâ* would arrive in the village and formally assure the woman that she had been forgiven, but also warn her that she must in future be more circumspect.

So, also, if a man falls ill, and the divining apparatus declares that his illness is due to his failure to keep a specified ancestor nourished with beer, he is required to offer rites at the shrine of *Aku-ahwâ*. (The illness may proceed from a deceased maternal uncle, as many *Jukun* have charge of the *Aku-ahwâ* cults of their mother's family, either because they are holding the cult on behalf of the dead uncle's son, or because the uncle had no other suitable heir. It is in this way that the *Kyâtô* tribe have, through intermarriage with the *Hwâye*, come to adopt this *Jukun* cult.) If the sick man is able to walk he goes straightway to the domestic shrine of *Atsi*. Holding a chicken in his right hand, he says, "You, my father (so-and-so), I am ill; and the divining apparatus has declared that my illness is due to my failure to go and find you at the shrine of *Aku-ahwâ*. Behold, I come now with a chicken in my hand, in order that, if you restore to me my health, I may seek you out at the shrine of *Aku-ahwâ* with gifts of a goat, two chickens, and libations of beer." He then releases the chicken; and if his health is restored he collects two sackfuls of guinea-corn, and announces to the head of his kindred that he intends that day to set a brew of beer in gratitude to the *Aku-ahwâ* for his recovery. The head of the kindred informs the other senior relatives, and all assure the man that he is taking the right and necessary course. When the beer is ready it is paraded with the other sacrificial gifts, and is then carried off to the shrine. The goat is led out of the compound by a strip of cloth tied round its neck. (The use of string on such an occasion is taboo, it being said that the angered

forefather would, in revenge, tie the worshipper up with string like a goat.) The cured man goes ahead of the others to the shrine, for it would be indecorous that he, the favoured one, should lag behind. He cleans up the shrine, and sets the attendant youths to wash the sacrificial dishes. There is the usual preliminary sousing of the sacred stones with water to "wash their faces", and then the first libation of beer. He takes the chickens, and turning to the head of the kindred says, "I am now about to speak." The latter replies, "Very good, carry on." He speaks as follows: "You, my father (so-and-so), I was ill, and when I consulted the divining-apparatus it was shown to me that you were the cause of my illness. For I had been neglectful of you. Behold, I have come to-day with gifts of beer, chickens, a goat, and various foods. For you have restored me to health, and I come to pay the debt I owe. May my whole household have health and prosperity. Let no troubles come upon us, either from the king, or from the British. May I hear only from the king well-favoured words. Pour upon the head of the kindred here and those who are with him the cool water of health, and grant that if they trip it may be with the right foot and not with the left."

He then cuts the chickens' throats, and lets the blood flow over the symbols. The goat is brought forward, and its head is pushed down before the symbols with the words, "Behold the goat!" Its throat is cut, and the blood, caught in a dish, is poured over the symbols. After a final libation of beer the officiant sweeps the ground with a brush and then washes his hands. He now fills a pottery dish with beer, sets it on the ground, and turning to the head of the kindred says, "The rites have been performed." The old man replies, slapping his thighs, "It is good." The officiant takes the dish of beer, and turning to the old man says, "Permit me." The latter replies, "Carry on." The officiant pours a little of the beer on the ground, and after drinking some himself hands the dish to the head of the kindred who consumes the rest and hands the empty dish back to the officiant. Beer is then served out in separate dishes by the young attendants to the other elders present. The flesh of the sacrificial animals may be sizzled and eaten *in situ*, but many prefer to keep their share for secret consumption in their own enclosures at home.

Before leaving the subject of the *Aku-ahwâ* one or two further remarks may be made about this cult. Firstly, as regards the meaning of the expression *Aku-ahwâ*, the word *Aku* is applied (a) to the king, (b) to a tutelary deity, and (c) to the ancestral spirits. It might appear, therefore, that the tutelary genii and souls of the dead are regarded as kings. On the other hand, it was quite definitely stated that, whereas *Aku* in the sense of king is pronounced with a low tone on the final syllable, *Aku* in the sense of tutelary genius or souls of the dead has a high tone in the final syllable. It is possible that *Aku* in the sense of genii and ghosts is the same word "*khu*" or "*aakhu*" which the ancient Egyptians applied to the beatified souls of the dead.¹ The root "*ku*" appears with a definite religious connection among numerous tribes of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. Thus *ku-ti* is a common term for magico-religious rites among the Nupe and Gwari. Among the Ganagana the form is *aku-chi*, and among the Igbira *ekote*. Among the Ibo the cone-shaped pillars used as religious emblems are known as "*eku*", and among the Bini there are priests known as *ahuraku*.²

The meaning of the second half of the expression, viz. *ahwâ*, is doubtful. *Ahwâ* was stated to mean the bush, and the term *Aku-ahwâ* was interpreted as the *Aku* of the bush. But in some Jukun communities the *Aku-ahwâ* shrines are in the village and not in the bush. *Ahwâ* in some groups was stated to mean "up above", and the term *Ba-hwa*, the equivalent of *Aku-ahwâ* was stated to mean "those who are above". *Hwa* is, however, a regular expression for the performance of religious rites and seems also to have the sense of paying what is due. The expression *Aku-ahwâ* may, therefore, have some such meaning as the *Aku* who pay (a man his due), or who exact payment of dues. The term *ahwa* is found among the Ibo in the expression *Amade-ahwa*.³

As regards the use of stones to represent the dead it would seem probable that the stone is a substitute for the skull as symbolical of the whole body. The stone used is always spherical in shape. Captain Best has reported that among the Jarawa and Burumawa it is sometimes customary to preserve the skull,

¹ See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. ii, pp. 132-3.

² See Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 53.

³ Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii,

and sometimes to substitute a stone for the skull. Even where stones are used it is sometimes customary to exhume the skull, clean it, and then pass the stone round it several times, with the intention of identifying the stone with the skull. Mr. Migeod has reported that among the Babungu of British Cameroons a stone is taken and called the head of the deceased.¹ It is probable that the preservation of the skull was at one time common in all Jukun communities, for among the Kona Jukun the skulls of chiefs are still preserved. The use of stones to represent dead ancestors has been noted also among the Mambila and Bikom (of British Cameroons), and among a number of tribes in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.²

Human victims were, in the past, sacrificed to the Aku-ahwâ. But such sacrifices were occasional and exceptional, the victims being usually those guilty of some offence against the cult. A woman who boasted that she had seen the Aku-ahwâ was put to death at the shrine. A man who revealed the secrets of the cult to women, or who sold any part of the sacred paraphernalia (e.g. one of the buffalo horns), was similarly treated. Objectionable and inquisitive strangers were also sometimes seized and sacrificed.

When a family migrates it takes with it the symbols of the cult. A new shrine is made and a ram is sacrificed, the blood being poured over the stones, and a prayer addressed to the ancestors that they may be pleased to take up their abode in the new locality. For among the Jukun the dead are not regarded as hovering round the grave. They inhabit or are constant visitors to the various family shrines, not merely the shrines of Akwa and Aku-ahwâ but those also of Kenjo and other deities. The Jukun, therefore, pay little attention to the maintenance of graves.

¹ F. W. H. Migeod, *Through British Cameroons*, p. 107.

² A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, pp. 23 sq.

CHAPTER VI

LARES ET PENATES

In addition to the cults already described, the Jukun worship a host of minor deities each with a shrine of his own. Some of these may be public, such as Kenjo, Yaku, and Ayo, but the majority are the private cults of particular families. Many private cults, however, may be utilized by members of other families, and on special occasions, such as droughts, rites may be performed by the owners of private cults on behalf of the whole community.

It would be impossible to give an adequate account of each of these cults, even had I had the time to obtain full information. Moreover, the Jukun themselves are unable in most cases to give any account of the origin of the cults or the meaning of the rites, being more concerned with ritual than with creed. A brief summary of some of the more important of these cults must, therefore, suffice for present purposes.

Kenjo.—The cult of Kenjo is one of the more important Jukun cults. It may be either a public cult for the maintenance of which the king or local chief is responsible, though the ministration is delegated to a priest known as Avû Kenjo ; or it may be a purely private cult served by the senior member of the family, or by any suitable member of the family, acting under the authority of the family-head. In some households the cult may be in the hands of a junior member of the household who has inherited it from a father or maternal uncle (belonging to some other household). Kenjo appears to be a deity specially connected with the land, and the bush-lands in particular. First-fruits are, therefore, always offered to Kenjo, and, being the patron of the bush, he is the special protector of hunters. If a man finds a dead game-animal in the bush he ascribes his good fortune to Kenjo and will offer sacrifice to him on his return home. The Jukun say that "*Kenjau ajajai ya wi*", i.e. Kenjo is the killer of fish and animals. Kenjo may vent his wrath on

human beings; and if a farmer or hunter is struck down by sunstroke his misfortune is commonly ascribed to Kenjo.

Some Jukun state that Kenjo was a historical person. He is identified with one Adi of Kororofa, who was a mighty hunter. He hunted on horseback, and when he speared an animal he would leap down from his horse, hamstringing it, and then cut its throat. But one day he and his horse disappeared into the earth, and thereafter no one had any luck in hunting. So the king of Kororofa directed that the divining apparatus should be consulted, and the apparatus declared that the spirit of Kenjo must be placated. The king thereupon ordered earth to be brought from the spot where he had disappeared, and this was distributed to all Jukun who wished to establish the cult. The cult was called Kenjo because Adi had turned war (*ké*) into sport (*jo*). To this day a Jukun in trouble will call to Kenjo for help, saying: "*Oho, Adi ngwu Ba-Pi*," i.e. "Help! Adi son of the Ba-Pi".

The above tale can hardly be accepted, as it appears to refer to Kenjo, king of Kororofa. The cult of Kenjo is no doubt a very ancient Jukun cult, and Kenjo of Kororofa is more likely to have received his name from the cult than the cult from him, it being a common Jukun practice for people to call themselves by the names of their deities.

Kenjo is also the patron of war and the giver of victory: and it is said that in the olden days if the Jukun were hard pressed the king would direct the priest of Kenjo to bring to him the sacred spear of the cult. The priest would first call on the royal ancestors, and thereby recharge the spear with magical power. The king would plant the spear on the wall of the city, and if an arrow were shot at him he would catch it in his hand and order it to be placed in the shrine of the god.

The functions of Kenjo also, among some Jukun groups, include the control of lightning and of rain. Anyone, therefore, finding a neolithic implement must hand it to the priest of Kenjo to deposit in the shrine, for such implements are regarded as thunderbolts. If drought overtakes the land, and the divining apparatus declares that Kenjo is responsible, the king or local chief sends a supply of corn to the Avû, who places it in a dish in his compound, and says: "If you, Kenjo, have hindered the rain on account of an injury to you, we confess our fault

and crave your forgiveness. Do you send rain to soak this corn in order that we may convert it into beer for you." The injury referred to would normally be dilatoriness on the part of the chief and people in providing the corn and viands for the harvest rites.

Sick people frequently make offerings at the shrine of Kenjo, and in some cases the cult is used like that of Aku-ahwâ as the mouthpiece of the ancestral spirits for delivering messages to their living relatives. Kenjo is on such occasions regarded as the leader of the ancestors. Hunters offer libations of beer to Kenjo at the beginning of the hunting season, and plant their spears at the door of his shrine, that these may be charged with magical power. On the conclusion of the hunt the heads of animals killed are formally handed over to the priest, who offers some of the cooked flesh to the god, while he himself and his attendants ceremonially eat the remainder.

The harvest rites are as follows: About the beginning of November the shrine of Kenjo is thoroughly repaired, the priest first pouring a libation of beer and saying: "The place is dried up, and we have come to put matters right." This constitutes a formal invitation to the deity (and ancestors) to resume habitation at the shrine. When the millets are ready for harvesting the chief provides the sacrificial gifts for all the cults, including that of Kenjo. Before handing them over to the priest he enters his own sacred enclosure, together with the sacrificial animals, and there addresses a prayer to his ancestors, calling on them to receive the blood of the animals and to be satisfied with that, and not seek human blood. The priest of Kenjo offers libations of new beer and of the blood of a goat and a chicken, and on the conclusion of the rites he hangs up in the shrine a few heads of new corn. These rites are offered to Kenjo because, it is said, Kenjo protects farms from the assaults of wild animals and closes the mouths of crop-destroying birds. On no account may the priest partake of any of the new crops until he has first performed the harvest rites.

The symbol of Kenjo is usually a cone-shaped pillar of baked mud surmounted by a piece of iron, which may be an old arrow head, a piece of an axe, hoe, or even the blade of a knife. Mud pillars are characteristic symbols of divinity in all Jukun shrines. They are common also in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria,

being found among the Ibo and Ibibio.¹ They are frequently seen in the Cameroons,² the Gold Coast,³ and among certain tribes of the French Sudan.⁴ They were used in Babylonia,⁵ and were frequent in Phœnician temples,⁶ and indeed in all Semitic temples, including the temple of Jerusalem.⁷ They may be phallic in origin, and I note that Mr. Talbot says that the Ibo take special pains "in showing unmistakably that the circumcised phallus is intended to be represented".⁸ There is no such conscious representation among the Jukun, the pillar being the symbol of a number of different divinities, and thus merely a mode of concentrating religious attention.⁹ Some of the Kenjo pillars have a well at the apex, into which the libations are poured. When a chicken is sacrificed the heart of the chicken may be deposited in this well, but normally all food offerings are laid in a dish at the base of the pillar.

As a rule, the private cults of Kenjo are obtained by inheritance, and if the owner migrates he takes with him the iron symbol together with some of the baked clay of the old pillar, which he mixes as a powder with the mud of the new pillar. But sometimes a man will establish an entirely new cult of Kenjo on his own account. Thus one Jukun stated that he had set up a cult of Kenjo for the following reason. He left some corn one day standing on a platform on his farm. Two days later he returned and found that white ants had built a mound over the corn. He broke the mound down and found the corn intact. Among the debris he discovered a piece of rusty iron which he threw away. Next day he returned and found that the ants had built another mound, and when he broke it down he again found the piece of rusty iron. This happened a third time; so he consulted the divining apparatus, which directed him to set up a Kenjo pillar, using the piece of iron as the cultus-emblem.

¹ Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 65.

² Migeod, *Through British Cameroons*, p. 76.

³ A. W. Cardinall, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 seq.

⁴ Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan*, p. 195.

⁵ *En. Rel. Ethics*, article "Poles".

⁶ Herodotus, ii, 44.

⁷ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 457.

⁸ Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁹ But among the Verre of Adamawa Province I have seen a mud-pillar, used in connection with fertility rites, which is admittedly a representation of a circumcised penis.

Another Jukun stated that he had set up his Kenjo cult for the following reason. During some farm work he came across an old arrow head, which he put into his satchel. When he reached home the arrow-head was missing, but he found it again next day. That evening it was again missing; and as there was no hole in his satchel he consulted the divining apparatus, which declared that the arrow head had once been the symbol of the Kenjo cult of a forefather. So he re-established the cult.

I have suggested elsewhere that the Kenjo of the Jukun may be the Aganju of the Yoruba.¹

Adom.—At Kona there is a cult known as Adom or Adoam or Adô, which is feared and revered by all the Kona as well as by the neighbouring tribes. The priest of the cult is the Kawo, and he is assisted by the Kumaba, Kasher, and Katob, the last of whom corresponds to the Katô at Wukari.² The symbol of the cult is a close secret known only to the priests and his assistants and to the chief. It is the right hand of a former chief. When a chief dies it is customary to remove the nails of the right hand, clean them of flesh, and sew them up in a cloth. The hand itself is cleaned, and the bones are deposited in a leather bag of black sheepskin. This is covered with a white cloth decorated with cornelians and cowry shells. The symbol is set on a mat suspended on poles, at the base of which is another mat covered with benniseed to prevent ants climbing up the poles. Each morning at sunrise the shrine is carefully swept by one of the assistants. The Kawo then enters, kneels before the symbol, and touches the ground with his forehead three times. He pours a libation of beer and speaks as follows: "The Sun has risen. We give you thanks. May all go well with us this day. These rites which I perform daily were not initiated by me. They have been handed down to me from time immemorial. As I am responsible for them now, grant that they may not fail in my hands. May we have food in abundance during my stewardship, may we beget numerous children, and may our hunters find much quarry in the bush-lands. May the chief be assisted with your blessing, and let no evil thing overtake his country." He then pours another libation, and retires backwards, sweeping the ground as he does so. Similar rites are performed at sunset.

Every year about the middle of June, when the crops begin to

¹ See p. 201.

² See p. 149 sq.

sprout, there is a ceremony known as the changing of the mats of Adom. Leaves from the new crop of beans are boiled, mixed with ground nuts, and made into soup. Special food-offerings are also prepared. The priest enters the shrine with the new mats provided by the chief, and after a preliminary libation removes the old mats and substitutes the new. He then speaks as follows: "Brethren, what we have sown on our farms is beginning to appear. May we live to eat of a bountiful harvest in health. If I as priest of Adom have a double heart, may the evil thereof recoil on my own head. But if my heart is single, so that I follow out scrupulously the custom of our forefathers, may we all derive the benefit thereof." He then deposits some of the soup and food-offerings beside the sacred hand. The old mats are given to a woman past the age of childbearing and to an old man who is no longer capable of sexual intercourse.

In times of drought the chief arrays himself in black garments and sets out as though to inspect the crops. After going a short distance he returns to the shrine of Adom and there, in the presence of the priest, gives utterance to the following prayer: "This thing (i.e. the sacred hand) has been ours from ancient times. To-day I set out on the road to my farm, but I turned back; for Inû (the Sun and Supreme Being) would have said that I had taken it upon myself to examine the condition of the crops.¹ If I, indeed, am the chief of this land, then may Inu send us the rain that we need." No offerings are made, but if the rain does not speedily fall the chief sends to the Kawo a sheep which is sacrificed before the sacred hand.

Hunters who succeed in killing a leopard or lion must first present themselves at the shrine of Adom before handing over the skin of the animal to the chief. Covering themselves with a cape of locust-bean leaves, a protection against assaults by the pursuing ghost of the animal, they salute the Kawo, who congratulates them, saying that it is his daily prayer that when hunters go to the bush Inu will open the eyes of the hunters and blind those of animals. The Katob then removes a few sprigs of the locust-bean leaves from the hunters' cape and hangs them up at the door of the shrine. This ceremony is a form of thanksgiving to Adom.

¹ Contact of the chief with the crops was believed to have a blasting influence. This conception is found in many parts of the world.

The Kawo is subject to numerous taboos. He may not wear any white garments ; he may not sleep with his wife on a raised bedstead, but only on a mat on the ground ; he may not smoke tobacco, or drink from any calabash save his own. Like the chief, he may not go near the farms after the crops have begun to sprout ; for it is said that if any grain were to fall on his head the crops would immediately wither. He confines himself, therefore, to his own quarters until the conclusion of the harvest. At harvest certain stalks of corn are left standing on the farm. These are subsequently cut down, the grain being deposited in the shrine. This grain becomes sacred, and is formally issued out in small quantities at sowing-time to members of the Kawo's family (the Kishau) and to the chief, who distributes it among the senior officials. The storing of the grain in the shrine of Adom is paralleled in the Verre and Kugama custom of handing over the care of the corn to the gods by burying a few heads of grain in the ground at harvest and digging them up again in the spring.

The cult of Adom at Kona appears to be the same as that of Adang at Gwana, to which reference has already been made in connection with the daily ritual of the king.¹ Adang is reputed to have been a great king of the past and a mighty hunter. He came from Egypt and settled at Pittuk, the former home of the Gwana Jukun. It is related that when he returned from a hunting expedition he was wont to blow a whistle, and his wife yodelled a welcome. But one day when he blew his whistle there was no reply, and on entering his palace he found that his wife had been murdered by his brother. With a broken heart he collected his children and live-stock and spoke as follows : " Aforetime, if the hearts of men were broken they besought the earth to open and swallow them. May the earth now open and swallow me and mine. But let no man henceforth follow my example." And straightway the earth opened, and he and his children and live-stock disappeared from the world for ever. But his ghost returned and troubled the land. Droughts came, and famines. So the people in their distress took counsel and made two wooden images, one for the spirit of Adang and the other for that of his wife. Priests were appointed to attend the images and shrine.

¹ See p. 159.

Both the cults of Adom and Adang therefore are at the present time associated with dead kings ; but there is at Wukari a fertility cult called Adô, which is not so associated. The word *ado* is the common root for sheep, being pronounced as *adô* at Wukari, *adung* among the Jibu, *dunga* among the Donga Jukun, and *adinga* among the Kona. There is the possibility, therefore, that the titles of the cults of Adom, Adang, and Ado mean " The Sheep ", the sheep or ram being the symbol of the sun. This is further suggested by the fact that the word for the Sun or Supreme Being among the Kir, who are neighbours of the Jibu and Kona, is Adung or Dung. The Kir claim that the Kona cult of Adang was obtained from them.

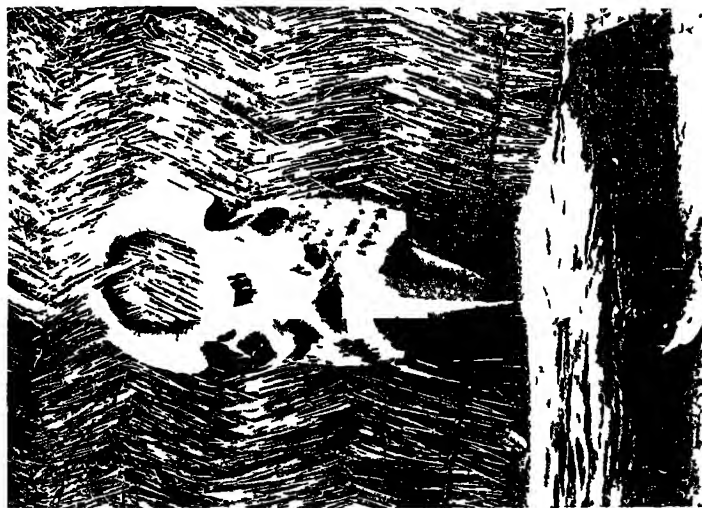
TUTELARY GENII

Akuma is a cult of considerable importance, especially in the Donga and Takum area. Some Jukun, however, assert that *Akuma* is a cult of foreign importation, though the name is Jukun enough. The meaning of the name would seem to be " Lord Ma "; but if this is so the Jukun do not consciously identify *Akuma* with the high god Ama. The termination may, therefore, have some other significance.¹ The symbol of the cult is a horned mask which seems to represent a ram, or possibly a *haartebeeste*. The mask is kept on a shelf in a special hut of the sacred enclosure, great care being exercised that it is not injured by white ants. When rites are performed it is laid on two logs resting on the ground, and libations are poured on the ground in front, the food offerings being deposited in small dishes. The ritual followed is the same as that described for the *Akwa* cult, with the exception that dogs are, on important occasions, sacrificed instead of goats.²

Any sick person may approach the owner of an *Akuma* cult with an offering in order to secure the assistance of the deity ; and in some cases the owner of the cult will take the mask, smear it with red earth and oil, and place it on the sick man's body, at the same time asking that the patient may be restored to health. At harvest, or rather immediately prior to the harvest, the owner of an *Akuma* takes a few heads of new corn and adds them to the

¹ Sir A. B. Ellis mentions a marine god among the Tshi known as *Akum-broho*. *Tsi-speaking Peoples*, p. 46.

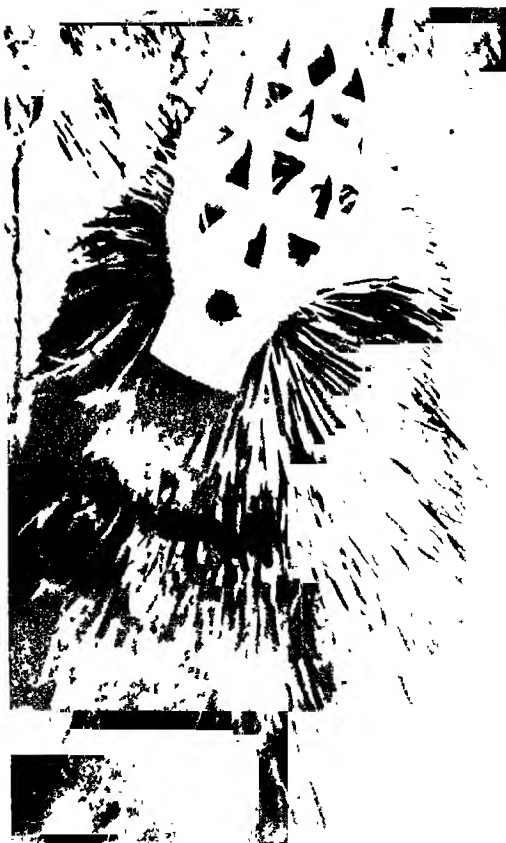
² Dogs are also sacrificed in the rites of *Akumaga* and *Achu Nyande*.



MASK OF AKU



MASKS OF AKUMAGA AND HIS WIFE (HII IYE)



AN AKUMAGA MASK

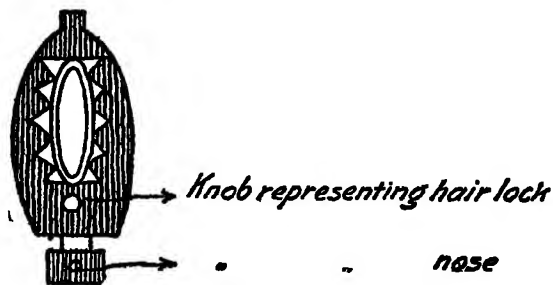
corn of the previous year. With this he makes a brew of beer, and offers libations to Akuma, thanking the deity for the crop and asking that it may not be diminished during the process of harvesting. (With this we may compare the custom in the Nicobar Islands at the beginning of the fishing season of performing rites for multiplying the fish in the sea,¹ and perhaps also our own custom of "blessing the nets".)

Akuma is a male deity and may appear in public on the occasion of the death of a member of the household, accompanied by his wife, who wears a netted costume, with holes for the eyes, and two protuberances (covered with cloth) which represent her breasts.

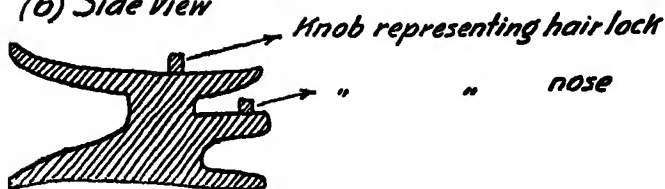
Aku-Maga is another tutelary deity to whom reference has already been made in connection with the post-burial ritual.² The terminal syllable of his title, viz. "aga", means "stick"; and as the deity, when personated in public, always carries a stick, it would seem that his title means "The deity (or lord) of the stick". He is known also as *Aku agbwe jo shû*, i.e. the deity of the buttock dance, the buttocks being freely used in the dances which accompany the public appearances of Aku-Maga.

The deity is symbolized by a mask which may be depicted as follows:—

(a) *Looking down.*



(b) *Side View*



¹ See *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, p. 28.

² See p. 255.

As in the case of Akuma the mask is itself the object of rites, being regarded as the abode of deity. The deity represented is vaguely conceived, and in many cases is identified with some local ancestor who is regarded as the tutelary genius of the village.¹ In other cases the mask appears to represent the plurality of dead chiefs and may be treated by the local chief as the special amulet of himself and his people, daily matutinal offerings of beer being poured into a circular hole in the ground before it. The chief may even regard the mask as embodying his own divine double. Sometimes a second cultus-symbol may be used in conjunction with the mask. This commonly takes the form of a piece of iron shaped thus—



which is deposited in the circular hole when rites are performed. It is known from its appearance as "the steed of Aku-Maga".

The occasions for rites are the same as those for Akuma. Thus if the owner of an Aku-Maga falls ill, and the divining apparatus declares that his illness is caused by Aku-Maga in retaliation for neglect, he will go to the shrine of the genius with a chicken and declare that if it was indeed Aku-Maga who had caused his illness then he repents of his neglect, and if he is allowed to recover he will show his gratitude by libations, by the sacrifice of a chicken and a dog, and by a public dance in honour of Aku-Maga. If he is too ill to make this personal appeal he may ask a younger brother to go to the shrine, or request a friend who has also an Aku-Maga cult to offer rites on his behalf.

The cult is also used in a general way to give counsel to those who seek advice, the deity being personated by a man who delivers messages from the precincts of the shrine. The owner of an Aku-Maga frequently uses the cult in this way to administer rebukes to ill-tempered female members of the household. One who suffers loss by theft may also seek the assistance of the deity

¹ The tutelary genius is frequently regarded as the personification of the owner of the cult or of the founder of his family. It is to be noted that when a person dies he does not necessarily join the Aku-ahwâ; he may be declared by the divining apparatus to have become man Akuma or Aku-Maga if his family owns an Akuma or an Aku-Maga cult.



AN AKUMAGA OF WUKARI
(From negative kindly lent by Mr W. K. Fleming)

in order to procure the death of the thief. The tutelary genius thus plays the part of a magistrate or policeman.

The deity appears in public on the occasion of the death of any member of the royal family, or indeed of any important person. A description of his functions on these occasions has already been given in connection with the burial rites.¹ The deity, accompanied by his wife, may also appear in public at the dance held (on the conclusion of rites to Aku-Maga) to celebrate any piece of good fortune or recovery from illness of one of his devotees. On such occasions the deity does not speak, but gives vent to various squeaks. He dances at intervals for two or three nights in front of the chief's compound; and those in charge of the deity are presented with one or two gowns by the chief. He is personated by a man wearing the mask of the cult, his body being covered with a garment of fibre, as indicated in the photograph overleaf (which appeared in *The Lightbearer* and was kindly lent by the Sudan United Mission).

An account of the manner in which the Hwāye came to adopt the cult of Aku-Maga is given in my article on the Jukun-speaking peoples of Takum and Donga.²

Adashā is another tutelary deity. In some communities he is regarded as the messenger of Aku-Maga; and when anyone dies *Adashā* is sent by Aku-Maga to report the matter to the ancestral spirits. In other communities he is identified with the earliest chief of the locality, and is made the recipient of constant libations. In all groups he is a godling to be feared, for he can cause a man to become a leper or his house to go on fire. Rites are performed in his honour on the same occasions as for the other tutelary genii. In the Awei district both he and Aku-Maga appear in public for the rites which mark the opening of the salt season, and they are made the recipients of numerous gifts of money and cloth. By these gifts the people secure the good offices not only of the tutelary genii, but of the ancestors and gods in Kindo, for the genii are believed to be the intermediaries between living beings and the unseen powers to whom the substance of the gifts is conveyed by the genii, together with messages and prayers. *Adashā*'s costume for public appearances usually consists of fibre trousers and a body garment of cloth. The

¹ See pp. 255-7.

² This, with other articles on Northern Nigerian tribes, will be published shortly.

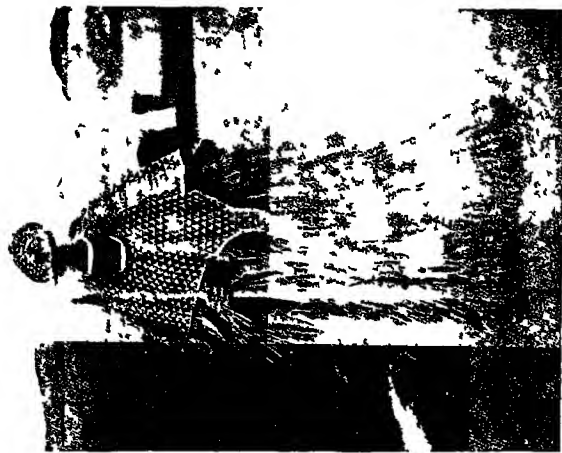
head of the personator is concealed in a mesh mask, with circular holes surrounded by red berries to represent the eyes.

Aku Ashé Ki is another tutelary deity. As his name implies ("the *Aku* of mourning for the dead"), his special duties are connected with death and burial rites. At Wukari he appears, on the death of any important official or member of the royal family, clad in a costume of fibre and red cloth and wearing on his head a pigtail of red cloth studded with cowries. Each morning, while the beer of mourning is brewing, he comes forth and sits on a mortar and sings, attended by seven calabash players. At midday he returns, but reappears in the evening, dancing at intervals until late into the night. Occasionally he will address the women, offering them advice. He may inform one that she had lost several children because she had been a faithless wife, or because she had committed some offence against one of her father's cults. In the latter case the woman's husband would provide corn and foods for sacrifice to the offended deity.

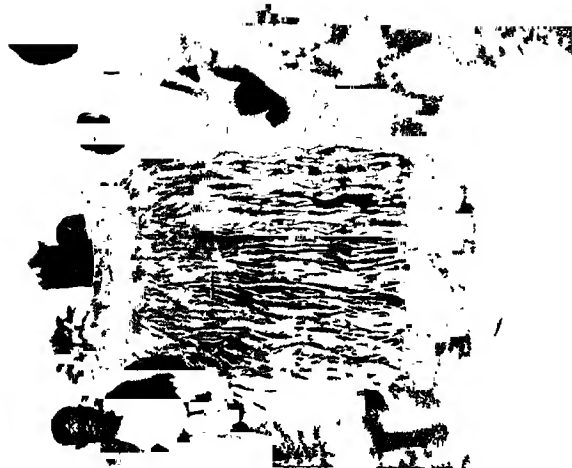
Agashi is a tutelary genius frequently seen in Jukun communities, but controlled generally by the Hausa-speaking Abakwariga. His costume for public appearances is illustrated in the photograph.

Agashi is said to be a son of a god or goddess called *Yoma*, a word which would seem to mean "Mother Ama". His brother is *Adagye*, another genius who may appear at the death of anyone, clad in a costume of black and white cloth, the head covered with netting and surmounted by two top-knots made of wool of various colours. His appearance, as that of all genii, entails considerable expense to the relatives of the deceased, and for this reason mourning rites may be postponed for a year. Another son of *Yoma* is the genius *Atukû*, but the public appearance of this deity has been forbidden by the king, as the masker severely injured a Hausa porter some years ago. The king is superior to all genii.

The cult of Yaku or Ayo.—So much for the tutelary deities. A few remarks may now be made about a public cult of a very different character, viz. that of *Yaku*, or as it is known in some localities, *Ayo* or (*Ayosu*). The word "*ayo*" means "mother", and the word "*yaku*" "grandmother" or "ancestor". As the shrine of *Yaku* or *Ayo* is characterized by twin pillars placed



ADISHĀ



AGASHI



THE SPEAR OF MAM

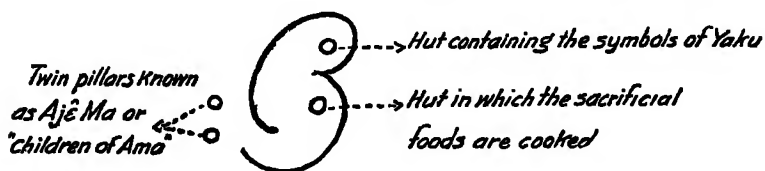


A SHRINE OF AYO (DONGA)

at the threshold and known as "the children of Ma (or Ama)", it would appear to be a fair conclusion that the deity represented in the cults of Ayo and Yaku is no less a person than the great goddess Ama or Ma. This is further suggested by the circumstance that in the upper reaches of the Benue the cult of Yaku is known as Mam or Ma.

The Jukun do not, however, consciously and directly associate Yaku with Ama. A characteristic feature of the cult is possession, but it is not clear by whom the devotees of the cult, and the priestess who arises from time to time, become possessed. The devotees are generally thought to be possessed by spirits, but the priestess is believed to be the mouthpiece both of the ancestors and the gods, Ama included. The priestess, when there is one, is herself described as Yaku; and most Jukun will aver that the reason for this title is that she is regarded as an ancestor who has returned to the world. Among the Jen, however, who are neighbours of the Jukun, it is quite clear that the priest of Mam is believed to be the mouthpiece, not of the ancestors, but of Mam himself (Mam being regarded by the Jen as a male deity). Among the Jukun of Use and of Bando Yaku the goddess is regarded as the wife of Kenjo.

The shrine of Yaku is usually located in an enclosure inside the confines of the town, and is arranged on the following plan :—



The symbols of the cult are, (a) a mud pillar with a well at the apex into which the libations are poured; and (b) a forked piece of iron planted close to the pillar and known as the "spear" of Yaku. Before rites are performed a white strip of cloth is tied round the pillar as an offering to the indwelling deity. There is always a small pot for holding the beer used in the libations, and there is sometimes a second pillar which is variously said to represent the husband or the children of the deity. In all cases there are two conical pillars at the threshold of the enclosure. The use of mud pillars in Jukun shrines has already been referred to, but it is perhaps worth adding as regards the twin pillars,

that in one of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions dealing with the dedication of a temple there is the picture of a man standing before two pillars,¹ that Melcarth was worshipped at Tyre in the form of two pillars, and that twin pillars stood also in front of the temples of Paphos and Hierapolis.² A cone or pyramid was the symbol of Astarte.³

The cult of Yaku is controlled by the king of Wukari (or by the local chief), who appoints a minister or priest (*avû*) to carry out the rites. The devotees of the cult are women, those capable of falling into the ecstatic or convulsed state indicative of possession by the god or spirits (*ajô*). Rites are performed at the millet harvests in order to secure the goodwill of the spirits, beer and the blood of a chicken being offered in the morning, and porridge, palm oil and benniseed in the evening. These gifts are provided by the king, but the female devotees themselves may bring offerings of chickens which are killed by their leader (the Uni or Awundu) who pours the blood over the pillars outside the shrine. After the morning rites the *Avû* and the devotees of the cult give themselves over to drinking large quantities of beer, the food of the gods, and all then engage in a dance. As the dance proceeds they are one by one assailed with convulsive shiverings, wave their arms, strike themselves, and throw themselves on the ground like demented persons. The seizure appears to be non-volitional, and no stimulants are used (other than beer and the drumming of the dance). At the conclusion of the dance the performers all proceed to the twin pillars and there kneel down, while the *Avû* touches each on the right and left shoulder and blows into their nostrils. This is the mode of dismissing the spirits, and the devotees then return home.

Women may be assailed by the spirit at other times than during the formal rites, and when this occurs they are escorted by their friends to the shrine of Yaku where the *Avû* exorcises the spirit. There is no self-mutilation or blood-drinking practised, as there is further up the Benue among the devotees of Mam. The Jen and neighbouring tribes slash their arms, like the worshippers of the Great Mother Ma in Asia Minor, or like those of Osiris in Roman times who gashed their shoulders

¹ See *En. Rel. and Ethics*, article "Poles".

² See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 208.

³ See Frazer, *Adonis*, p. 30.

and inflicted wounds on their bodies in imitation of the cuts and gashes which Typhon had made in the body of Osiris.¹ The Shomo not merely slash their arms but also drink the blood, a custom which has been noted in Southern India in connection with rites of possession.²

These Yaku rites are akin to the states of dissociation and ecstasy known to the Hausa as "bori". In some Jukun communities, and among the Abakwariga, the initiates of the cult go through a fourteen days' course of drinking various concoctions, and during this period they must abstain from sexual intercourse. These rites induce the descent of the spirit, each person receiving a familiar of his own. When a devotee of the cult dies, her daughter is brought to her corpse beside which she lies down. Mother and daughter are covered with a cloth, and in this way the familiar of the mother is transmitted to the daughter. With this we may compare the custom of the Ngizim of Bornu as reported in my article on that tribe.³ It may be noted also that when a devotee of the cult dies she announces later the cause of her death at the shrine of Yaku.

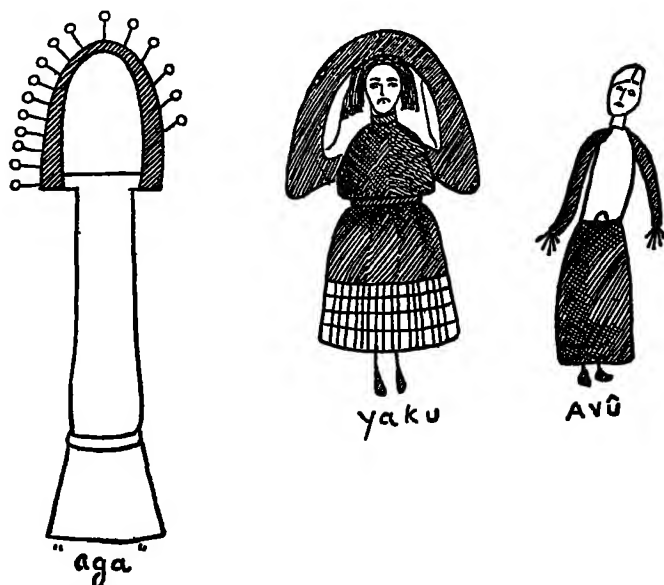
As in the ancient world possession was used as a means of divination and declaring oracles, so among the Jukun peoples there arises at periodic intervals some woman who displays such outstanding and uncontrollable signs of possession by a god or spirit that she is separated from the community and installed in the shrine of Yaku in order that she may become the medium of the god and the declarer of oracles to men. She becomes so identified with divinity that she is herself called the Yaku or Ayo. A woman chosen to be a Yaku is one who disappears mysteriously for a period and then suddenly reappears, behaving in a manner which proves that she is no longer master of her own mind and body. She may disappear for many days, and it is believed that during her absence she eats no food and undergoes instruction by the god. It is the old idea of death and rebirth. When she reappears her hair has grown long and dishevelled. She is immediately surrounded by men who beat drums vigorously and draw a circle of ashes round her to prevent any further escape. She is then escorted to the king of Wukari, who subjects her to numerous tests to ascertain if she is a genuine

¹ See Budge, *Osiris*, vol. i, p. 15.

² See R. Caldwell, "On Demonolatry in S. India," *J.A.S.B.*, i, 101 ff.

³ This article will be published in due course.

Yaku. He may hide something on his person and ask her to state what it is. It is even said that in bygone days one test was to place her in a thatched house and set fire to the roof. If she remained unscathed she was a genuine Yaku. If she passes all the tests she is formally installed in a special enclosure of her own and is attended by the Avû of the cult and by an old woman who cooks her food. She becomes the local Sibyl, and people journey from far and near to receive advice and hear their future. She must live a life of perpetual virginity, and if she were known to break this rule she would be deposed by the king as a fraud and no true prophetess.



A Yaku and her priest (Avû), as depicted by a Jukun artist. On the left is the Yaku's "aga" or symbol of office.

The last Yaku or Ayo at Donga was a virgin girl who was nominally married to the chief of Donga (c. 1860). She disappeared on several occasions, and was once found underneath a mud bedstead. Finally she disappeared for ten days, and, when found again in the bush by some of the Hwâye, was escorted back to the town with drumming, the women ululating. After she had been formally installed as priestess of Ayo she recovered her equanimity. It was stated that it was not necessary for her to fall into a frenzied state in order to deliver

her oracles, it being the native belief that the first onset of the god causes the subject to be beside herself, but that when he has taken full and final possession of her she relapses into a state of quietude and becomes endowed with second sight.

The principal shrine of Yaku is at Giddan Yaku, a hamlet situated on the banks of the Benue a few miles below Ibi. It is stated that about a century ago an old woman was, near Arafu, assailed by the deity (who is here regarded as a water-spirit), and disappeared into the Benue, where she was found floating some considerable time afterwards by fishermen. Her hair had grown long, and the fishermen were persuaded that she was a resurrected human being sent back from Kindo to deliver messages to mankind. Drums were beaten, and she came out of the water and immediately inquired after the welfare of her children. She was taken to the king of Wukari, and, being pronounced to be a true Yaku, was escorted back to the river bank by all the old women of Wukari. A shrine was set up for the deity, and she herself was given a special enclosure close by, a priest being placed in attendance to receive her oracles. In due course she died, and was, like all Yaku, buried in the Benue River. In later times another old woman was seized by the spirit in a forest east of Giddan Zebo. She disappeared into the river, and, on reappearing after a year, was established at Dan Kerku, but subsequently expressed a wish to reside at Pisi, from which, owing to the incursions of the Munshi, she was forced to retire to the present site of the cult, where she died some years ago.

False prophetesses have arisen at various times. One such appeared at Dali, but was driven out by the chief of Dampar. It is said that this woman visited the genuine prophetess at Giddan Yaku, who pronounced her to be a fraud on the ground that she was leading an immoral life with her priest.

At the present time there are no living Yaku, but the following account of the procedure was given by one who had visited, as a young man, the shrine of the last Yaku. He had recourse to her as he was hard pressed for money and had come to the end of his resources. Immediately on his arrival at the shrine the Yaku addressed him from inside her hut, saying, "**Hail**, So-and-so, son of So-and-so, grandson of So-and-so (all the **names** were correctly given). What has brought you to me?" **He**

replied : " Poverty has brought me, for I have nothing to eat." She replied : " That is true, for you have spent most of your money on So-and-so (naming a girl to whom he had been affianced)." He was then directed to produce one hundred cowries which he handed to the attendant priest. One of these was restored to him with the instruction that he must grind it to powder, mix it with water, sit on a stone, and wash his entire body with the mixture. He was to leave the fluid to dry on his body before putting on his clothes, and he was to avoid sexual intercourse for a period of seven days. He was then to go to a certain town, and he would there meet with success in a trading venture.

The Yaku, no doubt, had many other strings to her bow besides the old remedy of sympathetic magic ; but my informant was well satisfied with the results, for he declared that his ill-luck immediately left him. He was also firm in the assurance that the Yaku could not have received previous information as to his name and the names of his forefathers. The Yaku are usually females, but it would appear that in the past there were also male Yaku, and the cult of one of these was known as Agbu kû ngwu Wasû. I have no information on the subject of this cult, but it is said that Agbu kû was a son of a king of Wukari : he disappeared into the Benue and became a water-spirit, by whom the Jukun are accustomed to swear to this day.

The shrines of Yaku and Ayo are maintained, whether there is a living medium of the god or not. In the absence of a medium the Avû or priest is the representative of the cult. People address prayers to Yaku ; and, if they have reason to think that their prayers have been answered, they bring sacrificial gifts to the Avû who performs rites of thanksgiving at the shrine.

The cult, moreover, is considered of prime importance for the purpose of controlling the rains. It is the business therefore of the Avû to perform regular rites at the shrine of Yaku, particularly at harvest ; and, should the rains fail or be excessive, the king of Wukari will send to the Avû at Giddan Yaku to inquire if he has been diligent in his duties. If it appears that he has not been neglectful the king may, nevertheless, require him to carry out additional rites. The king, moreover, himself takes steps at his capital to put a stop to the drought conditions. The divining apparatus is consulted, and rites are performed at

any shrine indicated by the diviner. The female officials known as Angwu Tsi and Angwu Kaku may be called on to perform rites, or male officials such as the Kûvi, Katsô, Kû Jape, or Nani. All these have charge of cults, the neglect of which may cause a drought. When rites are performed the names of previous officials of the cult are always recited, for inhibition of rains is commonly ascribed to the action of some particular ancestor. The king's daughters may be required to perform the "Ayunagâ" dance in order to induce the rains, clapping their hands, putting their right hand to the head and their left hand to the waist, and vice versa, saying as they do so, "*Ayu na gâ ya gâ bi ri*", and casting aspersions on all who are known to have committed offences against morality.

But the most common cause of a drought is that the king has not "given his heart" to Yaku. The king, therefore, brings forth his black and red rain-making cloth and, after calling on his ancestors, registers a vow that if rain comes soon he will offer sacrifice to Yaku. He hands the cloth to the Avû, who spreads it out on the roof of the shrine of Yaku. He also delivers to the Avû a quantity of guinea-corn which the Avû hands to the Awundu, the head of the female devotees of the cult. The Awundu sets out the guinea-corn in pottery dishes in an open space of her compound, and the Avû there offers the following prayer: "Our crops are withering and we have nothing to eat. It has been revealed to us by the divining apparatus that it is you, Yaku, who are hindering the rains. Prove to us that this is so by sending down rain to soak this corn, that with the soaked corn we may make a brew of beer for you. If my forefathers did not do as I am now doing then may Chidô help us". If rain comes within the ensuing three days the soaked corn is converted into beer, which, with a chicken and benniseed, is offered to Yaku with a ritual similar to that of the Akwa rites already described, the Avû using the words "Aforetime we besought you to send us rain, and you heard our prayer. Now we know that it was you and none other that hindered the rain. We therefore offer you our thanks with these gifts." The rites are followed by a dance. If the rain does not come the corn is nevertheless made into beer, and a libation is poured to Yaku. For corn, once dedicated to the gods, cannot be used for any profane purpose.

With the Yaku cult of the Jukun there is a close parallel among the Baganda.¹ The reader is also referred to Major Tremearne's *Ban of the Bori*, page 288. Among the Igala, neighbours of the Jukun, there are similar cults; and it is noteworthy that the priests and priestesses of these Igala cults are known as Ata Ma. They are said to be endowed with second sight. There is a parallel cult also among the Bachama, a full account of which is given in my report on that tribe. In the Southern Provinces the most famous oracle was that of the Aro-Chuku, for an account of which the reader is referred to Mr. Talbot's *Southern Nigeria*, vol. ii, page 49.

There are similar cults to Yaku among the Ibo and Ekoi, the prophetesses being known respectively as Amoma and Nimm.²

I have not heard that the Jukun cults of Yaku or Ayo were used for putting criminals or others to death, or selling them into slavery, or terrorising the country in other ways.

Wayu is another cult for the maintenance of which the king is responsible. The priest is called Akû, and the symbol of the cult is a mud pillar surmounted by a piece of iron. Neolithic axes are sometimes used as accessory symbols. Rites are performed at the millet harvests, and when any member of the royal family falls sick. Those who suffer loss by theft resort to the priest of Wayu, and rites are carried out similar to those of Achu Nyande which will be described later. The Jukun attach great importance to this cult, and, if frightened, will commonly cry out "Wi Wayu we" ("Help! Wayu").

Asôki is a cult possessed by a few Jukun families. *Asôki* is apparently a female deity, and some declare that she is the wife of Kenjo. Others associate *Asôki* with some female ancestor of their own family. The symbol of the cult is a pot into which libations are poured, together with the blood of a chicken. A hoe haft is also sometimes used as an accessory symbol.

Ashina is another female deity who is symbolized by twin pillars over which libations of beer and blood are poured, the food offerings being deposited in a circular hole in the ground. It is a private cult, but rites may be performed on behalf of any member of the royal family who is ill.

¹ See Roscoe's *Baganda*, p. 297.

² See Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, ii, pp. 111 and 132.

Wapá nga ku is a royal cult, and the king attends the rites which are carried out annually a week or two after the Puje festival. The shrine is located at a stream near Wukari, which is known as Jangtukpwa. The term *Wapá nga ku* means "The Jukun repudiated the king", and it is said that the cult was instituted in order to pacify the spirit of a Jukun king who was publicly murdered by the people. This king was appointed while still a youth, and behaved in an irresponsible way, failing to observe the daily ritual. It is even said that he stabled his horse in the shrine of Yaku. Famine resulted, and the outraged people put him to death by spearing him. This was considered an unhallowed act, for though it was customary to kill the king, especially after a famine, the killing was always carried out secretly and ritually, on the principle that kings never die but merely leave the world to join the gods. It is believed nowadays that if the *Wapá nga ku* rites are not performed, the harmattan wind will not rise after harvest to dry and ripen the crops.

The *Wapá nga ku* rites are followed by others known as *Ndo Kwe* (or *Ká*) *Chiká*, for which the king is also responsible. *Chiká* is the name by which the Jukun formerly called the present town of Wukari, in the days when this town was wholly occupied by the Abakwariga, and the rites are designed to secure the co-operation of the Abakwariga ancestors. The cult is regarded as a kind of royal *Jó pí*.¹

*Achu Nyande*² is the cult of the storm god Achu, and is used by the Jukun in the same way as the cult of Shango by the Yoruba, and of Obumo by the Ibibio.³ There is a precisely similar cult among the Ashanti.⁴ The altar is a forked branch planted under the shade of an ebony or of a certain species of fig tree, and between the branches is placed a pot containing a neolithic celt. These neoliths are called the children of Achu. It is noteworthy that palaeoliths are also sometimes used in connection with the cult, being regarded not as children of Achu, but as distant relatives. The wood of the tree used as an altar may not be used as firewood by any member of the family of a man who owns an Achu Nyande

¹ See p. 289.

² The phrase means Achu, the hurler (*nya*) of lightning (*nde*).

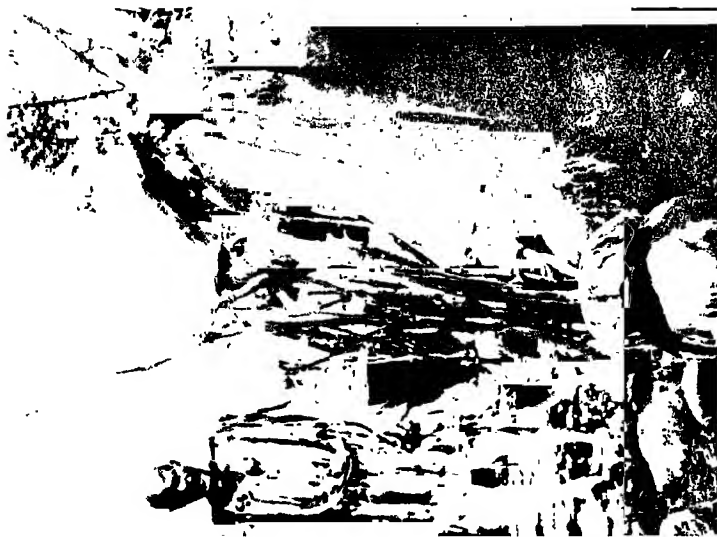
³ See Talbot, *Life in Southern Nigeria*, p. 255.

⁴ See Rattray, *Ashanti*, p. 312.

cult. Rainwater which falls directly into any dish or pot is also taboo to members of the cult.

Regular rites are performed to the god in the usual way at harvest or on the occasion of sickness, but as the cult is primarily a lightning cult it is used specially (*a*) to protect the devotees and their houses from being struck by lightning, and (*b*) to secure immunity to those whose houses have already been struck from further assaults by the god. Thus if a man's house has been struck by lightning, or even if a tree has been struck on his farm, he will immediately seek to pacify the god by gifts to the owner of an Achu Nyande cult, who will pour libations on the man's behalf. But when a tree on a farm is struck by lightning, this is not always regarded as a sign of the god's displeasure; it may be an intimation that he wishes to take up his abode in the compound of the man whose tree was struck, especially if a neolith is found at the base of the tree. In such a case the owner of an Achu Nyande cult will, for a small consideration, cut off a branch from his own ebony or fig-tree and plant it in the other's compound. He will then set up the altar and on it place the pot. Pouring a libation of beer into the pot, he will speak as follows: "You, our ancestor (the usual term of respect), have declared your wish to reside with my brother, even as you reside with me. For this reason I have placed you here to-day that you may care for him and he for you. Let no evil befall him."

The cult of Achu Nyande, like that of Wayu (and another lightning cult known as Wanggye), is also used as part of the legal machinery. Thus if a man suffers loss by theft he will go to the king, who will cause an announcement to be made that, if the stolen property is not returned within three days he will give permission for the Achu Nyande or Wayu rites to be performed, and that if the man's house is subsequently struck by lightning he and the whole of his household will become forfeit to the king. The thief may in terror come and confess his theft and escape with a fine. If he does not come forward the plaintiff takes a hoe to the priest of the cult who, holding it before the symbol, says: "So-and-so has lost his property through theft. I beseech you to find out the thief by striking him with lightning, and killing him or tossing him outside his compound." A man whose house has been struck by lightning will sometimes confess that he had at some time stolen some property, and he will seek



A SHRINE OF ACHI NYANDI



A SHRINE AT KONA

to have matters put right by a libation to Achu Nyande. But it is not assumed that in all cases in which a man's house has been struck he is *ipso facto* a culprit. He has to be declared guilty by the divining apparatus, and the diviner's decision has usually also to receive the support of the man's own confession.

Agbadu is a purely domestic cult and must be considered of minor importance, as the symbol of the cult is not housed in the sacred enclosure of the men, and the rites may be attended by women. The women are allowed a share of the food offerings, and it is not customary to send any of the beer prepared for the rites to the king, as is usual in the case of the more important cults. Rites are performed when the owner of the cult feels inclined, and they are always carried out in cases of sickness among members of the household. The symbol of the cult is a pot set on three stones; it is not regarded at the present time as representing any deity in particular, but is vaguely associated with some deceased ancestor.

The ritual is as follows. Early in the morning on which the sacrificial beer matures the officiant goes off to the bush with a bag and collects a few leaves of the *vitex cienkowskii* and shea-nut trees. While engaged in this operation he may not speak to anyone. On returning home he washes the pot carefully, inserts the leaves, adds water, puts on the lid, and lights a fire underneath. He next pours a libation of beer into a hole in the ground in front of the pot. He also smears the lid of the pot with some flour and charcoal water. Dishes of cooked beans, ground nuts, porridge and a slimy soup are set beside the pot. Finally he takes the chicken, and, holding it in his right hand, asks that *Agbadu* may give them health and show his acceptance of the sacrifice by slaying the chicken. The chicken is then seen to die, the officiant causing its death by secretly inserting his thumb into the rectum. The onlookers, who are not in the secret, are much impressed. It is said that the bones of chickens offered to *Agbadu* may not be broken; otherwise the deity will break the bones of the officiant.

There is a Yoruba cult known as *Igbadu*; and though the *Jukun* cult appears to be different from the Yoruba it is probable that the *Jukun* term is derived from the Yoruba, which is apparently a contraction for *Igba Odu* or "the calabash of *Odu*".¹

¹ See Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 253.

The Yoruba "Igbadu" or sacred calabash contains four small vessels made from coco-nut shells, and appears therefore to correspond to the "Buhu" of the Jukun, which is described in the following paragraph. Incidentally the sacred calabash of the Yoruba is kept in a box which is regarded as embodying divinity and must never be opened except on the most solemn occasions. It is probable that it was a box of this character, known as "Muni", by the opening of which one of the kings of Bornu brought disaster on his kingdom.¹

Buhu is a secret cult confined, in the Wukari area, to a few families only. It is apparently the same cult which is known to the Kona and Gwana Jukun as Buhoro, details of which are given in my articles on these Jukun sub-tribes. It is probably also, in name at least, to be identified with the Mbufor cult of the Ibo.² In the region of Wukari and Bakundi the cultus-emblem generally take the form of from three to six small gourds, which are set on a platform of baked clay. Rites are performed immediately prior to the millet and maize harvests, when hunting is bad, or in cases of illness. The sacrificial beer is brewed by the women, who also grind the flour for the food offerings; but the cooking of the latter must be done by the men. On the morning of the rites the priest goes to the bush to collect certain leaves, and he must avoid conversation with anyone. He enters the sacred enclosure secretly, and there pounds the leaves and inserts them in the gourds, adding some water. He then summons those senior males who are permitted to attend the rites, and, after a preliminary libation, he takes a chicken in his right hand and offers some such prayer as: "I come to you to-day to make an offering. Take under your care, I beseech you, my household, my wives and my children. Let no evil befall them, let no snake bite them, or leopard or lion injure them. If they go hunting may they kill game-animals, or find their bodies lying in the bush." He then pours a libation of beer. Taking the chicken in his hand a second time he says: "If I am doing as you my forefathers did before me, then may Buhu kill this chicken; but if I am not doing what they did, then may the chicken continue to live." The chicken dies by the method described in the previous rites. Its neck is slit and the blood is allowed to flow over the gourds.

¹ See Barth's *Travels*.

² Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 26.

The priest pours another libation of beer, and then again fills the cup with beer and sets it on the ground. He sweeps the ground round the symbols with a brush, and, having washed his hands, he turns to those present and says "*Basho aki vî ra*," i.e. "Elders, the rites have been performed". They slap their thighs in salutation. The ritual is concluded in the usual way (already described in connection with the cult of Akwa).

People suffering from diseases, especially nervous diseases, are frequently taken for treatment to a priest of Buhu, who makes them drink and wash their bodies with the liquid contained in the gourds. During illness, or when out hunting, a Jukun will often call on Buhu to assist him, promising the godling a gift. It is believed that if a man fails to keep a promise to Buhu he will meet with a speedy death.

Jô Pi.—This cult is of a different character from those already described, as it is definitely associated with spirits rather than with gods or ancestors. The *Jô Pi* are "the genii of the farm", and are specially connected with agriculture and with hunting. They would seem to correspond to the Ajokko-Ji of the Ibo,¹ and to the Pi Mana of the Tangale. The word *jô* or *ajô* incidentally is found among the Tangale in the form *njong*, among the Ekoi as *njomm*, and among the Lango as *jok*.² It may even embody the same root as *ajana*, which means spirits among the peoples of S. Abyssinia,³ and as *aljanu* among the Hausa (and Arabs).

The cultus-emblems are two pillars, one representing the female genius and one the male. The former is located close to or on the farm, and is not surrounded by matting like most cultus-emblems. It may be approached by women and children. The latter is located in the bush, is surrounded by matting, and may not be approached by women or children. At sowing time the priest, who is any man of good sense indicated by a diviner, pours libations first over the male pillar and later over the female, with some such prayer as: "*Jô Pi*, we are going to sow our crops to-day. Grant that the seed may sprout up strongly, and let no animal or bird destroy the shoots." The same evening the libations are repeated with additional offerings of porridge, which for the female genius is cooked by women and for the male by men. These rites are repeated when the crops begin to

¹ See Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults*, p. 99.

² See Driberg's *The Lango*, p. 233.

³ See Budge, *Osiris, etc*, vol. i, p. 363.

sprout (with a view to staying the attacks of birds), and again at the millet harvests, when first-fruits of all crops (except tobacco, cassava, sweet potatoes, peppers and yams) are offered to the *genii*.

Hunters offer sacrifice to *Jô Pi* through the priest (*Avû*), in order to secure success in hunting and protection from attack by lions and leopards. For these species of animal are known as "the dogs of *Jô Pi*", and are under his (or their) control. If a hunter finds any dead animal in the bush he must bring some of the blood as an offering to *Jô Pi*, together with a piece of the flesh, which is dried by the priest. Failure to do this or to show proper respect to the priest would, it is thought, lead to attack by the "dogs" of *Jô Pi*.

Spirits.—We have seen that the cult of *Jô Pi* is a cult of non-human spirits, and that the cult of *Yaku* is also sometimes regarded from the same point of view. The *Jukun* believe in numerous spirits, good and bad, which live an independent existence either in a spirit world of their own (*Ndo-Jô*), or in *Kindo*, where they are regarded as the mediators between the ghosts of the dead and *Ama*. In both cases they are subject to the control of *Ama*, and are commonly described as the policemen of *Ama*. They may be white spirits and assist men by increasing their corn in the granary, helping them to catch fish or kill game-animals, bestowing on them magical remedies and so on; or they may be black spirits and work evil by causing the crops to diminish, by striking men with their sticks and inflicting sudden deaths. If a spirit merely points his stick at a man that man will fall sick. They are believed to be armed with hoe handles, and are therefore called *Daga da ku* (i.e. strikers with hoe-hafts). Spirits cause epidemic diseases, deaths from sunstroke, epileptic fits and fevers. They, as well as the ancestral ghosts, may visit a man in his sleep; and for this reason a *Jukun* will often sleep with his knife beside him and brandish it during the night. If a person feels cold and shivers, even when sitting beside a fire, it is because evil spirits (*wo ba baba*) have entered his body. Evil spirits haunt large trees, and people, therefore, avoid sitting under large trees; they frequent the bush at mid-day, and for this reason young people are advised not to walk about at mid-day (presumably because sunstroke is ascribed to spirits); they may enter the waterpots at night, and cause illness to anyone

drinking the water ; and it is for this reason that all Jukun cover their water-pots at night with a lid. A whirlwind is an evil spirit or *wo-kapi* ; and most Jukun believe that if a spear is driven into the centre of a whirlwind the evil spirit will be injured, and a spot of blood will be left on the spear-head. If one feels a smell of beer and food in the bush it is believed to be the smell of the meal of the spirits. When a dog barks at night without apparent reason he is believed to be barking at a spirit ; and it is the presence of spirits that causes fowls to cluck in the middle of the night. The spirits are believed to be kept on a leash by Ama, and if they are over-active in working evil they are pulled in by the Supreme Being. They can best be controlled by men through the agency of the ancestors, and if a man feels that he is the victim of assaults by spirits he pours a libation to his forefathers and asks for their assistance.

Jukun fishermen believe that rivers and pools are tenanted by water spirits whom they call *Basé-jape*. These spirits are believed to have houses and towns and kings. Their features are handsome ; and it is for this reason that if a Jukun sees a good-looking man or woman he will describe him or her as " a child of the water ". They have drums and other musical instruments, and dance and play together. In most respects they resemble men, but their power exceeds that of men, for they can injure men without being injured themselves. If a person is drowned, and his body is not recovered, it is said that the body has been taken by the *Basé-jape*. Even if the body is recovered it is not taken home for burial, but is interred at the banks of the river, for the body belongs to the spirits who had taken the dead man's life. Red cloth, bracelets, and decorated calabashes are taboo to the *Basé-jape*, who will kill anyone wearing these, or else snatch the taboo articles and strike the owner dumb ; and dumb he will remain until fumigated by a medicine man.

The water-spirits inhabit the dark patches of a river or whirlpools, and, on approaching these, canoemen cease talking and ply their paddles or poles as quietly as possible. For it is here that the spirits of the water may upset a canoe, especially if anyone is wearing any red-coloured material. It is the water spirits which prevent fishermen catching fish, even when the fish are abundant ; and in such a case the leader of the fishermen will kill a white cock, pour the blood into the water, and throw

the corpse in afterwards, with a prayer that their fishing may be blessed. He will also afterwards go to the river's bank and deposit at the water's edge some offerings of food, saying: "You my father (or grandfather), so-and-so, if we left home with a double heart, that some man might become flesh or fish for us (i.e. become the victim of our witchcraft), then let us not find what we seek; but if we left home with a single heart, then receive our offerings and bear them to the *Basé-jape*. And may the *Basé-jape* permit us to kill fish in abundance, both on the right hand and the left. Then indeed we shall know that the spirits of Kindo are powerfully present in these waters. If the great ones of the past did not do as I do now, then may they repudiate me; but if they did even as I do, then we shall await the hour when our hands shall be busy and our faces filled with joy."

The fishing is then begun. Before eating any of the first day's catch, a gift of cooked "firstlings" is made at the water's edge by the leader, who says: "We have brought to you the firstlings of our catch. May the rest of our fishing be successful, for we have obtained nothing for ourselves yet." The fishermen then partake of their first meal of fish; and each time they have a meal the leader deposits a little of the food on the ground for the ancestors. When they decide to return home, each fisherman leaves one fish behind for the spirits. If they omitted to do this they would have no success when they returned on a future occasion.

It is clear that spirits are normally regarded as independent of and superior to the ancestors. Nevertheless, a Jukun will assert that some spirits are ancestors. Thus among the Jukun of Gwana it is commonly believed that the spirits of the bush known as *gwaigwai* are the ghosts of dead chiefs who wander about in the company of herds of animals, of which they act as the leaders. Such a *gwaigwai* may disclose his identity to living individuals, revealing himself in the form and dress of a deceased chief. He will ask the individual what it is that he desires most, and if the latter replies "success in farming," he will bestow upon him certain remedies by which the crops of the petitioner will excel those of all other men. Or if the man asks for "success in leechcraft," the *gwaigwai* will reveal to him recipes of leaves and roots. A hunter may receive a charm for killing animals, but the *gwaigwai* is believed

to limit the number of animals which may be killed. If the limit is exceeded the grantee pays the penalty with his life and becomes the slave of the *gwaigwai* in Kindo. He may avoid this fate by handing over to the *gwaigwai* one of his own relatives. This is witchcraft, a subject with which we shall deal in the following chapter.

It is said, moreover, that an ancestral ghost who lacks relatives on earth to give him sustenance may become a *daga da ku* or evil spirit. The bush spirits known to the Jukun of Gwana as *bampuru*, are believed to be such. They are apparently only seen by young boys and girls, those presumably who are subject to fits or other nervous crises. A *bampuru* offers food to these young people, but sooner or later demands repayment in the form of the life of a relative of the child. The relative immediately falls sick, but can be cured by a declaration on the part of the child of the nature of the various foods given by the *bampuru*. Samples of these are laid by the child at the entrance to the caves where the *bampuru* is supposed to reside. The sick relative immediately recovers, and the child is never again troubled by the *bampuru*. The *bampuru* beliefs are thus a means of treating young people who suffer from some form of mental derangement, and they are evidence also that, according to Jukun ideas, witchcraft may be practised unknowingly by people of immature age.

CHAPTER VII

WITCHCRAFT AND MEDICINES

The fear of witchcraft is a dominating influence in the life of a Jukun, and is the mainspring of much of his religious ritual. A large proportion of deaths are ascribed to the action of witches, and a main feature of all post-burial ceremonies is the solemn asseveration by the relatives of the deceased that they had not encompassed his death by witchcraft. A main object in the ceremony of releasing the cloth is to enable the dead man to declare in Kindo whether anyone had killed him by witchcraft, and it can hardly be doubted that a main cause for the firmness of the belief in the continued existence of the dead is due to the conception of the necessity of the punishment of witches and sorcerers who otherwise might be able to carry on their nefarious work in the world undetected and unpunished by living human beings. In most of his prayers the Jukun asks favour of the gods in virtue of the fact that his heart is single, and by singleness of heart he means the absence of any intention to kill people by witchcraft

A witch is known as a *pa-shiko* or an *ako*, and is to be distinguished (a) from a *pa-zo*, (b) from a *pa-shibu* and (c) from a *pa-sêhé*. A *pa-zo* (or "person with eyes") is one endowed with second sight, so that he is able to detect witchcraft and to insulate himself against spells and charms. He is also possessed of a dynamism which protects him against things that would kill ordinary men, including the pursuing ghosts of men and of animals. Twins are believed to have second sight. A *pa-shibu*, on the other hand, is a sorcerer who derives his powers from drinking certain medicines, which he obtains from another *pa-shibu* for certain payments. A *pa-shiko*, however, is born with his or her powers, which are transmitted automatically in the female line. All children of a female *pa-shiko* have the power of acting as witches, but not all choose to exercise their power. A *pa-shiko* may be a man, woman or child; but a *pa-shibu* is usually a grown-up man, though some women may be found in the ranks of the *pa-shibu*. A *pa-shibu* may hand on his

knowledge to a grown-up son who has shown himself intelligent and obedient. He is in many ways superior to a *pa-shiko*, for, whereas a *pa-shiko* can only work by night, a *pa-shibu* can work by day or night. Moreover he can kill a *pa-shiko*, and he therefore acts as a witch-doctor. A *pa-shiko* cannot release a human being from the clutches of another *pa-shiko*, though he may ask the other *pa-shiko* to do so as a favour. But a *pa-shibu* can effect the delivery of a human soul from a *pa-shiko*. On the other hand a *pa-shiko* can become a *pa-shibu* by obtaining the requisite medicines from a *pa-shibu*, and such an one becomes doubly dangerous. It is an offence to call anyone a *pa-shibu*, but it is a worse offence to call anyone a *pa-shiko*; for whereas a *pa-shibu* sometimes kills a human being, a *pa-shiko* not merely kills him but eats him. Both a *pa-shiko* and a *pa-shibu* are able to transfer the richness of someone else's crops to his own, and during a hunt both are able to secure the major portion of the game by causing the other hunters to miss their aim or trip.

A *pa-shibu* can cause illness by acting on the nail parings, hair clippings, or faeces of a person, and he can protect himself by his medicines from spear-thrusts or other injuries.

A *pa-shibu* is to be distinguished from a *pa-séhé*, who is a doctor or leech, using this term in the sense of one who, though he may employ magic in addition to means of direct therapeutic action (in the European sense), does not employ his knowledge, even if he were capable of doing so, for purposes of sorcery.

It will be convenient in the following paragraphs to refer to a *pa-shiko* as a witch, a *pa-shibu* as a sorcerer, and a *pa-séhé* as a medicine-man or doctor or priest-doctor.

A witch secures his victim by sending out his *dindî* or "soul" to catch the *dindî* of some defenceless person. The witch may do this at night-time; and some Jukun say that a witch can be discerned by the fact that he always takes a long time to wake up, as his *dindî*, intent on its nefarious work, refuses to return speedily to the body. (It is often said, however, that people are slow to wake up because their *dindî* has been wandering, without any suggestion that the *dindî* has been engaged in witchcraft.) Some Jukun believe that it is a separable portion of the *dindî* of the witch that acts in this way; and others assert that a witch has two *dindî*, one of which he sends abroad to capture the *dindî* of living people, while the other remains with him. The *dindî*

of persons who are protected by charms are not capable of capture, nor are those of persons of powerful personality. A man can, by what modern psychology would call auto-suggestion, fortify his *dindî* to resist attack by witches ; and Jukun parents counsel their children not to be afraid of witches, and, if attacked, to face them boldly and even to abuse them.

A witch, having captured a *dindî*, may secrete it in some unsuspected spot. He may imprison it in a pot, and, if he wishes to torture his victim, he will place the pot close to a fire. The owner of the *dindî*, already sick from the loss of his soul, will scream out in the agony of a scorching fever. Some say that the witch deposits the *dindî* in a spiritual pot contained in the witch's own *dindî* and proceeds to cut it into pieces with a spiritual knife. The owner of the *dindî* dies in agony, and his soul is eaten not merely by the witch which captured his *dindî* but by all the other witches of the village, or section of the city. It is said that there is a social organization among the *dindî* of witches, and that they have even a head butcher who directs the operation of cutting-up captured souls. It is also said that witches have black livers.

The conception that a witch has a spiritual pot for cooking his victims is due to the circumstance that witches have never been detected cooking a *dindî* in the ordinary way. There is no absolute proof that anyone is a witch, and witches are only known to each other. If, therefore, a Jukun is charged with being a witch, he promptly replies, " You are a witch. For if you were not a witch, how could you possibly know that I was one ? " The classification of any individual as a witch depends on public opinion, based on individual peculiarities, or on the observation that misfortune has followed on association with him. This opinion is focussed in due course by a definite declaration by the owner or owners of a divining apparatus, and the supposed witch is, in due course, put to death or sold into slavery. But indiscriminate charges of witchcraft were in former times restrained by an appeal to the sasswood ordeal, which might entail the death of the accuser instead of the accused.¹

If a man has a quarrel with another, and, soon after, he, or one of his relatives, falls ill, he may charge the other with having practised witchcraft, and threaten to retaliate with some powerful charm of his own (obtained from a sorcerer). The other may

¹ This form of ordeal is now illegal.

express his indignation and demand the trial by sasswood, or he may be cowed and say nothing. In the latter case he will be suspected generally of being a witch, and this opinion will become crystallized should that man again quarrel with someone else, and the quarrel be again followed by illness.

A mother with a sick child may charge someone with having stolen the child's soul, and if her opinion is confirmed by the diviner she may lay the child at the threshold of the compound of the person presumed to be a witch and invite him to devour the child entirely there and then. The man charged may then be compelled to demand a trial by ordeal. Or if a man suspects another of having stolen his brother's or son's soul, he will go to that person's house in the latter's absence and overturn everything he sees in the hope of freeing the imprisoned soul.

Hunters are ever ready to ascribe non-success to the actions of witches, and a hunter may even suspect his wife of having had "a double heart" when she prepared his food for the period of his absence in the bush. Continued ill-luck would result in a general declaration by the hunter's friends that his wife was in league with witches. This may be confirmed by the divining apparatus. Before going to the bush again he will, on handing her the corn to be converted into food for his journey, warn her that she must prepare it with a single heart. She will make a formal declaration to him that if her ill-will had formerly prevented him from killing game, it shall not be so this time. During his absence she is required to call frequently on Chidô to give success to her husband. If he is now successful the hunter and his relatives become confirmed in the opinion that his former ill-fortune was due, if not to the spell of his wife, at least to her ill-will. For mere ill-will on the part of a hunter's wife is a sufficient cause for his failure. If still unsuccessful the hunter may come to the conclusion that he had offended one of his ancestors or one of the family deities, and he will consult a diviner with a view to ascertaining which ancestor or deity requires pacification. It may be noted, incidentally, that food prepared for a hunter is taboo to women. A woman may not, therefore, eat any remnants of food which a hunter brings back with him from the bush. The conception is that when a hunter goes hunting he is accompanied by ancestors and deities with whom he shares his food. The food is thus regarded as sacred.

Witches know and consort with each other. If a witch feels that he is not strong enough to capture a soul by himself, he may solicit the assistance of another witch. A number of witches may assemble to devour the captured soul. Witches have their leader who summons them all by horn, that they may take counsel together as to who shall be their next victim.

In former times a man might summarily kill another whom he believed to be a witch, and this frequently led to a feud between two families or kindreds. The king might endeavour to settle the matter, but his power was not so absolute that his efforts always met with success. It is said that witchcraft is on the increase, for witches are no longer put to death, and can therefore propagate as much as they please. Formerly it was customary to execute or sell into slavery not only the witch but all his uterine relatives. A man or woman whose father had been a chief might be exempted from the death penalty, but a chief could not secure the acquittal of his own wife or brother-in-law. Some Europeans are believed to practise witchcraft, but they do not use their powers against black men ; they merely devour each other.

All sorcerers and some medicine-men are able to recover a *dindî* which had been captured and hidden by a witch. A hunt is organized, led by the sorcerer in his capacity of witch-doctor. Houses are searched, the witch-doctor darting hither and thither. Suddenly he espies the soul and catches it in a dish of shea-butter. The soul is restored to the patient's body by rubbing him with the shea-butter. Sometimes the friends of a man, whose soul is believed to have been stolen by a witch, will approach the witch directly with a gift in order to secure the release of the soul.

Sorcerers also capture and injure or kill souls in a variety of ways, notably by acting on the hair, nail-parings or excreta of a person, the soul substance being regarded as immanent in these. If a person wishes to injure another he has merely to obtain a piece of his enemy's nails and hand them to a sorcerer, who, if he knows his work, will speedily cause the death of the former owner of the nail-parings. For this reason a Jukun always hides or buries his hair and nail cuttings. Some Jukun burn these, but others would refrain from doing this on the ground that the burning would cause a scorching of his soul. It may be for reasons of sorcery that even the most intimate attendants on Jukun

kings and priests are strictly forbidden to go near their master's privy.

Sorcery is also believed to work through food and the utensils used in eating and drinking, and this is one reason why the greatest care is taken that no unauthorized person shall touch the food platters of important men. The platters may not even be taken down to the stream to be washed. The fear of sorcery is also no doubt a main cause why all Jukun men eat their meals in the privacy of a sacred enclosure, where they are free from the danger of interference from men or demons, and are also protected by the close presence of the family deities. Sickness may be produced by swallowing an evil spirit, and I would suggest, incidentally, that the Tuareg custom of wearing a veil over the mouth may be due to this fear.

A sorcerer also uses "medicines" or charms (*ahê*) to work his evil purposes. A favourite *ahê* is a piece of iron fashioned by a blacksmith into the shape of a horse. This object is dynamized by being soaked in certain concoctions, and at the same time the sorcerer washes his body with another concoction of roots, drinks a third, and inhales the fumes of a fourth. He is then able to mount the "horse" and to use stalks of grass, taken from the roof of his house, as spears or arrows. Acting through the agency of a whirlwind, which he enters, he deroofs the house of his victim, whom he stabs with his "spear". The man falls sick (attacks of pneumonia or pleurisy in particular being ascribed to the arrows of a sorcerer). The sick man's brother or father will then betake himself to a medicine-man (*pa-sêhê*), who will come and diagnose the disease as caused by a sorcerer, and will promptly return home to fetch his secret remedy concealing it under his shoulder cloth, that no one may see it. He mixes the medicine with water and gives it to the patient to drink. The affected part is rubbed with shea-nut oil, and the patient is assured that he will soon be well. He is sometimes made to inhale the fumes of certain plants and roots boiled in water. Next day the medicine-man returns, and if he finds that the patient has recovered he produces an arrow-head, stating that he had secretly withdrawn that on the previous evening. The patient is then given a purgative to clear the body of the arrow-poison. If he has not improved, the medicine-man continues the treatment; and if the patient dies the medicine-

man excuses himself by saying that the victim had been shot in a vital part of the body (e.g. the heart), or that his relatives had been so slow in summoning him that the poison of the arrow had pervaded the body before preventive steps could be taken. Or he may merely say that Aki, the spirit of Death, had intervened and claimed the dead man's life.

The people of Akwana are believed to make a free use of the *ahé* just described, and it is said that when a Wukari man visits Akwana he behaves with circumspection, lest any evil should overtake him. But Abinsi is regarded by most Jukun as the home of the most powerful *ahé*, and many Wukari men will take the trouble of going to this distant town in order to purchase charms.

There are many charms for protection against the attacks of witches and sorcerers. The most common of these is a mud pillar into which numerous porcupine quills are stuck. This is erected by a householder in his sleeping quarters. A stick or branch, bound round with locust-bean leaves, is planted beside the pillar, and to this a small bell is fastened by a piece of cloth. The idea is that if a witch or sorcerer comes at night to work evil the *ahé* will detect him, shoot him with the quills, and then ring the bell. On hearing the bell the sleeper will arise, ask the sorcerer what he means by coming to his house, and order him to be gone. In the morning the householder will summon all to witness, by the porcupine quills lying about, that his house had been invaded by a sorcerer who had been driven away by the *ahé*. The possessor of an effective *ahé* obtains notoriety, and witches avoid his house. He sometimes derives considerable advantage by selling the recipe to others. An *ahé* of this character is regarded as being tenanted by a protective spirit of inferior status, and rites are accordingly performed before it. Thus after an attack by a sorcerer the owner of the *ahé* will, with libations of beer and the blood of a chicken, and food offerings of porridge, do rites to the *ahé*. He will recoat the pillar with mud and replace the porcupine quills, saying: "I have no double heart to anyone, and I owe nobody a debt (i.e. I did not eat the relative of a witch and thereby put myself in the debt of a witch): if, therefore, anyone comes to seek my life or that of my wife and children, may you look out for that person and reveal his presence to me."

If a person wishes to be endowed with a second-sight, which will enable him to detect the presence of witches or sorcerers at night,

he goes to one who is a sorcerer himself and obtains, on payment, some such remedy as follows. He is directed to collect a quantity of mucus from the eyes of dogs or horses, both of which animals are believed to be able to detect the presence of witches at night. The sorcerer himself obtains certain roots which he pounds and steeps with the mucus in a new pot or calabash, concealed in some hiding-place. The patient then washes his eyes with this mixture three times a day for a period of seven days, and during this time he is directed to show a stout heart and to maintain a complete silence for all time on all that is revealed to him. For witches kill or strike blind anyone who publishes abroad their names. The initiate may, however, discuss witches and their craft with a sorcerer; for the sorcerer, like the initiate, is able to see witches, and has, therefore, nothing to fear. As the result of this treatment the initiate is able to detect by day or by night, awake or asleep, the approach of witches, whatever guise they may assume. Once detected the witch is unable to work mischief. One who receives this gift of second-sight from a sorcerer is also, like the sorcerer, able to detect the presence of poison or any morbid object which has been set on the road to injure him or anyone else.

It is said by the Jukun that witches are necessary in the world; for without witches the crops would not ripen. The conception appears to be that the mightiest of the witches, having grown weary of eating human beings, devote their energy and powers to the beneficent purpose of increasing the crops and assisting hunters to capture game-animals. One who is expert at any craft is often said to be a witch who has given up preying on mankind and takes a pride in showing off his skill. The superiority of the white peoples in craftsmanship is commonly explained in this way.

The medicine-men or *baséhé* are, as their name implies, the great purveyors of charms (*ahé*); but, as already stated, the *baséhé* do not themselves engage in sorcery. They treat disease and issue charms of a purely protective character. They can, like the sorcerers (*bashibu*), cure a person by removing from his body the needle, arrow, or piece of bone projected into the victim by a witch or sorcerer. It is not necessary for them to discover the name of the witch or sorcerer who had caused the disease. Their own magical powers, derived from their knowledge of medicines, are sufficient; but the treatment depends on the

ætiology, and for ascertaining the cause of the disease the services of a diviner may be employed.

I propose to give a list of some of the better-known charms. They can always be obtained from a *pa-séhé*, but in many cases the recipes are so well known that the services of a *pa-séhé* need not be employed. It may be added that charms carried on the person are not sewn up in leather, like the "laya" of the Hausa; they are usually inserted into an antelope's horn which is tied round the arm or waist.

It will be observed that the majority of the charms enumerated depend for their efficacy on the principle of sympathetic magic.

(a) *Charms against Witchcraft*.—The bark of the sasswood plant and the tree known as "aluku" is sought from the four points of the compass, and is steeped in water contained in a new calabash or pot, which is carefully concealed lest any witch should see it and, by micturating into it, destroy its potency. The subject washes himself in this solution for seven days, at the conclusion of which he becomes immune from attack by witches. Not merely is he immune, but if he, on any future occasion, smears his body with the solution and walks about before the solution dries, any witch who approaches close to him will be assailed with an attack of fever. The underlying conceptions appear to be (i) that sasswood is a poison, and the normal means by which a person is proved (by drinking sasswood) to be a witch or not; and (ii) that the "aluku" tree is regarded as a special haunt of evil spirits, allies of the witches; by obtaining the services of the friends of witches, the witches will leave you alone; (iii) by taking the bark of the tree the indwelling spirits are taken also, just as by taking the nail-parings of a human being control is obtained over his soul.

Another charm for witchcraft is by drinking a decoction made from the branches of the horse-radish tree, the *gardenia erubescens* and *bauhinia reticulata* trees and the leaves of the *cassia goratensis* tree. The first named is employed because it is the shrub used to protect graves from disturbance by hyaenas and other animals. If therefore the witch, in the form of a snake, comes to assail you, his body will become lifeless like a corpse; if he takes the form of a biting insect he will avoid you because your body is cold like that of a corpse. Branches of the gardenia tree are used because they are commonly employed for fences



A GWANA POT



A BRIDE'S WEDDING GIFT
(See p. 435)



POTTERY DISHES



DAMPAR POT

to protect cattle and other domestic stock. The bauhinia tree is used because of its bitterness. Witches dislike anything bitter.

(b) *Charm to produce or increase popularity*.—The roots and leaves of the silk-cotton tree, and of certain grasses are steeped in a new calabash for three days together with the eggs of a bush-fowl. The subject washes himself with the solution for seven days. The eggs of the bush-fowl are used because this bird has numerous names and is therefore popular. The remnants of the solution are deposited at a cross-roads, because people collect at cross-roads and carry on a conversation before separating.

(c) *Charm to increase Personality*.—The subject goes to the bush (preferably on a Saturday in these times of the seven-day week) and seeks out a tree that exceeds other trees in stature. From its bark he cuts out sections at each point of the compass. He does this with six other large trees (the number seven being a "sacred" number to the Jukun). Returning home he pounds up the various ingredients in a new dish, adding water. On the following morning he washes his body in the fluid, repeating the words "As I saw these trees from a distance, so in any concourse of men may I be remarked, at a distance, as a person of outstanding character". The idea in taking the bark from each point of the compass is that every person from whatever quarter may blazon his praises to the four corners of the earth.

(d) *Charm to facilitate concealment*.—Leaves are obtained from any plant found growing on an ant-heap (because ants work unseen); also a piece of the fat of a goat of a uniform colour (because uniformity of colour lessens detection); also a piece of wood of the *abrus pracatorius* tree (because the fruit of this tree resembles the eyes of a man); also the mucuous which sweat-flies deposit in the eyes of men (thus interfering with their vision). These are wrapped up in the rags of a blind man, and this bundle is enclosed in the skin of the foetus of a cow or goat (because a foetus is blind). The subject ties the bundle round his waist, and is thereby enabled to walk unseen through the midst of enemies, who are stricken with temporary blindness. A prisoner can walk past his guards unseen. But a person with a similar charm can see you. He would not, however, disclose to anyone that he had seen you; for if he did his own charm would lose its potency.

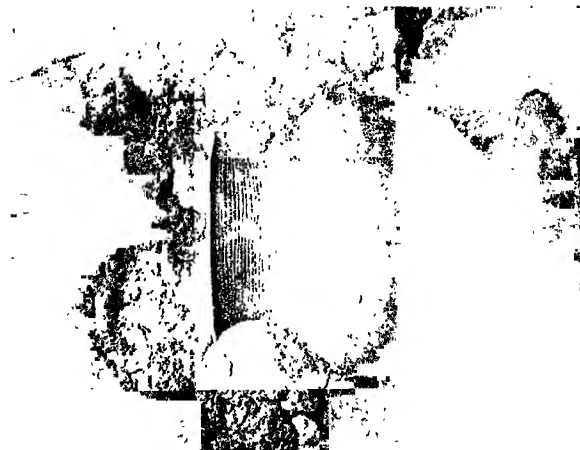
(e) *Charm to secure acquittal*.—If a man is summoned before

a court of law he digs up a piece of *Cyperus articulatus* sedge and puts it into his mouth. The digging-up symbolizes the trial—the digging into the matter by the judge. During the trial the accused keeps chewing the sedge and saying to himself “ May this charge be brought to nought ”. The intention is that the case against him may be chewed-up. When the accuser is questioned by the judge, the accused keeps spitting on the ground in order that the opponent's argument may be carried away.

(f) *Charm to bring an enemy into contempt.*—This charm consists of a branch of the *cassia goratensis* tree, the bark of which is pared off on one side, the other side being left. The intention is that the enemy's mind may become divided against itself. The stick is smeared with the fat of a black goat (with the intention of nourishing the stick). A branch taken from a grave is similarly treated. Some charcoal is obtained from the market place (the idea being that as a market is a babel of noise the enemy will become a babbling fool). All these articles are tied up in a black rag obtained on a highway (the idea being that a highway is the resort of crowds of people, including robbers and lunatics), and this bundle is secretly deposited in the roof of the enemy's hut, a small boy or girl being commissioned to do this in order to avoid suspicion. Thereafter it is believed that the enemy will begin to behave in a ludicrous fashion and become a prey to suspicion and jealousy and an object of derision even in his own household.

(g) *Charm for success in trade.*—Some black tubers (of the *Cyperus articulatus* sedge), white onions, and red kola nuts are mixed with resin (the intention being that as resin catches everything black, white or red, so the trader will capture trade). The mixture is allowed to dry in the sun and is then pounded up. The powder is placed on a piece of live charcoal and the trader inhales the fumes. This charm is believed to enable a trader to dispose of all his stock very soon after his arrival in the market.

(h) *Virility charm.*—The dried penis of a manatee is ground-up with the dried root of an *afroomsia laxiflora* tree. Pepper, ginger, palm oil and salt are added, and the mixture is eaten with a piece of half-cooked meat. Another charm is a piece of a particular species of koko-yam, which forces its way upwards through the ground. The yam is peeled and chewed with beer into which pepper and ginger have been introduced.



A WASE POT



A POTTERY FIREPLACE

(i) *Charm for making oneself an object of fear.*—To obtain this charm the subject rises early in the morning and goes to a forest. He must not speak to anyone either going or coming, for by doing so his heart would become double and the accompanying spirits would abandon him. Stripping himself naked he climbs a number of trees in search of certain parasitic growths. To samples of these he adds a knot pared from a species of stick used by butchers as a table for cutting up meat (the intention being that the hearts of enemies shall be cut up like the bodies of cattle). The various ingredients are soaked in water, and the subject washes himself for seven days in the resultant solution. Thereafter the hearts of his enemies will sink in his presence.

(j) A bone from the leg of a tortoise is tied by farmers to the strings of their loin cloth as a preventive of back-strain while hoeing. A tortoise is chosen because of its hard back.

(k) *Charm for recovering a runaway wife.*—If a man's wife leaves him, he collects the leaves of various parasitic plants and binds them in a piece of black cloth which he buries in the path used by his wife when she visits her lover. The wife is then assailed by itch and is unable to sleep. If she returns to her husband he digs up the charm and throws it into the river.

(l) *Charms against weapons.*—A favourite charm is a particular species of koko-yam, which is specially grown by dispensers of charms. Before issuing the charm, the owner offers rites to the indwelling spirit of the tuber, pouring over it libations of beer and the blood of a pullet. He then takes some of the yams, and boils them together with the flesh of the chicken, adding some benniseed soup. Some of this mixture is offered to the plant, and some to the person seeking the charm. As the owner hands the mixture to the latter, he says: "To-day I am giving you a defence against weapons. Just as the koko-yam is a slippery substance, so may all weapons glance aside when they touch your body."

Some of the mixture may be sewn up in cloth and worn on the arm; and during a mêlée, the owner keeps saying to himself "It is nothing at all. Koko-yam!" Spears and arrows will then fall harmlessly at his side. Knife-thrusts will have no effect. During a hunting battue, if the owner of the charm is outrun by a companion as he nears the quarry he has merely to twist the charm and his companion will stumble. This charm enables a handcuffed prisoner to escape from the judicial authorities.

(m) *Charms to insure success in boxing and wrestling.*—One who proposes to engage in a boxing bout shaves his head and washes his body. The same night he proceeds secretly to a grave, avoiding all conversation with anyone. He digs up some of the earth over the grave, inserts a piece of white cloth, covers the cloth with grass, and replaces the soil. He then spreads a new mat over the grave and lies down on it so that his body assumes the position of the corpse interred below. He covers himself with a white cloth. The conception appears to be that he has joined the ranks of the dead, and by association with the dead he loses all fear and also obtains for himself the powers of the dead. But there is also the conception that his opponent will be reduced to the condition of a corpse.¹ He does not offer any spoken prayer, but says in his heart "Father Chidô, do thou assist me in the boxing bout in which I am about to engage. And do you, spirits and souls of the dead, assist me also". He spends the entire night in the vicinity of the grave, an act which requires a good deal of courage for a Jukun. In the morning he goes home leaving the mat and cloth *in situ*. He returns day after day to see if the mat and cloth are still there. As soon as they disappear (by someone's appropriation) he regards the disappearance as a sign of the acceptance of his prayer, and he proceeds to dig up the piece of cloth he had first buried in the grave. This he rolls up and binds round his waist. It is regarded as a gift from the dead, and becomes a charm by which he can defeat any opponent. If the mat and shroud do not disappear it is a sign that his prayer had not been answered, and he would withdraw from the boxing competition.

Nowadays, it is not unusual for a Jukun to apply to Muslim purveyors of charms (*tsubu*) for a prescription which will ensure success in a boxing bout. The prescription written on paper in ink may read as follows: "I, so-and-so, desire and decree that if I box with anyone, big or small, he shall fall headlong to the ground." This prescription is tied up with thread, covered with leather, and deposited in a piece of cloth. Immediately prior to the evening meal, the recipient goes to a recently-made grave and buries the prescription in a hole of the mound until he hears the postprandial drumming. He then removes the charm and

¹ For a Hausa parallel to the custom of sleeping over a grave, see Tremearne, *Ban of the Bori*, p. 209.

fastens it on his left arm. The idea of fastening it on the left arm is that the knock-out blow is delivered with the left arm. The reason for going to the grave immediately before the evening meal is that the ghosts of the dead are thought to assemble at this time ; and the reason for choosing a new grave instead of an old is that spiritual influences are considered more potent at the grave of one who has recently died.

One informant stated that when he obtained a charm of this character he had to give a pigeon to the *tsubu*, with which the latter would do some preliminary rites (which were not ascertained). He then had to pay sixpence for " the putting of the pen to paper ". After that he had to provide the skin of an electric fish in which to tie up the charm, the conception being that when his opponent touched him he would receive a shock such as is felt when a person touches an electric fish. He paid a penny for the string surrounding the charm and three-halfpence for the leather binding. When he bought it he felt quite convinced that victory would be his. But he stated that he was knocked-out in the first two seconds, and on recovering his senses he threw the charm away unobserved. Had he been successful he would have had to pay a further two shillings to the *tsubu*, so that there is a partial system of payment by results.

Still another charm used both for boxing and wrestling is a cloth bag containing a powder made of the claws and dried intestines of a cat sewn up in a cat's skin. The bag is worn round the waist, and to it are attached two small leather amulets containing each an eye of the cat, smeared with mud or some other sticky substance. The mud is used with the idea that the opponent will slip. But the other ingredients are chosen for the effect which they will have on the owner of the charm : the cat because, if tossed about, he always lands on his paws and not on his back ; the intestines because if they are pulled about they resume their normal position ; the eyes and claws in order that the boxer or wrestler may see and strike as quickly as a cat. The skin used must be a striped skin, because a striped skin confuses the eye of an opponent.

Of a different category to these charms, which work according to the psychological process of like producing like, are those taboos the infraction of which produces sickness or death in those who infract them. Taboos placed on farms are an example of the latter, and a description of one or two of these may be given.

A favourite device for preventing thefts from farms is that known as *Akwenti*, which consists of a length of thread tied round the corner of a farm, close to a road, so that it is visible to all. The thread is smeared here and there with a mixture of shea-nut oil and other ingredients, which must be added in the correct proportions revealed by the father or uncle from whom the charm was inherited, or by the friend from whom it was obtained. When the charm is set up, the farmer says: "This is my farm, the cultivation of which is due to my labour. The proceeds of the farm are yours. If anyone comes here to steal do you, *Akwenti*, enquire of him the reason." The charm is thus regarded as tenanted by some inferior spirit.

It is believed that if anyone is so foolhardy as to steal, after the charm has been set up, his knees will swell, he will be attacked by headaches, and if he does not go to the owner of the charm, throw dust on his head, confess his sin, offer a gift and receive a counteracting remedy, he will die. The owner of the charm will give this remedy, which must be composed of the same ingredients as those used in making the charm, on condition that if the thief recovers from his illness he will pay to the owner one sack of millet, one chicken, one hoe, and one mat. The owner gives him some of his mixture to drink, and to smear on his body, and as he does so, he says: "This man stole from my farm, and you, *Akwenti*, followed and caught him. He now repents. Let therefore your anger pass, and lay your spear on the ground. Grant that he may be restored to health."

Another taboo of similar character is known as *Akpa Kidi*, and takes the form of a calabash pierced with holes, some of which are filled with cotton thread treated in various ways. The calabash is suspended between two branches or sticks. This taboo may have been inherited from a forefather or obtained as a loan from a friend. In the latter case the owner must not reap anything from his own farm until he has first informed the friend. Otherwise he would fall ill and die.

In other cases the protective agency used may be some portion of the symbols of one of the home cults. Thus a farmer may use the leaves of his Achu Nynde cult, tying these round the centre of a stake planted on his farm. In this way the services of the god of lightning are requisitioned, and if anyone steals from the farm, he, or his house, will be struck by lightning. The leaves

used by those who possess a home cult of Agbadu are similarly used. One who has no Agbadu cult may try to frighten thieves by putting up leaves similar to those used in the cult of Agbadu, but these leaves would be useless. Taboos of the character indicated are not regarded as charms or "medicines" (*ahé*), but as cults (*aki*). They cannot therefore be sold, like *ahé*, as all Jukun are averse to trafficking in their gods. Moreover the remedies employed for curing anyone who infracts the taboos of an *aki* character are more definitely religious, for they consist of libations poured to the offended god by the owner of the taboo, who, after a prayer on the man's behalf, drinks some beer himself and offers some to the repentant man.

I have gone into this matter of charms and taboos at some length because they not merely illustrate the religious and psychological beliefs of the people but also throw considerable light on the legal machinery and on the treatment of disease.

As regards the latter a few further observations may be permitted. We have seen that diseases may be due to the action of human agents such as witches and sorcerers who injure a man's soul either by capturing it directly or by working on parts of the owner's body or articles which were in association with his body (or even footprints), or by projecting into his soul some foreign body. As in such cases suggestion plays a large part in the causation of the disease, so suggestion is the central feature of the treatment (though other accessory remedies may be employed). But diseases may also be due to non-human agents which may be divided into five classes, viz. : (a) deities of special diseases such as smallpox ; (b) unclassified evil spirits ; (c) deities neither good nor bad who are not the object of regular worship ; (d) deities who are regularly worshipped or propitiated in the various cults ; and (e) the ancestors.

As regards (a) reference has already been made to these deities, and it will be recalled that they may work in league with human agents, viz. sorcerers. As regards (b) among the unclassified evil spirits are to be reckoned the *bampuru*¹ who work in the same way as witches. The patient can be cured by repaying to the *bampuru* what they had paid to some young person for selling to them the patient's soul. Belonging to the same class of evil spirits are those which produce fevers and nervous

¹ See p. 299.

afflictions. In such cases the treatment is by exorcism. A favourite remedy is to pound and boil in water the leaves of the *Evolvulus alsinoides* herb together with the root of the hairy thorn apple-tree and of the *Cyperus articulatus*. The patient inhales the fumes, which he also allows to penetrate his eyes and nostrils. This drives out the evil spirit.

As regards (c), the services of these deities who are not the regular object of religious rites is enlisted through the institution of the taboo. The infraction of the taboo causes disease to the infractor, and the disease, which from some points of view might be regarded as produced by magic, is not treated by magical remedies, but by the purely religious means of pacifying the offended deity in whose name and under whose sanction the taboo had been imposed. In some cases the services of deities who are the regular object of religious rites are enlisted under the system of an automatic taboo, but normally the deities (and ancestors) who are the object of regular worship inflict disease, not on account of the infraction of a taboo imposed for a special purpose, such as protecting a farm from thieves, but on account of general neglect of themselves or of the infraction of taboos connected with their own cults (such as the menstruation taboo).

This brings us to the fourth and fifth categories of disease-producing agents, viz., the deities who are the regular object of religious rites, and the ancestors. It is true to say that the majority of diseases are believed to be due to a man's own household gods and ancestors. Some of his gods, in fact, specialize in (producing) certain diseases. Thus ophthalmia is usually ascribed to Abi or Aya,¹ the spiritual mother, who, according to our ideas, should protect her children from all evil. Rheumatism and arthritis are ascribed to Agbadu,² and abdominal troubles to Akwa.³ Chest troubles are the work of Aku Maga,⁴ who is believed to strike a man on the chest with his stick. A disgruntled ancestor may cause any disease; and it may be noted also that an ancestor may add to the efficacy of any therapeutic remedy; for he is able to add to the natural potency of any drug the supernatural potency of his own immanent personality. In all cases of diseases caused by this class of deities and by the ancestors the prime method of treatment consists in the propitiation of the particular

¹ See p. 206.

² See p. 287.

³ See p. 227.

⁴ See p. 273.

deity offended, his identity being ascertained by means of the divining apparatus. But medical remedies are also employed in conjunction with the religious, which serve the purpose played by suggestion in modern medicine. In most cases, however, a Jukun's pharmacopoeia is based on animistic and magical concepts.

The following are some of his remedies. He treats dysentery with a solution of the bark of the *kwarigya* tree; or with the boiled leaves of the *vitex cienkowski* tree, taken either in the form of pellets or in solution mixed with flour; or with a solution of the boiled roots of the physic-nut plant mixed with flour. He uses ointments (made usually from the fat of young chickens and pythons) for pneumonia, pleurisy, lumbago and other complaints believed to require massage. He uses a counter-irritant for headaches, consisting of an ointment made from a species of onion known as "*adong shinga*". For bronchitis and coughs a common remedy is the bitter juice of boiled hibiscus leaves, to which pepper is added. Severe colds, which are regarded as due to the invasion of an evil spirit, are treated by a cold solution of the boiled leaves of limes which is poured over the head; or the patient may inhale the fumes of the solution when hot. He also smears his body with palm-oil lard, some of which he inserts into his nostrils.

To cure ophthalmia a lotion made from the pounded leaves of the custard-apple tree is poured into the eye from a calabash cup. Another lotion consists of human milk in which a copper ring has been allowed to soak. It is applied with a feather. A third is made from a piece of the tuber known as *ado*; this is fried and placed with water in a dish; a copper ring is then rubbed against the side of the dish until a few grains of the copper have been rubbed off into the solution.

For snake bite the wound is lanced by anyone who happens to be present. The wound may be sucked or the poison may be extracted by cupping. The poison may be counteracted by a mixture made from the pounded heads of vipers and cobras, and the patient may also drink some of this mixture. It may be noted that snake-bite is commonly regarded as a direct punishment inflicted by some offended deity or ancestor; or the snake may be a witch in disguise or the agent of a witch.

Blindness similarly may be due (a) to "natural" causes, (b) to the eating of taboo animals, or (c) to medicine obtained from

a *pa-shibu*, which is secreted in the roof of an adversary's house or buried in the path which he is accustomed to tread. When black magic is employed in this way the person employing it ensures that it will reach the proper quarter by using the formula: "I deposit this medicine for no one save my enemy so-and-so".

For broken limbs the doctor first sets the bones, and then massages the limb gently with an ointment of python or chicken fat or the juice of a tuber (*gadali*). He then applies a splint, made of stout reeds tied together with fibre. Every second day the splint is removed in order to repeat the massage. For tooth-ache, a decoction is made of the leaves of the *ximenia americana* tree, and this is held in the mouth and spat out. There is no method of extracting any but loose teeth. A string tied round the head is believed to relieve a headache. Abscesses are opened with a heated bodkin.

Leucoderma, which is believed to be caused by a sorcerer, is distinguished from leprosy, and is treated in the same way as syphilis (the treatment for which will be described shortly). Those suffering from small-pox are, as already stated, segregated. They are not allowed to eat soups prepared from benniseed or the bitter tomato, as the seeds of these are thought to resemble the pustules of small-pox. They are given a large boiled pungent bean to eat; partly because the flavour of this bean is believed to drive out the spirit of small-pox and partly because it will cause a few pustules only to appear, large like the bean, and not small and numerous like benniseed. It is of interest to note that the Jukun practise inoculation against small-pox, lymph being taken on a wisp of straw from the pustules of a person who has had the disease for eight or nine days, and being applied to a slit made with a razor in the left forearm of the person who is being inoculated. A species of onion is believed to facilitate childbirth; and many Jukun think that by swallowing a certain decoction of leaves they can insure themselves against infection when having sexual relations with a woman known to be suffering from gonorrhoea or syphilis.

It may be of interest at this stage to give a detailed account of the procedure followed in treating a case of syphilis or leucoderma. When the patient first seeks the doctor's assistance, the latter, after a preliminary examination, says that he must first consult a diviner in order to ascertain whether the treatment is likely



A LEAF BANDAGE

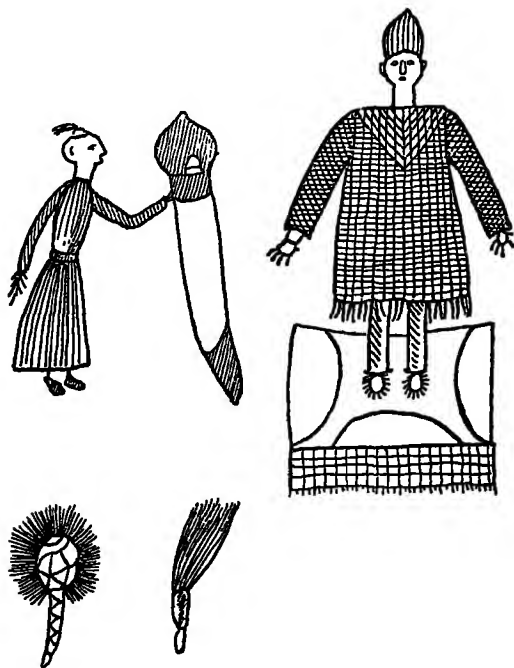
to be successful or not. This provides him with a loophole for avoiding a difficult case. The diviner may, in giving the sanction of the occult powers, state that the patient had at one time offended one of his gods or ancestors and that he must first make an atonement. In such a case the patient offers sacrifice at the shrine indicated. He confesses his sin and ends up with the following prayer addressed to his forefathers: "And you, my forefathers, if you are in Kindo with a live remembrance of me, then light a fire that will make the medicine, which I am about to take, a potent medicine."

After concluding a financial agreement with the father (or uncle) of the patient the doctor directs the patient to set about obtaining the following ingredients: (a) slag from a smithy, (b) the bark of a red hibiscus, (c) some wood resin, (d) a rusted hoe (presumably for the iron oxide), (e) four pots of water, firewood, and a pot for the boiling of the ingredients. He, or his father, has also to provide one chicken and one white cloth.

On the night before the preparation of the medicine is begun, the patient, his father, and the doctor must avoid sexual relations. Early in the morning of the appointed day the doctor goes to the patient's compound, taking with him seven pieces of the trunk of an old cassava tree (the sap of an old tree being considered more potent than that of a young tree). He strips the bark off each stick and adds also seven pieces of the root of a *terminalia* tree. He then asks: "Where is the thing which is thrown on the ground for the medicine's sake?" This demand for an initial payment is met by a gift of the white cloth. He then says: "Now I must inform you that there are certain foods which are taboo, namely fresh fish, raw meat, fish with scales, bitter tomato, beer, ochra, uncooked salt, pepper, and all sweet foods." The conception appears to be that the eating of uncooked foods will cause the sores to remain raw (like raw meat); benniseed, ochra and tomato are forbidden, because the disease will spread higgledy-piggledy like the seeds or pips of these crops; fish with scales are forbidden lest the sores should remain hard like the backs of scaly fish; beer is forbidden lest the patient should boil like beer during the process of brewing; pepper because it is a heat-producing agent, and so on. He must confine himself to a diet of ground-nut soup, dried fish without scales, guinea-corn or maize porridge, and red sorrel sauce.

The doctor then deposits the hoe in the pot, and adds first some powdered slag, then the roots of the *terminalia* tree, then the stalks of cassava, then some more slag, and finally the hibiscus bark. Water is poured over these and the pot is covered with a lid. He smears the rim of the pot with the red resin (with the idea that the centre of the sores of the patient may become red like a sore which has come to a head).

Taking the chicken in his right hand, he addresses the person (now dead) who had first taught him the secret of the medicine,



The King of the Jukun, as depicted by a Jukun artist. The upper half of the picture shows an attendant handing to the king his British staff of office. In the lower half are the royal fans.

saying : " If I obtained knowledge of this medicine merely by hearsay or observation, then may it prove of no avail. But if it was disclosed to me in regular fashion, and by regular payment, then may it be charged with power as it was in the hands of you, Ato, who revealed it to me. If the sickness of this man is due to an enemy, then let this medicine prove superior. Do you, Akwa (the deity), blow upon the fire, that the medicine may become hot

and burn out the disease from the sick man's body." He cuts off the chicken's right leg and allows the blood to drip over and into the pot, and over the stand on which the pot rests. He plucks out some feathers also and sticks them at the various points where he had poured out the blood. This symbolizes the offering of the entire chicken to the deities and forefathers. He then proceeds to light the fire and directs the patient to keep blowing it. It is taboo to shift any of the firewood from one spot to another, as this, it is said, would cause the patient to have a relapse. The mixture is boiled all day, fresh supplies of water being added from time to time. The patient is instructed to rise early on the following morning and heat up the medicine. Later in the morning the doctor arrives and administers the first dose, he himself drinking a little as a guarantee that no poison has been introduced. The patient is directed to take the medicine himself four times daily for a period of seven days, and after each dose to eat a mouthful of dried fish or of maize to take away the taste. He must avoid washing his body; for this would wash away the medicine. He must live a life of seclusion, tended only by a woman who is not in a menstruous condition. The reason assigned for the necessity of seclusion is that if the patient were allowed to go about as usual, he would come into contact with persons who had had sexual relations the previous night. Such contact would vitiate the medicine. The patient may be visited by relatives and friends, but only if they had abstained from sexual intercourse during the previous twenty-four hours. The same rule prohibiting sexual intercourse applies to the doctor, the female attendant, and the patient himself.

The taboo against sexual intercourse has, among the Jukun, a wide application. Thus if one who had had contact with a woman the previous evening were to touch another's snake medicine the medicine would be ruined. If a hunter were to have sexual relations the night before he set out for the bush, his whole stock of poisons, together with his protective medicines, would be vitiated. So would the medicines of a farmer who was shifting them from his town to his farm residence. Those who take part in any religious rites, must maintain sexual purity immediately before and during the rites, even if they extend over a week.

The taboo on sexual intercourse is common all over the world,

and we need only recall the statement of Herodotus that among the Babylonians and Arabs every conjugal act was immediately followed not only by an ablution but by fumigation.¹ Among Semites generally the taboo applied to anyone engaged in any act of worship.² In ancient Egypt a magician had to keep himself free from sexual intercourse before reciting a spell, and the diviner also had "to be pure from a woman".³ In Egypt also the medium in spirit-gathering had to be a "boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman"⁴; and with this we may compare the Jukun rule that the attendants on chiefs and priests must be boys who have never known a woman.

To continue, however, our account of the treatment, it is also a rule that the patient and the medicine must not be brought into contact with anyone who has been drinking beer. I was unable to ascertain the reason of this taboo beyond the statement that the patient would boil as beer boils during the process of brewing.

On the eighth day the patient goes very early in the morning to a stream and washes himself. This is a ritual act, and he must not be seen by anyone. He continues drinking the medicine for a further period of three days and on the eleventh day he again washes. He is then inspected by the doctor, and if his skin shows that he is not clear of infection, he has to undergo a second course of treatment. But otherwise the doctor will go to the patient's father and report the success of the treatment, at the same time requesting that he be paid as soon as possible. He points out that so long as he remains unpaid he cannot remove the medicine, and that the patient will, therefore, have to continue to observe the taboos. If the latter were to break any of the taboos before the removal of the medicine the disease would return to his body. The father, accordingly, proceeds to obtain the following articles as speedily as possible: one bag of guinea-corn, two chickens, one hoe, one black and one white cloth, and one mat. When these have been handed over the doctor collects the remnants of his medicines together with the old hoe-head and buries them at a cross-roads. The conception appears to be that the spirit of disease, having been drawn out of the patient's body into the medicine,

¹ Herodotus, i, 98.

² R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 455 and 482.

³ *Ency. Relig. and Ethics*, vol. x, p. 482 (a).

⁴ *Book of the Dead*, chap. c, rubric.

is able, by being discharged at a cross-roads, to take its departure to some other town. A brew of beer has in the meantime been set, and with this the doctor proceeds to carry out the final rites in his sacred enclosure. After pouring out a libation of beer he says: "Formerly I asked you to give your fire that the medicine which I boiled for this young man should be made potent. Verily you made it potent, and he is healed. I have brought to you, therefore, beer and this chicken in gratitude." He then cuts the chicken's throat, pours the blood over the symbol of his cult, and concludes with a second libation. He hands a cupful of beer to all those present, including his own relatives, the patient, and the patient's relatives. A festival is held the same evening. Ever afterwards the man who has been restored to health treats his benefactor with the greatest respect, addressing him as "Master".

If the patient does not recover he makes no payments to the doctor. He may be given a further course of treatment with a second decoction of medicine in case the first course had been vitiated by a breach of some taboo. If this also is unsuccessful he gives up all further attempts, declaring that there is some occult influence at work which he cannot fathom.

The treatment-ritual just described may be taken as typical for all serious complaints. There must be a preliminary payment of a white cloth, and, if the patient is not able to provide that immediately, he is required to do so later. The boiling of the medicine may be begun without this gift, but the patient must, in this case, go through a ritual pretence of giving the cloth. He throws a wisp of grass on the ground, saying: "Here is the cloth for the boiling of the medicine."

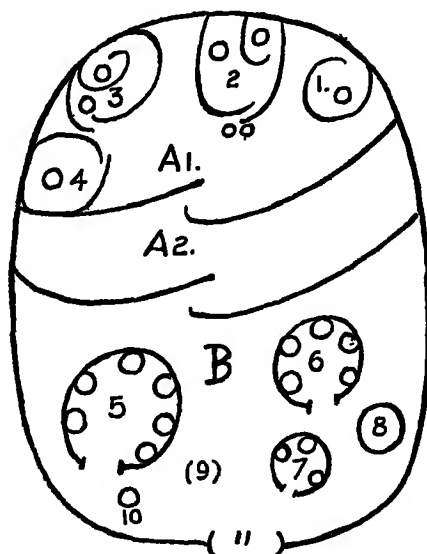
If a patient on recovery refuses, on any pretext, to pay the doctor, the latter will remove the medicine and throw it in the fire saying: "If this medicine was shown to me without payment then may the man who refuses to pay me be justified. But if I incurred trouble and expense in learning the secret of my craft, then let the illness of this ungrateful person return to his body." This curse, which is known as *pia pio*, is repeated morning and evening for a number of days. It is said that by burning the residue of the medicine the spirit of the disease is released and resumes cohabitation with the patient, for the disease-spirit had become associated with the main stock of medicine in the pot.

For minor complaints there is no necessity to call in a specialist. The patient can obtain free treatment either from a friend or from one who is serving his apprenticeship to a doctor of established reputation. Thus it is not necessary to seek the services of a doctor in order to have an abscess opened or to be treated for chicken-pox. But even when medical advice is given gratuitously, it is given *sub rosa*, as a sense of sacredness attaches to all medical remedies.

Killing by the insertion of poisons into food is said to be so rife among the Jukun that many people who attend beer bouts carry with them a kind of red clay by which they test, unobserved, the beer which is offered to them. If a little of this red clay is dropped into poisoned beer the beer sizzles. The juice of the *Euphorbia unispina* tree is a potent poison which is put into food, drinking water, kola-nuts, etc. One poisoned with this juice, foams at the mouth and speedily dies. Cow's milk is believed to be an antidote. The patient is made to drink the milk, and some is also spat on his face. Another poison is the root of the shea-nut tree mixed with the scourings of tobacco. It is said that a kindred which has a feud with another will poison the other's well with a powder composed of the dried intestines of an ostrich. The hairs from the upper lip of a leopard or lion are believed to be a potent poison. They are left to soak in water, and the solution is inserted into the enemy's drinking water or beer. It is believed that if the hairs are ground up and inserted into a pipe or tobacco, poisoning will result. It is said that in former times some of the chiefs of the Chamba tribe committed suicide by drinking a solution made from the lip hairs of leopards and lions.

The Ministration of Religion.—Every Jukun household is a self-contained religious unit, that is to say that it has its own sacred enclosure containing the shrines of the household gods and the quarters where the grown-up males eat their meals in privacy. The head of the household may be the minister of all the household cults, or he may delegate some or all of his duties to one of his juniors. In a large household some of the collateral members may have cults of their own, but in such cases there is a common enclosure for all the shrines, and one group of the household would attend the rites of another.

The following sketch illustrates the arrangement of a typical compound :—



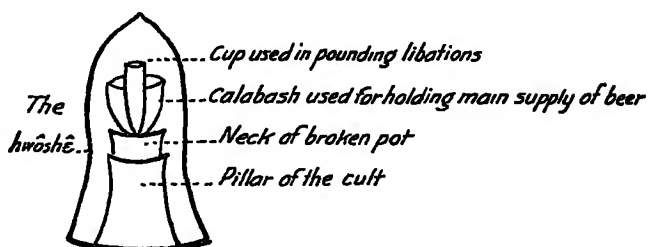
KEY

- A 1 = Section of sacred enclosure (*bieko* or *kunguni*) containing the shrines.
 A 2 = Section of sacred enclosure used by males for their meals.
 B = The general compound.
 1 = Shrine of Akwa.
 2 = " Ayo.
 3 = " Akuma and Agbadu.
 4 = " Kenjo.
 5 = Quarters of head of household, his wives, and children.
 6 = " " younger brother of head of household, his wives, and children.
 7 = " " cousin of head of household, his wives and children
 8 = Kitchen for common use.
 9 = Day hut for general use.
 10 = Hut used by women during their menses.
 11 = Porch of compound.

If the head of the compound is a priest of an important public cult, or is a chief, his day and night quarters, washing place and lavatory will also form part of the sacred enclosure.

The symbols of the cult are generally kept covered by a bell-shaped cap of plaited grass known as *hwôshê*, and the sacrificial dishes when not in use are set on the top of one of the pillars of

the cult, resting on the neck of a broken pot so as to insure them against attack by white ants, thus :—



The *hwôshê* is used to conceal any sacred object during transport, and all sacrificial foods are carried into the enclosure in a basket of plaited grass reinforced with a framework of twigs, thus :—



This basket is itself regarded as sacred. It must always be carried on the shoulders, and never on the head. As already noted, food intended for sacrificial use may not be diverted for any other purpose. It is a heinous offence for a man or woman, however hungry, to touch a drop of beer or morsel of food which is being prepared for religious rites.¹ It is common to ask a sick man if he had ever committed this offence. If he confesses that he had once been guilty of doing so, the minister of the cult concerned is immediately called in to intercede with the god on behalf of the patient, who is required to provide a goat as soon as he recovers. The minister ties a goat's hobble round his leg as evidence of his promise. If some young boy or girl were, in their ignorance, to devour any sacred beer or food, the minister of the cult concerned would have to add a chicken to the normal quota of offerings and would include a special prayer on the child's behalf. It is also an offence, which must be purged by rites, for any unauthorized person to see any of the sacred symbols.

¹ It is even taboo to use for profane purposes the fire which had been used in cooking sacrificial foods.



THE HWÔSHÊ
(Used for carrying sacrificial foods)



A SHRINE

The greatest care must be taken of all the paraphernalia of the cults ; and this is one reason why a Jukun who has charge of cults is not permitted to absent himself on long journeys. The destruction or loss of any of the sacred symbols would mean that the group concerned had been deprived of the central pivot of its psychic life. Cases came to my notice of the disruption of a kindred in consequence of the theft of the symbol which was the abode of their patron deity. The sacred enclosure is normally regarded as so secure against the invasion of strangers or unauthorized members of the household that the head of the household uses it as a place for storing his most precious private possessions.

It may be added also that, when a minister of a household cult offers sacrifice, he must always be accompanied by others ; he always offers a prayer for the health of the king, for the health of the king, who is head of all the cults, means the health of the whole country.

As regards the priests who are in charge of the public cults a good deal has already been indicated. They have to observe the same ritual system of eating and drinking at stated hours of the day as that followed by the king or chief himself. For the priest becomes identified with the god he serves, and is thus regarded as a divine being or an emanation of divinity. In some respects the priests might be regarded as deputies of the king, who is the high priest par excellence, and who is responsible (like the Egyptian Pharaoh) for the offerings made by the priests. On the other hand, most of the priests of important cults hold their offices, not by the king's (or chief's) appointment, but through the hereditary principle ; and some priests are permitted to assume an attitude towards the king implying a measure of equality with the king. Thus the priest of Gangkwe who was known as the Kimbi, though his appointment was nominally confirmed by the king of Wukari, was regarded as the counterpart of the king of Wukari in the Gangkwe area. The Katsô at Wukari may joke with the king and abuse him and his children in a playful fashion, on the ground that he is the king's (spiritual) "grandfather". The Katsô, Kwâse, Akinda Bô, Akêtê, Nani To and Kû Vi, all of whom exercise priestly functions, are not required to throw dust on their shoulders when they salute the king of Wukari. The houses of some priests and priestesses (e.g. those

of the Nani To and Angwu Tsi at Wukari) were an asylum for runaway criminals. In some cases, as at Kona and Gwana, the chief and the chief-priest may not meet face to face. The power of the chief-priest is so great that he can threaten to bring illness or even death on the chief if the chief fails to treat him with proper respect or to supply the necessary sacrificial gifts. The chief-priests also are, in many cases, subject to some of the taboos which are imposed on the chief. Thus at Kona neither the chief nor the chief-priest may go and visit the standing corn, and at Dampar there is the same rule as regards the priest known as the Sendzo.

It is possible that all these regulations are to be ascribed to a divorce in functions which were formerly centred in a single priest-king, or alternatively that in the past the families which now hold the chief-priesthood had a right to the kingship, when their turn came.

No priest may smoke tobacco or drink from any calabash save his own. He may not wear a white cloth in the wet season, for if he did the rains would fail. He must always sit on a mat, for if he sat directly on the ground his dynamism would blast the crops. He may not (at Kona) have sexual intercourse on a raised bedstead (possibly because such bedsteads are a new-fangled fashion). He may not have sexual intercourse on the ground as this would cause offence to Ama.¹ He is sometimes forbidden to eat certain foods such as soups made from the *Ceratotheca sesamoides* plant. He may not carry anything on his head, for the deities centre round his head. Many important priests may not shave their hair, as the spirits are believed to be immanent in the locks.² If they shaved, the whole world would be ruined. Among the Kyâtô, who observe this rule, if the locks become aggressively long they may be singed during the priest's sleep by some old man, using a bundle of lighted grass. The Kimbi of Gangkwe might shave his locks, but only after he had first obtained the permission of the gods by a special sacrifice, and only provided a special razor was used for the purpose. At Wukari, the Katsô does not shave until the day on which the king's death is announced. The Kwâse and Akinda Bô do not shave until each Puje festival comes round. Among the Kyâtô, neighbours of the Jukun, some priests are not permitted to wash, for if they

¹ The same rule is found among the Ibo and Ijo (see Talbot, *Some Nigerian Fertility Culls*, p. 32).

² Compare Frazer, *Golden Bough*, abridged edition, p. 368.

did so they would wash away the crops. When their bodies become overloaded with dirt they may, however, clean themselves by standing in a shower of rain. In most of the Jukun communities matutinal ablutions are not only practised by priests and chiefs, but are regarded as a ritual act. No priest, and indeed no one else, may enter a shrine wearing a gown. He must wear a cloth rolled at the waist leaving the upper part of the body bare. It is, of course, a standing rule that no priest may partake of the new crops until first-fruits rites have been performed. But in most localities this taboo only applies to bulrush millet, maize, beans and the ground-nuts known as "gujia".

The daily ritual of important priests has been fully described in Chapter III, and it only remains to add that those who are entrusted with the cooking of a priest's food must avoid tasting any of it themselves. So far is this taboo carried that the cook, in adding a savouring such as salt, would be unable to test whether he (or she) had added a sufficient quantity. It has been said, also, that during the meals of the priest there must be silence, as the priest is at those times regarded as being in communion with the gods and ancestors. It is, for example, taboo, for anyone in the compound during the priest's evening meal to remark "Look at that rat over there", for a rat may be in reality an ancestral ghost on his way to join the priest in the evening repast. It is also taboo to call attention to the stars or the rising of the new moon.

The lot of a priest or priest-chief is a mixed one. On the one hand he enjoys tremendous prestige and is the recipient at harvest-time of gifts of corn from the whole community, gifts which may be regarded as tithes on the land paid to the gods and ancestors as landlords. He holds the people in the hollow of his hand, to such an extent that it is dangerous even to cause him annoyance.

On the other hand, he is paid for a purpose. He has to act as the communal magician, and he is judged by results. It is a *quid pro quo* arrangement, and if things go wrong his position, like that of the chief, is a source of danger to himself. He lives a life of constant anxiety, and, hedged in by innumerable taboos, he is the slave of his position.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in these days it is becoming more and more difficult to find candidates for the position of priest. For the last thirteen years, the office of Kimbi has been

in abeyance, and at Dampar and Wukari many cults which were in existence at the beginning of this century have now sunk into oblivion.

On the other hand, the influence of Muhammadanism, and to a lesser extent of Christianity, is increasing. The last two kings of Wukari attended Christian services on numerous occasions, and in times of drought or during an epidemic, they were not above seeking the assistance of Muslim *mallams*, and calling on the people to provide gifts as a *sadaka*. The chief himself would provide a goat, which was sacrificed by the *mallam* beside the sacred crocodile pool with the necessary prayers.

From many points of view, it may be hoped that the Jukun may progress along these lines, for there is no question that he has become a religious introvert, and that his excessive attention to his gods not merely restricts his economic activities, but involves him in constant expenditure. A young man just married is soon in debt; every slight indisposition of his wife as an expectant mother, or of one of his children, costs him a goat, a chicken, and a large amount of corn which he can ill afford to spare. The chiefs, moreover, ruin themselves by unceasing gifts to the countless cults. As often happens among a conquered people, efforts are made to restore the former prestige by a strict adherence to religious legalism.

Before concluding this section a few words may be said about the female officials known as Angwu Tsi and Angwu Kaku, both of whom, to some extent, exercised priestly functions. At the present time, the Angwu Tsi may be any old woman of royal lineage, but in the past it was customary to appoint as Angwu Tsi one of the widows of a former king. Her position is in some respects like that of a queen. She has her own court, and observes the same food ritual as the king himself, being attended by boy acolytes. Her food is cooked by a virgin girl. She can demand an audience of the king at any time, and she can plead with the king on behalf of anyone who has incurred his displeasure. Her house is an asylum for those who have committed minor offences.¹ She exercises a general supervision over the king's wives, and may fine them (or any of her own followers) for misconduct. She cannot be deposed. On her death she is given special burial rites, and her hair is buried separately at Puje.

¹ For a Yoruba parallel compare Johnson's *History of the Yoruba*, p. 57.

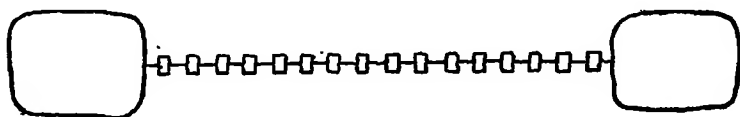
She must on appointment have passed the age of menstruation, and under no circumstances may she have sexual relations. She is a priestess in that she has an Atsî shrine of her own, before which she offers daily matutinal libations, addressing the ghosts of her predecessors with some such prayer as : " The sun has risen, and I come to perform the rites which you performed in days gone by. If indeed I am your duly appointed successor, then grant to me health and protection. May the king also have health. May we have a bounteous harvest ; for the corn that we reap we give also (as libations) to you." She performs rites to summon the Harmattan wind, the ripener of crops. No one, in former times at any rate, could sow until she had first ceremonially planted seeds of the various crops. In times of drought the king makes a special appeal to the Angwu Tsi to perform special rites on behalf of the people. It is said by some that the reason why a widow of the late king was chosen, if possible, was that she might secure her husband's spiritual assistance. When, therefore, she is installed in her office all the people fall down before her shouting : " Hail to thee, hail to thee, now we shall have an abundant harvest by thy graciousness, now our corn will be magnificent ! " Like all priests she may not engage in any form of manual work, and she may not eat of any crops until the first-fruit rites have been performed. The king can never afford to treat lightly the wishes and advice of the Angwu Tsi, for on the occurrence of any crisis the king and his people may be dependent on the cult of which the Angwu Tsi is priestess.

The Angwu Kaku, or king's official sister, is also to some extent a priestess. She has her own cult-enclosure in which daily libations are poured, and on special occasions she may be called on by the king to perform special rites. She must be of royal lineage, and at the time of her appointment must have passed the menopause. She is the only female allowed to enter the king's sacred enclosure, and one of her duties is to see that fresh sand is regularly supplied for the king's sleeping apartments.

Divination.—As divination has been shown to play a prominent part in the religious system of the Jukun, a few remarks may be made about the various methods employed. We have seen that dreams are often regarded as prophetic, and that divination by possession is practised in connection with such cults as those of Yaku and Ayo. Divination by ordeal is used

to determine the innocence or guilt of persons charged with witchcraft, the person charged being required to drink a concoction of sasswood, which he vomits if he is innocent but retains if he is guilty.¹

But the everyday method of divination is by the mechanical device known as *noko* which consists of two strings to each of which are attached four pieces of calabash.² The string connecting one piece of calabash with another passes through a series of sixteen pieces of bone taken from the backbone of the fish known to the Hausa as *dan sarki*, thus :—

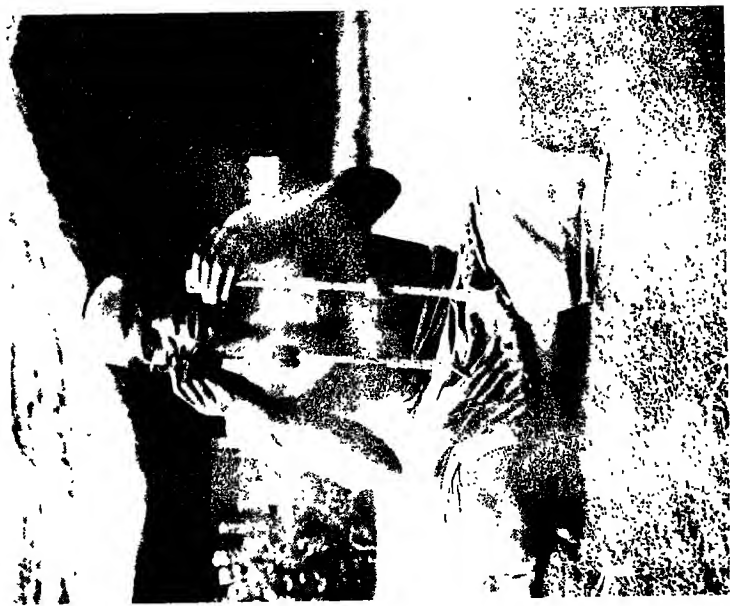


The pieces of calabash must have belonged to a calabash, which had broken while containing water or light porridge, as both these are, for some reason, associated with truth-speaking. A divining apparatus may not be made from a calabash which had broken while containing beer, as its declarations would be incoherent like the babbling of a drunken man.

The two strings are held, one in the right hand and one in the left, and then cast on the ground in front of the diviner. The interpretation depends on the disposition of the various pieces of calabashes, according as they fall face upwards or downwards, each combination suggesting a definitely recognized topic. Thus if the right string falls so as to leave the top piece of calabash face upwards and the other three face downwards, the topic suggested is a woman; if the bottom piece of calabash falls face upwards and the other three face downwards, the interpretation is that the matter is one which brooks no delay. Having determined the meaning to be attached to the first string the diviner then turns to the second, and from the disposition of the pieces of calabash selects one of a number of recognized interpretations which will give a meaning to the topic suggested by the first string. Thus if the first string had suggested "a woman" as a topic, and the second string had fallen so that the second

¹ Ordeal by sasswood is, of course, illegal at the present time.

² Among the Jibu each string consists of eight pieces of calabash or tortoise-shell.



A DIVINER

piece of calabash lay face downwards, while the other three lay face upwards, the accepted interpretation would be that the woman was leaning her head on her hand and was unhappy. The diviner then takes both strings and throws them a second time behind his back. If the right string falls with the third piece of calabash face upwards, and the other three face downwards, the interpretation (following up the original topic of "a woman") would be that the husband or the man concerned was well; while if the second string falls in similar fashion the recognized interpretation would be that the occurrence, whatever it was, had taken place in the evening. And so on. Quick answers can be obtained from the apparatus by putting a question. According to the combination on one string in relation to the combination on the other, the answer is in the affirmative or negative, or indecisive. If indecisive a second throw is called for.

This system of divining is apparently the same as that practised by the Yoruba every day: not the elaborate *Ifa* of the Yoruba, but the subsidiary system known as *Opele*, the apparatus for which consists of eight flat pieces of wood or calabash, strung together in two rows of four on each side. As among the Yoruba, so among the Jukun, the pieces of calabash may be replaced by pieces of metal, and the string by an iron chain. Nuts found in the faeces of an elephant are commonly used in lieu of the pieces of calabash.

It is noteworthy that the number sixteen is prominent both in the Jukun and the Yoruba systems. Among the Jukun the pieces of calabash are connected by sixteen pieces of fish-bone, and among the Yoruba the *Ifa* apparatus consists of sixteen palm-nuts.

Anyone may receive some elementary instruction from a Jukun diviner in return for a little farm labour, but to become an expert diviner requires a long training, as there are not merely a large number of combinations, but also a large number of possible interpretations of each combination. One who enjoys the reputation of being an expert is in the happy position of being able to secure his own interests under the sanction of divine authority. On the other hand, a limit is set to the power of the divining apparatus by the belief that deities and ancestral spirits may use the apparatus in order to give lying messages for their own purposes. A case came to my notice of a man who had used a divining apparatus every day for many

years consigning it to the flames because it had seldom spoken the truth. It is not, however, considered immoral on the part of ancestors to declare, through the divining apparatus, what is untrue. An ancestor may intimate that a woman's barrenness is due to neglect of himself, and libations are offered. If the woman continues to remain barren it is recognized that the ancestor was lying, but he is not blamed. He was thirsty and took the only means he could of assuaging his thirst.

There are other less complicated modes of divination among the Jukun. One of the most common means of obtaining an answer to a specific question is by circling the tusk of a warthog. If it circles on aimlessly the answer is in the negative ; if it stops suddenly the answer is in the affirmative. It is a kind of planchette, the diviner moving the tusk in the manner he himself expects, or perhaps even contrary to his conscious expectation. It is a method commonly employed in the selection of chiefs, the diviner putting the question : " If so-and-so is selected will the people have abundance of rain and grain ; will they be safe from the attacks of lions and leopards, and will there be general prosperity ? " Among the Gwana Jukun a chief is chosen by tapping an antelope's horn. A name is suggested, and if the tapping on the horn corresponds to the sound of the name suggested, that person is selected. But if the decision is contrary to the opinion of the majority of those with whom the selection of a chief is vested, the declaration of the diviner may be repudiated, and resort had to some other diviner who will give a decision which meets with general approval.

Another method of divination known as *ambo* is by rubbing a certain leaf and decoction between the hands. If the hands suddenly spring back to back the answer is in the affirmative. Both the warthog tusk and *ambo* methods are used for tracking lost or stolen property. The diviner is dragged by his apparatus towards the spot where the property is concealed. On reaching the spot the tusk stops circling or the hands of the diviner spring back to back.

Another system of divining, which the Jukun seem to have adopted from their Chamba neighbours, is by watching the action of a land crab. A circle of dried mud is built round the hole which the crab has been observed to tenant. A calabash is set at the entrance of the hole. According as the crab overturns the

calabash or leaves it alone, an answer in the affirmative or negative is recorded. If he places red earth on the back of the calabash it is a sign of approaching death. Disputes may be settled by reference to the land crab. A segment of the pulp of a shea-nut, in which two straws are inserted, is placed at the hole of the crab. The pulp is soaked in oil and water to induce the crab to come out and drink. The diviner then addresses the crab and asks him to show which of the two parties, each represented by a straw, is speaking the truth. Whosoever's straw is taken by the crab into its hole is declared to be the truth-speaker.

Initiates into the art of divination have their eyes treated with a lotion of certain leaves in order to confer on them the necessary second sight. Diviners also eat red peppers immediately before practising their craft, as red peppers are believed to clarify the spiritual vision. Among the Jibu a diviner, before throwing his divining strings, places some red earth in the palm of his hand, spits on it, and rubs in it the tibia of an antelope, saying : "Reveal to me the things we desire to know, for there is no falsehood in you." Before each throw he taps the strings with the tibia.

The Menstruation Taboo.—In concluding our study of Jukun religion a few remarks may be made about the taboo on menstruation, a taboo which is a central pivot of the whole magico-religious system. This taboo is found all over the world, and the evidence has been recently summarized by Mr. Briffault.¹ Thus in Uganda if a man's weapons are touched by a menstruous woman he would be killed the next time he used them.² In New Guinea menstruous women are not allowed to cook food,³ and both in Australia and Polynesia they are required to withdraw into the bush. Among many tribes of North America menstruous women are not allowed to keep the same path as the men when travelling ; and it is a breach of decency for a woman so circumstanced to touch any utensils of manly occupation.⁴ In Persia, and among the Hindu and aboriginal tribes of India, there were and are strict taboos on menstruous women. Among the Bushmen and Hottentots and numerous other African tribes menstruous women are segregated. Even in France to-day menstruous women are forbidden to approach the vats and cellars in the wine

¹ *The Mothers*, vol. ii, pp. 365-90.

² *J.R.A.I.*, xxxi, p. 120.

³ *Anthropos*, v, p. 410. ⁴ A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, etc.*, p. 123.

districts or to approach sugar refineries while the sugar is boiling.¹ Among the Tuareg a menstruous woman may not milk the cattle ; she may not drink the first milk after the cow has calved ; if she did the animal's udder would swell up.² Among the Turkana of Kenya a special exit is made in the outer fence of all villages, behind each hut, for the use of women during their periods.³ Among the Edo of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria menstruous women are segregated.⁴ There was a similar rule among the Arabs.⁵

In all Jukun communities a menstruous woman is taboo, and at the commencement of her period she must (in most groups) ⁶ retire to a special hut until the period is finished. If she wishes to leave the compound temporarily she must follow a special path, for if she comes into contact with a man who has charge of a cult she will expose both herself and him to the anger of the gods. It is possibly from fear of inadvertent contact with menstruous women that most Jukun males eat their food in a special enclosure which women are forbidden to enter. For every meal is to a Jukun a sacred repast which he shares with the ancestors. Among the Jukun-speaking peoples of Donga men will eat in front of women, but not in front of menstruous women.

A Jukun woman is not allowed to cook food during her menses. She may not use any calabashes or pots other than her own, and on the conclusion of her period these have to be washed carefully and left to dry in the sun. A small boy of the household spits some black pepper juice over them, and also in and around the hut she had occupied. The woman herself goes through a rite of purification by sweeping up the charcoal of her fire and depositing it outside in the bush. If a menstruous woman touches any hut but her own, that hut becomes taboo. If she touches a man it is believed that her period will continue indefinitely unless the man purifies her by spitting black pepper over her body. If she accidentally drops blood in the compound she must immediately inform her husband, who will proceed as soon as possible to make a special offering to Akwa, a deity to whom menstrual blood is specially offensive.

¹ Briffault, *op. cit.*, p. 389. ² Information of Mr. F. Daniel.

³ *J.R.A.I.*, Jan - June, 1927. ⁴ Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, vol. iii, p. 714.

⁵ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 448.

⁶ Among the Jukun of Dampar, Kona, and Gwana there is no special hut for menstruous women, but women in this condition must remain secluded in their own huts.

The taboo against contact with menstruous women does not apply to the Jukun king, as his dynamism is such that he is above injury in this way. It may be noted in conclusion that women in childbed are also taboo, and that this taboo is of the same character as that on menstruation, being due to a sacred horror of the lochial discharge.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT

The Jukun system of government might be described as a theocracy, based on the conception that the king is the representative of the gods and the divinely appointed intermediary between them and the people. In obeying the king the people believe that they are obeying the gods. By the king the favours of the ancestors and superior deities are obtained, a sufficient rainfall is secured and a bountiful harvest. He is himself the food of the people, and his person is a magical charm which secures the invincibility of the country. He is, in fact, not merely the symbol, but the source of the national existence.

It follows, therefore, that the Jukun system of government is, in theory at least, of a highly despotic character. The king is supreme. His decisions have a divine authority, and there is no appeal. Before the advent of the British Government he had the power of life and death. As head of a spiritual principality, which included a number of nominally independent chiefdoms, he could order the deposition or execution of chiefs who disobeyed his behests. He could command his people to till the royal fields and repair the palace. He could appropriate the major portion of all fines inflicted ; for in his person all legislative, judicial, and executive functions were merged. He exacted tribute in kind, bundles of corn from all at harvest time, and gifts of beer on the occasion of any private religious celebration. He was the recipient of gifts from all persons seeking any of the numerous offices. He claimed a share of all major game-animals killed by hunters, and he exacted a penalty of seven slaves from any household a member of which had been responsible for causing a virgin girl to become enceinte. He could sell into slavery all the uterine relatives of a person who had been found guilty of witchcraft. He could take as a wife not merely any unmarried girl he pleased, but the wife of any of his subjects. If two suitors quarrelled over a girl the king might settle the matter by appropriating the girl himself. He could, in fact, appropriate any form of property.

Even in days when the Jukun had fallen under the domination of the Fulani the despotic character of the Jukun system of government was noticed by Dr. Barth.¹

It is obvious, however, that a system of government based on the conception of divine kingship is liable to become a tyranny of the worst description; and the Jukun, like other people who believe in the divinity of kings, safeguarded themselves in a variety of ways. The king was judged by results. If the harvests were good the people were prepared to put up with a moderate amount of tyranny. But excessive tyranny would evoke a demand for his death whether the harvests were good or bad. He was so surrounded by taboos that it was never difficult to discover some breach of taboo which could be interpreted as a repudiation on his part of the gods whom he was supposed to represent, and a consequent repudiation of him by those gods.² On this account the king is compelled to give due consideration to the advice of his counsellors, who form a patrician caste which is the embodiment of tribal tradition. This caste is headed by the Abô, who is the permanent prime minister of the state. A vigorous Abô may gather into his own hands all the threads of government, so that a weak king becomes his puppet. An unscrupulous Abô may compass the death of an innocent king. So strong is the position of an Abô that he may, if annoyed with the king, absent himself for a considerable period from the daily royal ritual. To do this is almost tantamount to a repudiation of the king's divinity. It places the king in a position of extreme embarrassment, for the Abô knows the secret of the royal ritual, and the authority of the king is largely dependent on the continuance of the mystery surrounding the ritual. It is of paramount importance that the secrecy of the daily rites should be maintained.

In the same way the absolute power of the king is curtailed by the necessity of living in accord with the priests of the more important cults, especially those priests who have charge of parts of the bodies of former kings. For, as already indicated, a priest who has charge of the skull or hands of a former king has only to threaten to expose these sacred relics in order to

¹ Barth, *Travels in Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 579.

² The late chief broke many taboos. He stated that he had frequently picked up things from the ground when no one was looking, and I heard that he had often struck people with his own hands.

compel the king to toe the line. The exposure of the relics would cause the king to sicken and die. To offend the priest is to offend the spirit or deified ancestor whom the priest represents, and if a drought ensues, the cause of the drought can readily be ascribed to the king's contempt of the priest of one or other of the innumerable cults. The king or chief is, in fact, at the mercy of his own ancestors, and it was stated at Dampar that a chief of Dampar can always be deterred from carrying out an injustice by asking him not to persist "for the sake of Agi Washu", Agi Washu being the original chief of Dampar who obtained the royal cult from Wukari. The mere mention of his name has the immediate effect of bringing an unjust ruler to his senses.

The very sacredness of the king's personality operated as a factor in the curtailment of his power. No one could approach him directly. Anyone who had a complaint or who was in a position to give first-hand information could only approach the king through a chain of officials, each of whom took their dues. Anyone breaking this regulation was liable to be sold into slavery. The king was, therefore, only informed of such matters as the various officials, headed by the Abô, considered were suitable (from their point of view) for him to hear. The late Aku of Wukari tried to break down this system by insisting that all and sundry should have direct access to himself. The result was a partial alienation of his senior officials, and an uncomfortable feeling on the part of the people that the king was divesting himself of his divinity. One of the first essentials of divine kingship is that the king should never lower the dignity of his office.

To return, however, to the Abô or prime minister, the meaning of the term Abô cannot be explained by the Jukun. It is used by the Ibibio and Ododop in the sense of king or chief, and among the Bantu-speaking Abaw it appears as "Mbo". Whatever is the origin of the term, the Abô Achuwô (i.e. the senior Abô) is, among the Jukun, the king's vis-à-vis. That is to say that he is the representative of the people in their relations with the king, who is the representative of the gods. Though he is debarred from attaining the kingship himself, he has a court of his own, which is only inferior to that of the king. He receives his food ceremonially, like the king, and after waiting on the king each morning he enters his own sacred enclosure and drinks beer in ritual fashion, the members of his court sitting respectfully outside. He has his

own Ajift,¹ and he has also a second-in-command, the Abô Zikê, or junior Abô, who also has his own court and also receives his food in ceremonial fashion. The Abô Achuwu is the king's principal adviser, and has access to the king at any time. He reports to the king daily everything of importance that occurs. He disposed (in former times) of all judicial cases which did not require the king's personal investigation. He might be called upon to act as leader in war. But normally he never left the capital, being the king's principal counsellor. He is the prime mover in all matters, and if there were a demand to kill the king it would be essential to obtain the concurrence and co-operation of the Abô.

It is his business to warn the king if the latter is negligent in his duties or acts in an arbitrary manner. When religious rites are due the priests approach the Abô, who obtains the royal consent, together with the sacrificial gifts which the king is required to provide. In his representative capacity he attends the rites and reports to the king that they have been duly carried out. He has a principal say in the election of the king ; and during the absence or on the death of the king he assumes control of the town and state. All orders from the king to the people are transmitted through the Abô.

It is a striking fact that the title Abô and, indeed, many other Wukari titles, are not used at Kona, Gwana, or Pindiga, and this is a further suggestion that the Jukun Empire was a loosely-knit confederacy.

At Kona the official corresponding to the Abô is the Wuru. He has his own flag, and is treated by the people with a respect little inferior to that of the chief. In hunting operations the followers of the chief take the right-hand sector of the bush, and the followers of the Wuru the left. While all others are required to send a portion of their kill to the chief, the Wuru is exempt. Nevertheless, the Wuru is required to be in constant daily attendance on the chief.

At Gwana the official corresponding to the Abô is known as the Kakeru. At Dampar he was, in former times, known as the Sendzo, but as the title has now fallen into abeyance, the functions of Sendzo are discharged by the Akô Du, a uterine relative of the

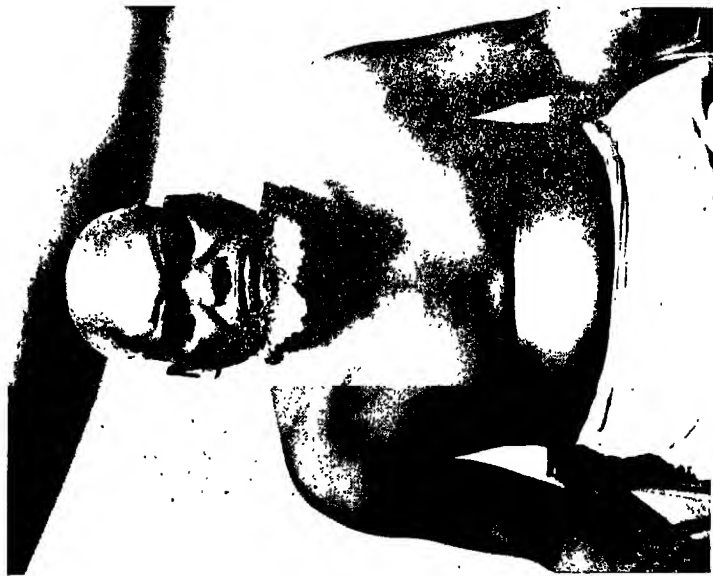
¹ Other officials of the Abô are Gashua, Akyapa, Gbendo Sheji, Kundu gbâ, Tehwa, and Chuogbwa.

chief. He is responsible to the chief for the good behaviour of the people, and therefore exercises judicial functions and settles disputes between kindreds or between members of the same kindred who refuse to accept the decision of the head of the kindred. Important cases would always, however, be referred to the chief, who would decide the matter in council. At Abinsi the title of Abô is found, but his functions are inferior to those of the Kinda.

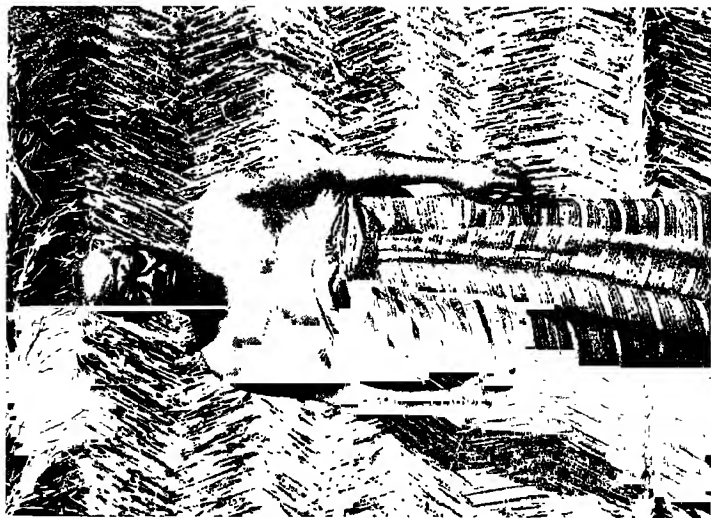
It may be noted that at Gwana there is a senior official, second in importance to the Kakeru, who is known as the Sikeru. This title is, I think, the equivalent of the Wukari Zikê (i.e. Abô Zikê), the Jukun of Gwana making frequent use of the suffix *-ru*. The Sikeru, unlike the Kakeru, is a member of the royal family, and is responsible to the chief for the good conduct of all brothers and cousins of the chief, together with their descendants. He can punish them at will for minor offences. Serious cases of misconduct would be reported to the chief. He corresponds to the official known in the Hausa States as the Chiroma. He is a principal adviser to the chief, and has also a principal say in the election of a new chief. He is not himself eligible for election to the chieftainship, his mother having been a free Jukun woman. It would seem to have been the Gwana rule that no member of the royal family might become a chief unless his mother had been a slave or of slave parentage. The reason assigned for this practice is that the son of a slave mother is free from family jealousies and more likely, therefore, to be an impartial chief. The custom may, however, have originated in an attempt to prevent succession in the female line. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that among some African peoples (e.g. the Baganda) princesses were not allowed to bear children, and that this rule was possibly introduced in order to ensure that the royal succession should follow the patrilineal principle. Incidentally it may be added that the Jukun system of government is almost an exact replica of that of the Baganda, as described by Mr. Roscoe, and to this further reference will be made later.

Next to the Abô Achuwo and his assistant the Abô Zikê (who is an official of the highest rank ¹) the most senior official is the

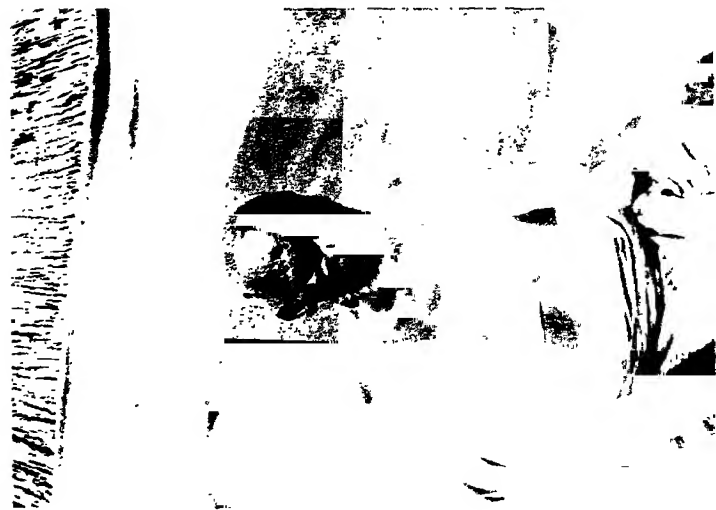
¹ The Abô Zikê's court consists of the Awe Kpasi Gwabi and seven assistants. He has also his own Ajifi and a number of other personal attendants, viz. Ada Ati, Ashô zikê, Gashua, Kundugbô, Matsa. At Kona the corresponding official is the Senega.



THE ABÔ ACHUWÔ



AN AJIFÎ



THE LATE KINDA ACHIUWU



A MINOR OFFICIAL (AKÔ) TAMI

Kinda Achuwo, or senior Kinda, who is assisted by the Kinda Zikê or junior Kinda. This official is in the close counsels of the king, attends the royal rites each day, takes a prominent share in judicial work, in keeping the walls of the city and the fencing of the royal enclosure in repair, and in former times could also be put in charge of military operations. He is a member of the royal family and is, as it were, the official "younger brother" of the king, the word *kinda* meaning "younger brother". His position corresponds roughly with that of the official who is known to the Hausa as "Madawaiki". He is the official primarily responsible for handing over the dead body of the king to the Ba-Nando for burial. Like the Abô, he has a court of his own, which includes the Kinda Zikê, Kinda Bi, Kinda Kuvyû Nju and Kinda Matswen. The Kinda Bi would, among the Hausa, be described as the "Ubandoma". He is known at Gwana as the Kafwabo. Another official of high standing is the Awei Achuwo. In some localities he is the nominal head of all the palace officials, and thus corresponds to the "Sarkin Fada" of the Hausa States. He has a court of his own. At Wukari his duties, so far as they are known, are to see that the royal enclosure and the shrine of Yaku are kept in proper repair. He is in the close counsels of the king.

As regards the royal household-officials, titles vary in the different Jukun groups. At Wukari the Chief Steward is the Akû Nako, who supervises the preparation and serving of the king's ceremonial meals. The cooks and acolytes, who are known as the Katô Jô, are under his authority. In some communities the Ajifi performs the duties of the Akû Nako. This official sees to the slaughtering of the cattle, which provide the king's evening meal. The slaughtering is said to be carried out secretly at night, guards being posted by the Ajifi to keep off intruders. The Ajifi also bestows (on the king's behalf) the robes conferred on all important officials, and he is on these occasions allowed to appropriate as his perquisite their discarded garments. He is assisted by five minor Ajifi, part of whose duties is to slap their thighs a dozen times or so when the king enters the sacred enclosure for his ceremonial meals. The Ajifi are responsible for collecting the corn required for the Puje festival. At Gwana the Chief Steward is known as the Kinau Ubi, and at Dampar as the Webwa. This latter title is used

at Wukari to denote the principal official in attendance on the Angwu Tsi.

The next group of household officials is known as the Katô. At Wukari there are two classes of Katô. The title is given to certain members of the royal family, and confers on them membership of the royal enclosure. Thus the present Abô, who was a half-brother of the late king, was formerly a Katô under Agbu Manu (though he lost his office for an alleged intrigue with one of the king's wives). The senior Katô has general charge of the royal enclosure, and he has under him a number of junior Katô, among whom are the Katô Biene, or "gentlemen of the bedchamber".¹ One of the Katô Biene waits on the king at sunrise, and acts as a valet. When the king proceeds to his ablutions, this Katô beats the tray-like gong known as the *gbweda*,² and when the king enters the biekô for his ceremonial meals all the Katô Biene, of whom there are half-a-dozen, shout out a prolonged *Agyo*!³

The title of Katô is also conferred on selected members of the peasant class who are the custodians of the king's dishes and other appurtenances. They are required to keep the royal enclosure in good repair, and when the king tours his dominions or goes to the Puje festival they transport his dishes and couch and the matting which secures privacy. They are known, therefore, as the Ba-Nujô, i.e. those who escort the *jô* or sacred things. If any of these Katô fails in his duties, e.g. breaks some utensil or omits to be present at the proper time, he is liable to physical chastisement or to a fine of one goat. The Katô are required to keep the royal enclosure clean, and to bring water personally from the well or river for the king's use. Certain of the Katô also take care of the king's body during the process of desiccation. In this they are assisted by the Iche, an official who has the daily duty of announcing the conclusion of the king's meals by giving vent to the prolonged cry which is known as the *abawowu*, or "barking of the dog".⁴

The royal grooms at Wukari are known as the Ba-tôvî, to whom reference has already been made in the account of the Puje festival.⁵ Their leader is the Ahwo, and among his subordinates are the Kû Njâ, who has charge of the bridles, and the

¹ The official responsible for repairs to the royal bedroom is known as the *Kuvô*.

² See pp. 148, 149.

³ See p. 160.

⁴ See p. 161.

⁵ See p. 149.

Kû Gyiga, who is the keeper of the halters. At Gwana the title of Ahwo is at the present time borne by the official who is responsible for the daily libations to the royal ancestors and for personal attendance on the chief during his ritual meals.

The Kundushishi is supervisor of the king's wives. If any wife incurs the royal displeasure she appeals to the Kundushishi, who escorts her to the Angwu Tsi, with whom she remains until the king's wrath has passed. A wife may remain exiled in this way for a year or longer, and she is not permitted to shave her head throughout that period. When a royal wife becomes enceinte she informs the Kundushishi who announces her condition to the king. In doing so he uses a special term, *da tswi*, as it would be derogatory to apply to the king the ordinary term denoting fatherhood. The king presents the enceinte wife with a cloth, and does not see her again until the child is weaned. The mother and child are then brought before the king, who again presents the mother with a cloth. By this gift the mother is permitted to rejoin the company of wives.

Among the more purely religious officials, apart from those who have already been mentioned, are the priests of Puje, of whom the chief is known as Kû Puje Achuwo. He has six assistant *Kû*,¹ and eight *Iche*. The late king served first as Katô and then as Kû Puje. It may be observed that all holders of offices which are in any way religious are bound to observe secrecy as to their duties. If they disclosed, even to their friends, details of the duties required of them, it is believed that the rains would not fall and the corn would not ripen. On this account it is difficult to obtain anything like adequate information as to the precise functions of the innumerable officials.

The leader in war was known as the Akû Kê, and the royal diviner as the Tsuma. The diviner is a personage in daily attendance on the king. If it were decided to kill the king the diviner would be bribed to give divine sanction to the scheme. The king's spokesman is known as the Nene, and his leather-worker as the Kududu. The Wanaku is the official head of all agriculturists, and summons farmers at certain times of the year to till the royal fields.

Other important officials are the Nani To (of the Ba-Nando

¹ The Kû are Kû Chuwo, Kû Ndugwa, Kû Nwoya, Kû Jape (i.e. Kû of the water), Kû Wo Tswi (Kû of the royal loads), etc.

kindred), and Kû Vi (of the Avi kindred), the duties of both of whom have already been indicated in the accounts of the royal burial and installation ceremonies. The Kû Vi has a court of his own, which includes the Kinda Kû Vi Achuwô, the Kinda Jô, Kun Chuwo, Kinda Daju, Kinda Cheku, Abojo, Kungba, and Kuntsa. The Nani To likewise has a court, and his house is regarded as outside the jurisdiction of the king. He is not required, like other officials, to take any part in the repairing of the city walls. He is, as it were, the king's official father.

At Wukari there is a personage called the Kuyu, the representative of the old royal family of Kororofa. This family is known as the Ba-Pi, and has supplied several kings of Wukari. The Ba-Pi are, in fact, the rival royal house. The Kuyu, therefore, under the present régime, takes no active part in the affairs of state, but his position is acknowledged in the rule that he must not come into direct contact with the reigning king. He may not meet the king face to face in the daylight (though he may greet the king after sunset). He is treated with the greatest respect, is saluted in the same way as the king (by touching the ground and then the shoulders), and wears similar robes to those worn by the king. He may not sit on the ground, but only on a mat, and he is served ceremonially with food cooked by a wife who has passed the age of menstruation. He is attended by a Kinda, Akû, and Katô. During the Puje festival he occupies a special stall. The present Kuyu, having no adequate means to support the dignity ascribed to his person, regards his rank as a nuisance. His services might possibly be utilized by the Administration.¹ It is noteworthy that he wears a tribal mark, viz. a line down the centre of the forehead, a mark which is usually associated with a Kanuri origin.

Reference has already been made to the important female officials known as Angwu Tsi, Angwu Kaku (or Akaku), and Wakuku. Of these the Angwu Tsi is regarded almost as a queen, the female counterpart of the king. She is commonly spoken of as "the wife of the king", but she does not live in the king's palace, nor does she have any marital relations with the king. She has her own palace, and her own court, the principal members of which are the Awebwa, Kuntami, Awe Jô, Kinda, and Kinda Abgugbu. She observes a daily ritual similar to that of the king,

¹ He has now (1929) been given an administrative office.

and she is addressed by the same honorific titles as are applied to the king, viz. "Our corn," "Our beans," etc. Like the king, she is entitled to use the *gbweda* to shield her eyes from the sun and from certain objects which are taboo to her. She is the widow of a former king, though not necessarily of the king's immediate predecessor. She is head of the female population, and her palace is an asylum for all who have incurred the king's displeasure. She exercises certain priestly functions, among which is the duty of formally planting the royal seed each year.¹ In former times also she had certain political privileges, being the intermediary or "door" for the towns of Arufu and Keana. On election she is initiated into her duties by a secret ceremony held in the king's enclosure, and she is presented with a cloth as a symbol of office. It is a condition of her office that she remains unmarried and abstains from sexual intercourse. A breach of this rule would bring disaster on the crops. She holds her office for life, so that a new king is not permitted to create a new Angwu Tsi.

The Angwu Kaku is the king's official sister. She is the senior princess, and the daughter of a former king. It is said that her name means "The daughter of him who excels the king", deceased kings being regarded as superior to the living king. She eats her food in private and is the owner of a cult which is transmitted from one Kaku to another. Daily libations are poured over the cult-emblems by her attendant (the Awe Kaku), the Kaku herself offering a petition for the welfare of the king, herself and the people. Special rites are performed at the king's command during times of drought. The Angwu Kaku is the only woman permitted to enter certain sections of the king's enclosure, and it is part of her duties to provide fresh sand for the king's sleeping apartments. She also supervises the spinning of thread for the king's use by the female members of the royal family.

The Wakuku is the king's principal wife, one of the late king's widows who becomes the chief wife of the new king by a rite performed at Puje on the evening of the king's coronation day. There she lifts the king down from his horse,² and takes him to a hut where she disrobes him and gives him a loin-cloth. He sleeps with her that night, but it is said that he never again has sexual relations with the Wakuku. The Wakuku's duties are to

¹ See p. 145.

² The word Wakuku means "The woman who lifts the king down".

supervise and control the royal wives. She was in former times put to death on the day of the king's burial.

It is said that formerly there was another female official known as the Kushejê. She was apparently regarded as the king's official mother, and, though inferior to the Angwu Tsi, was not required to throw dust on her shoulders when she met the king. With this we may compare the custom of the Bakuba, among whom the king, though an incarnation of deity, yielded precedence to his "mother" in conversation, it being her prerogative to address him first, a token of her superiority. The Kushejê had, in former times, her own court, which included officials known as Kuje, Kusho, Kuza, Kasi, and Jifida. Other extinct female titles were Ashu Wune and Wundu Kwî. Both of these ranks were held by senior daughters of the king or of a former king.

Turning now to the form of external administration, it has been suggested more than once that the Jukun Empire was a loosely knit confederacy composed of a number of semi-independent chiefdoms, the heads of which recognized the supremacy of the king of Kororofa and later of Wukari, as being the fountain and highest example of divine kingship. If a purely religious parallel were drawn the Jukun king might have been likened to the Pope of Rome and the heads of subordinate chiefdoms to the Cardinals and Bishops. Or if we confine ourselves to West Africa the Jukun king could be regarded as the head of a sultanate, like that established in Nigeria by the Muslim Sheikh Usuman dan Fodio at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a sultanate which is still the pivot of British Administration in Nigeria, and was originally founded on the basic conception of divine kingship, viz. that Usuman was a representative of God.

It is difficult, however, in these days to ascertain the precise political relationship of the affiliated chiefdoms to the senior state of Kororofa. It is clear that all the rulers of outlying groups such as Kona, Gwana, and Pindiga recognized the supremacy of the king of Kororofa by sending to him regular annual gifts, such as slaves, iron currency, horses, dogs, corn, fish, calabashes, potash, and fans. But whether there was an organized levy made locally for this purpose is uncertain. It is generally asserted by the Jukun that a developed system of compulsory payments only came into vogue after the Fulani conquest, and that the gifts sent to Kororofa or Wukari were little more than an expression

of respect, and that return presents of equal value were given by the king of Kororofa. However this may be, it is certain that Kororofa was not a tax-collecting sultanate to the same extent as Sokoto.

On the other hand, there is clear evidence that, although the heads of chiefdoms were chosen locally, their appointment received formal confirmation from the king of Kororofa, and in later times of Wukari. And so far was this so that there are cases on record of the nominated chief being first sent to Kororofa, or in later times to Wukari, for the approval of the Kuyu¹ or the Aku. It is said that the Kuyu signified his approval by conferring on the nominee a virgin girl in marriage, one of his sister's daughters or else the daughter of one of his slave officials. He also conferred gifts of a burnous, cap, gown, shawl, sandals, spear, arm-knife, and fan. More important still was his gift of seed-corn, which, coming from him, was believed to be endowed with magical properties. The king also advised the nominee to be scrupulously fair to all classes of his subjects and to adhere without fail to the daily ritual which would be revealed to him on his return by his senior officials. He sent one of his own acolytes to see that this ritual was instituted in the proper fashion, and he handed to the new chief a secret charm which would ensure the safety and prosperity of himself and his people, provided he observed all the royal taboos. It was in this way that uniformity of ritual was maintained throughout the Jukun confederacy.

Moreover, though it is clear that the king of Kororofa did not interfere normally in the affairs of a subordinate state, and was not directly represented at the court of the local chief, he could, and frequently did, order the deposition or execution of a chief who was misgoverning his chiefdom. In all recorded cases of such depositions or executions the reason assigned was that the offending chief had shown contempt for religion. The authority of the king of Kororofa was therefore based purely on his religious supremacy. But it may be assumed that he never exercised his authority without the concurrence of the people of the chiefdom. It was apparently within his discretion to summon any head of a chiefdom to his capital, for it is recorded at Kona that one of the chiefs of Kona was induced to leave Kona by a fictitious message that the king of Kororofa had summoned him. He set

¹ Kuyu and not Aku is said to have been the Kororofa word for king.

out for Kororofa, but soon discovered that he had been tricked, and when he returned to his capital he found entrance to the town barred against him. This incident would seem to show that the local inhabitants could depose a chief in some cases without reference to Kororofa, but it may be assumed that they immediately took steps to justify their action to the king of Kororofa.

As regards home administration it would appear to have been the custom for the king to relegate his brothers and cousins, senior sons, and the senior sons of his sisters to outlying villages. There they established courts and were treated with the greatest respect by the local inhabitants, who were compelled by custom to contribute towards the maintenance of these royal lords. These personages did not, however, interfere to any great extent in the local government ; it was not their policy to overshadow the local village head. From the point of view of the king or head of a chiefdom, the system was useful for keeping at a distance those whose presence at the capital might lead to intrigue against himself and possibly to his early demise. Thus it is said at Wukari that one of the new king's first actions was always to get rid of the most powerful claimant to the throne by appointing him as the Sebe of Akwana. The Tsôho exercised some authority over the Zompere tribe near Takum. The Tsikê, another member of the royal family, was placed in charge of the ferry across the Benue River at Sinkai, and was required to forward the ferry dues (in the form of cloth) to the king of Wukari. The Shamaki, an official of slave origin, was responsible for the supervision, on the king's behalf, of the galena workings at Arufu. Musî Buhu was stationed at Ando Musî to look after the king's interests there and at Giddan Yaku. The Kûse resided at Donga.

There was not, however, as far as can be gathered, any regular form of district administration by resident district heads. The government was centralized at the capital, each of the senior officials there being responsible for the control of one or more outlying villages, with which he kept in constant touch by means of messengers. Thus the Abô was the representative at the capital for the towns of Wunufo, Tsufa, Akyekura, and Sinkai ; the Abô Zikê for Abinsi ; the Kinda Achuwo for Riti, Fiai, Gangkwe, Tikasô, and Kunyishi ; the Kinda Bi for Dampar, the Katô Banga for Akwana ; the Angwu Tsi for Keana and Arufu :

the Akû Achuwo for the town of Chimakar (Ankwe) and the Tsókwa for Takum.

When complaints were brought from any of these towns they were dealt with in the first instance by the official representative at the capital, and if necessary referred to the king, who would settle the matter in consultation with the particular official concerned. Or the king might leave the settlement entirely to the official. During the nineteenth century at any rate, some form of tribute was imposed on each village. Thus the people of Dampar paid tribute in the form of dried fish and palm oil, those of Akwana in the form of salt, those of Arufu in salt and galena, those of Sinkai in cloth. Part of the tribute was appropriated by the official representative at the capital, and the rest was handed over to the king. There was a special official known as the Fotsô, who dealt with tribute affairs. The exactions were not, however, of a heavy character, and were readily paid to the king, as a semi-religious offering, in much the same way as first-fruits are offered to the gods. It was also the custom for all outlying villages to notify the king, through the official representative, of all public religious festivals which they intended to observe. In other words, it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the king as head of the state religion, and in return for this sanction the local community made a free-will offering of corn or beer to the king. At the capital itself the king was the recipient at harvest of bundles of corn from every householder, the number varying according to the status of the householder. These again were a free-will offering given as an offset against the daily expenditure incurred by the king on the people's behalf. For the observance of the daily ritual entailed a large expenditure of corn. It was also the custom at Wukari for every householder to dispatch to the palace a number of pots of beer when any major religious rites were celebrated by the household.

The Jukun system of government bears a striking resemblance to that of the Baganda on the other side of Africa. Among the Baganda the king was a divine personage, like the king of the Jukun. He had a sacred enclosure, at which there was a daily attendance of all senior officials; and though Mr. Roscoe does not give details of the royal ritual, it can be surmised, in the light of the Jukun evidence, that the Baganda king formerly observed the same ceremonial system of taking his meals as is

observed to-day by the king of Wukari. He ate his meals in seclusion, and it was said of him: "The lion eats alone." The remnants of his food were given to his favourite dogs, for no human being was permitted to eat any food left by a sovereign. The royal rug was sacred and taboo. The similarity between the Jukun and Baganda installation ceremonies has already been noted. There was a Baganda ceremony for prolonging the king's life, and the official who presided at this ceremony was never permitted to see the king again, just as the Kû Vi may not again see the king of Wukari. When the king of Baganda died his body was embalmed. It was unlawful to say that the king was dead, and so among the Baganda numerous kings were said to have disappeared, just as among the Jukun some kings were said to have entered the ground or entered a tree and disappeared for ever. Incidentally, one of the Baganda kings was called Juko, and died at Gombe.¹ As regards administration also, the Baganda system is almost identical with that of the Jukun. Thus the official corresponding to the Abô was known as the Katikiro. He was the prime minister, and had his own court. He tried all cases, and carried the decision to the king, who might either accept the verdict or transfer the case to his own court. Incidentally, the Katikiro was called "a king" as he was, like the Jukun Abô, exempt from tribute. This explains, perhaps, the use of the term Abô and the alternative term Moi among the Jukun. For the terms Abô and Moi mean "king" respectively among the Ododop to the south of the Jukun and the Bolewa to the north. The Baganda king's official mother also had her own court, and like the Angwu Tsi, was not permitted to marry. As among the Jukun each important official had to keep certain portions of the royal enclosure in a suitable state of repair. The royal enclosure was fenced in the same way as that of the king of Wukari.²

It is clear that throughout Africa most kingdoms were modelled on the same principle. The Jukun state is of the same pattern as that of Bornu or Songhai in ancient times, and does not differ much from that of Benin or Oyo at the present time. But the similarity with that of Baganda is particularly striking, and extends even to the common use of a large

¹ For these and other Baganda references, see Roscoe's *Baganda*, chaps. vii and viii.

² See the photograph in Roscoe's *Baganda*, p. 203.

number of official titles. To take a few examples we may note the following :—

<i>Baganda.</i>	<i>Jukun.</i>
1. Kikya suka (p. 256)	Kikyau (Kwona), Kikyon sani (Gwana).
2. Katono (p. 255)	Katanu (Kona and Gwana).
3. Kiyu kyeru (p. 209)	Kun kyeru (Gwana) Kuyu (Wukari).
4. Omu-Naku (p. 250)	Katô Naku, Akû Naku.
5. <i>Nakato</i>	Kato, Katau (Kona and Gwana).
6. (a) Magimbi (p. 255).	
(b) Walusimbi (p. 211)	Kimbi.
(c) Nsimbi (p. 255).	
(d) Kimbugwe (p. 235).	
7. (a) Sendo woza (p. 297)	Sendzo (Dampar).
(b) Sengobo (p. 248)	Senjwu "
(c) Senkole (p. 248)	Sende "
(d) Senkezi (p. 253)	Katon Sen (Wukari).
8. Kakinda (p. 254)	Kinda.
9. <i>Kawonawo</i> (p. 200)	Kawo (Kona).
<i>Kawungu</i> (p. 250).	
<i>Kawula</i> (p. 250).	
10. Ndugwa (p. 254)	Kû Ndugwa.

As regards the machinery of the law, I had hoped to devote some attention to this subject during a second visit to the Jukun, which I was unable to make. A good deal has, however, already been indicated about the various forms of legal sanctions in the chapters dealing with religion and social organization, and some additional information will appear in the later chapter dealing with the economic life of the people. For law covers the whole culture of the people. Religious awe acts as a potent legal sanction, and so do all social and economic regulations. The king, as the head of the religious and social life, is the supreme court of appeal, but normally all cases of breach of law are settled in a lower court, viz. the court of public opinion which casts ridicule on one who fails to conform to the recognized standard of social contract, or which condemns him to a punishment by supernatural powers for a breach of some religious taboo imposed for the protection of society. The diviner, as the agent of supernatural powers, plays an important part in giving expression to the legal conceptions of the people. Thus, in cases of theft resort is commonly made to the diviners who practise the *ambo* method

of divination and are known as Wasembo. The person who has lost something by theft goes to the diviner with a gift, and the suspected persons are invited to submit to a test which may take one of the following three forms. The diviner puts some water into a dish and adds a few red berries. The suspected person then declares: "If it was I who stole this thing may 'Ambo' catch me when I wash my eyes. But if it was not I, then may 'Ambo' wash my body (i.e. exculpate me)." He then takes some of the water and rubs it into his eyes, and if he is guilty the eyes smart and tears come out. It is obvious that the test is subject to manipulation by the diviner. If the accused's eyes smart he is asked to disclose where the hidden article is concealed; and, if in a position to obey this command, he has to give a chicken to the diviner, who then blows into the guilty man's eyes. It is said that one of the red berries straightway falls out of one of his eyes, and it is suggested that the berry is really blown out of the diviner's mouth. If the man who is pronounced guilty still professes his guiltlessness and his inability to produce the lost article, he must nevertheless pay the toll of the chicken in order to have the berry removed from his eye. His fellows will usually, but not always, believe that he is guilty.

It is worth noting that a man charged with being a thief, if he happens to be the owner of an Akwa or Achu Nyande cult, will sometimes, as a guarantee of good faith on the part of the diviner, stipulate that the latter shall first drink a concoction of locust-bean leaves into which the iron symbol of Akwa or the neolith of Achu Nyande has been inserted, the diviner being required to declare that Akwa or Achu Nyande may kill him if he plays a false part in the ensuing ordeal.

The second method of testing a person's guilt or innocence is also a trial by ordeal. He is required to withdraw an iron ring from a pot of boiling water. If guiltless he has no fear and withdraws the ring without injury. How far manipulation or suggestion play a part in this form of ordeal I am unable to say.

The third method is to put some rolled cotton-grass in a small pot. The grass is set on fire. The pot is then placed against the stomach of the person undergoing the ordeal. If he is guilty the pot remains against his stomach and he suffers a punishment which might be considered sufficient. But he has, afterwards, to pay financial compensation to the accuser and also to the master of

the ordeal. If he is guiltless the pot falls immediately to the ground.

Oaths.—Oaths and imprecations also play a considerable part in the Jukun conception of law. They assume a great many varieties of form, but in all cases their efficacy is of a magical character, and in most cases a medium is used for swearing the oath. Thus at the burial rites the relatives affirm their innocence of the dead man's death by an oath sworn on a chicken. The oath is a conditional self-imprecation. Or an oath may be sworn on the paraphernalia of the gods, the ring of Akwa, for example, or the leaves of Achu Nyande. With this class of oath-medium may be included the mat or sandals of the king, the king being himself a god. The person protesting his innocence is required to place his hand on the royal mat, and it is believed that if he has falsely sworn he is killed as though by electrocution. Swearing by the royal rug is thus in reality a form of trial by ordeal, and even in the ordeal of sasswood poison the essential part of the ordeal is the swearing of the oath. The oath, in fact, becomes an ordeal as soon as it takes effect. As an example of the use of imprecations we may cite the case of the owner of an Akwa cult who during an epidemic will place the symbol of the cult at the door of his house and utter the words: "If an enemy of mine causes this epidemic to enter my house, then may Akwa meet him and the epidemic at the threshold of the compound, and pursue him and kill him." The chief gods by whom oaths are sworn are Kenjo, Akwa, Achu Nyande, Buho, Ashina, Akumaga, and the Aku-ahwâ. It is not customary to swear by the minor spiritual powers such as Aya.

Imprecatory oaths play an important part in the domestic life. Thus, if a person has a serious quarrel with his cousin, brother, or other relative, he may utter the following oath: "I will have no further dealings with you save in the court of the ancestral spirits. If I break this oath may they strike me, so that I die." An oath of this character is regarded by the whole household or kindred as a very serious matter, liable to disrupt the kindred solidarity. The one who incurred the other's wrath will, if he is a discreet person, immediately seek out the head of the kindred or household and report the occurrence. Both men will be summoned; and when their statements have been heard, blame will be attached to one or to the other or to both. After the

decision the head of the family will say : " It is improper that oaths of this character should be sworn. The matter is now ended, and the oath must be withdrawn." He then takes a dish of water into which he places some flour, and hands it to the person who had sworn the oath. The latter makes the following declaration : " In a moment of wrath with my brother I uttered an imprecation. If the thing which I am now about to do was also the custom of my forefathers, may my imprecation pass away without effect. I pour water on the ground that the place may become cold." He tilts some of the floury water on the ground, then drinks some himself, and finally gives some to the person with whom he had had the dispute. The rite is concluded by a final warning from the elders that there must be no repetition of such imprudent oaths.

Another way of composing a quarrel is for a senior man to go and offer sacrifice at the shrine of the god, by whom one of the quarrellers had sworn.

Again, a husband who is angry with his wife will sometimes swear an oath as follows : " If I ever eat again a single particle of food cooked by your hand may blood cover my face on the day that I attend the *Aku-ahwà* rites" (i.e. " May the ancestral ghosts kill me with their sticks"). A wife who wishes to continue living with her husband, will, under such circumstances, immediately betake herself to the head of her own or of a neighbouring compound, who will adjudicate the matter, and will require the husband to recall his oath by a rite similar to that already described.

It will have been observed that the Jukun system of legal administration is not such as can straightway be reduced to terms of " native courts " and systems of codified law. This statement is applicable to all pagan tribes in Nigeria ; and the viciousness of the excessive use of native courts (as formerly in the Southern Provinces, headed by a clerk, because he could write) is not so much that the native court tends to usurp the authority of the chief, but that it tends to become a substitute or to be regarded as a substitute for the multifarious forms of legal sanctions which are the basis of the social and religious life of the people. Negroes, like everybody else, are ready to avoid, if possible, the obligations of " law ", i.e. of the social constraint placed upon them in all departments of life ; and it frequently happens that the easiest

way of avoiding this constraint is to seek, or threaten to seek, the intervention of one of the "native courts" established by the British Administration. Native courts are necessary under present conditions; but they should be used, as far as possible, as courts of appeal for the trial of exceptional cases, and always in close conjunction with the indigenous system of government. Otherwise, the court is likely to prove one of the speediest methods of disrupting the tribal life. These remarks do not apply to the native courts of the Muhammadan Emirates, where the conception of law has long been reduced to a codified system.

Warfare.—In concluding this chapter a few remarks may be made about the Jukun method of conducting war. The plans for war operations were discussed in the closest secrecy by the king and his senior counsellors, and the decisions taken were revealed to none, lest information should be conveyed to the enemy. Those capable of bearing arms were merely told that they were to get ready "to go somewhere, to seek something". The king or chief did not usually himself accompany any warlike expedition. He remained at home. If his own city was attacked he only appeared if the fight was going against his own people. He appeared shrouded from head to foot like some god from the skies. This had the effect of instilling the utmost bravery among his warriors. He would also seize the spear of Kenjo, which was believed to confer invincibility.

On some occasions, however, the Jukun chief went out personally on raiding expeditions, and in such cases he left the Abô in charge of his capital, together with a reserve of fighting-men, to secure the safety of the city in case he was cut off from his base. Before leaving the capital the warriors betook themselves to those medicine-men who were reputed to have special war charms. The latter sprinkled them with the juice of a certain tuber. The warriors also smeared their spears and arrows with the juice of certain roots. Some of them took with them a species of ground-nut, the possession of which was believed to be able to prevent any hostile weapon from touching the body. Some would also arm themselves with "medicines" which were believed to have the power of overturning a mounted enemy or of securing their own invisibility. Other war charms have been indicated in the previous chapter.

The assembled army might set out for the object of their

attack at early dawn or in the evening, according to the declaration of the royal diviner. At the time appointed horns were blown and iron gongs sounded, and all rushed for their arms. The warriors ranged themselves in five groups: (a) horsemen mounted on horses protected by quilts, (b) horsemen on unprotected horses, (c) foot soldiers armed with thrusting spears, (d) foot soldiers armed with throwing spears, and (e) bowmen. All wore gowns as shown in the photograph.

After leaving the capital they marched in silence, and at night camped in shelters. When they neared the town which was the object of attack the Akû Kê, or commander-in-chief, had a reconnaissance made by night, sending some picked men to investigate the various approaches to the enemy town and if possible to discover something of the enemy's plan for withstanding the attack. Pickets were also placed between the camp and the enemy town. The troops were divided into companies, each led by some important official. That they might be able to distinguish each other from the enemy they donned some form of special dress, usually a fillet tied round the forehead. The attack was delivered at early dawn, the chief with a guard remaining behind. With the chief also was a body of men whose business it was to attend to the wounded and administer antidotes for wounds caused by poisoned weapons. All prisoners were brought to this spot by their captors, who immediately on handing them over returned to the fray. If the king were present (which was unusual) and the fight went against the Jukun, he would enter the thickest of the fight, surrounded by his bodyguard and holding the sacred spear. This stirred the soldiers to the highest bravery. A special band of drummers and singers urged on the warriors with the various war chants. Among these were a number of men who blew on horns made of elephant tusks, and others who kept beating iron gongs. The horns had a special influence on the men, as they were believed to be a powerful charm, having attached to them the teeth of lions and hyenas. The heads of important enemies slain were cut off and sent to the rear as a trophy, and if entrance was effected into the town the houses were immediately set on fire and the successful troops scattered in all directions in order to capture as many of the enemy as possible. If the chief of the town fell into their hands he was bound and taken back to the Jukun king or leader. If he tendered his



ACCOUNTED FOR WAR

submission and agreed to follow the king he was reinstated and required to pay a regular annual tribute. But if he continued to show defiance he was put to death. If he escaped all his property was appropriated, but if he subsequently sent in his submission he was allowed to re-establish his town on condition that he became a loyal follower of the Jukun.

The king immediately sent news of the victory to the Abô at the capital, at the same time announcing the date on which he would return. The entry was triumphal ; but the friends of those who had been slain circled round the compounds of their dead comrades, made a cut in the matting at the door, and plucked out some grass from the roof, at the same time singing the war chants and dancing the war dance. This was the form of announcing the death of anyone in war, and the bereaved relatives immediately burst out into loud expressions of grief.

The same evening all the spoils of war, including slaves, were paraded before the heads of kindreds, who took them to the Abô that they might be brought before the king. All spoils were theoretically the property of the king ; but in practice the king restored one-third or one-half, according to his inclination, with the remark that the restored property was a mark of his esteem and an expression of his hope that on any future occasion for warlike operations the person who had obtained the spoils would acquit himself equally well. In the case of spoils obtained by important officials the king never took more than one-half.

The triumph was always followed by festivities. At the dances the names of all who had acquitted themselves well were mentioned in the accompanying songs. No woman would have anything to do with a man who had shirked going to the front, and his former friends treated him with contempt. This had the effect of compelling him on any future occasion to act a more manly part.

The Jukun of Wukari were not, however, a warlike people, and it is commonly said by their neighbours that, during the last century, so far were they from adopting an aggressive part that even if their own city was threatened they took few military precautions, relying mainly on the help of the gods and the sanctity of the king's personality. When Ashu Manu the Second was killed at Nyankwola,¹ Jukun religious feeling suffered a shock from which it has never recovered.

¹ See p. 58.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE DAILY LIFE

In Chapter II some account was given of the form of social organization existing among the Jukun at the present time, and in the chapters on religion numerous instances were given of practices which illustrate social custom as well as religious belief. But something remains to be said about the social institutions and duties of the people, and in this chapter I propose to record such information as I was able to obtain about the birth, circumcision and marriage customs of the Jukun, together with an account of their daily activities.

Birth.—If a married woman who has been living with her husband for some time does not conceive, resort is had to the divining apparatus in order to ascertain the cause. Childbirth may be hindered by Chidô or Ama, in which case there is no remedy. But it may also be hindered by a minor deity who is an object of worship by the husband's or by the wife's family. It may be hindered by an aggrieved ancestor on either side who influences Ama to prevent conception. Normally the divining apparatus when first consulted will reveal that the absence of conception is due to some ancestor of the husband or to some deity worshipped by the husband's family; for at the present time, with the increasing adherence to the patrilineal as against the matrilineal principle, the cults of the husband are considered more potent to work mischief or good than those of the wife. The ancestor or deity indicated must be pacified before the woman can conceive. A brew of beer is made and libations are offered with a prayer that if the particular ancestor or deity indicated by the divining apparatus was indeed responsible, then may he accept the libation offered and no longer continue to hinder the woman's conception. If these measures fail, no blame is attached to the divining apparatus, for the ancestor or deity may, by reason of thirst, have made a false declaration to the diviner. The apparatus is accordingly consulted a second

time, and on this occasion it may declare that the absence of pregnancy is due to one or other of the wife's ancestors or of her family deities. In this case the husband goes to his wife's father or senior brother with gifts of corn in order that the necessary rites may be performed. If these also fail to produce the desired effect the married couple come to the conclusion that it is not the will of Chidô that they should have children, and there is nothing further to be said or done. Among some Jukun groups, however, there are special cults for promoting childbirth. Thus among the Jukun of Gwana and possibly also of Wukari the cult of Buhoro (or Buho) is specially employed for the promotion of human fertility and the treatment of women who, by miscarriage or for some other reason, have failed to become mothers, or having become mothers have lost their children within a short time after their birth. Such unfortunate women will, usually, as soon as they become conscious of pregnancy, resort to the shrine of Buhoro, where they are subject to the following ritual. One of the ministers of the cult digs a circular hole in the ground in front of the shrine, and in this the woman is deposited, stripped of all modern clothing, and clad only in the pristine garments of leaves round her loins. She is accompanied by an attendant of the cult. Both bend down together, while the mouth of the hole is covered by a mat. Seven men of the cult then come out blowing the calabash horns which are the symbols of the cult and the voice of the spirits. They march round the hole one way, and then turn and march round the other way, blowing their horns all the time. This is done seven times. Finally they step or jump across the hole. The intention appears to be that, by this ritual, the spirits take complete possession of the woman. It was stated, also, that the reason why a minister of the cult accompanies the woman is that he may prevent her from jumping out of the hole should she be overcome by fright: for in this event she would see that those she had believed to be spirits were merely men. After the circumambulation, the men of the cult return to the shrine. The woman is told to emerge from the hole, and she returns to the town, accompanied by the attendant of the cult with whom she had shared the pit. She is not permitted to sleep in her own home, for she is undergoing a "rite de separation". She must sleep in the compound of the attendant of the cult. For if she returned to her own compound the evil

spirit which had caused her former troubles, jealous of the treatment she was undergoing, would seek her out, and short-circuit the rites.

On the following morning her mother, assisted by boys and girls of the household, carry numerous dishes, laden with food, to the shrine; for Buhoro is believed to have an enormous appetite. The priest of the cult pours a libation of beer on the iron bracelet and the seven horns which are the symbols of the cult. He also cuts the throat of a chicken and allows the blood to trickle on to the bracelet, saying, "We thank you, Buhoro, for having entered into this woman who desires to bear a child. And we beseech you that, as we offer blood to you, so may this woman, with the blood of childbirth, bring forth a child who will grow up vigorously, and who, when he has attained years of understanding, will come to you and make an offering of thanksgiving." In due course, if the woman bear a child, she again betakes herself to the priest of the cult with a thank-offering to Buhoro, and a request that, as she had been blessed before, so may she be blessed again.

As soon as a woman becomes pregnant she is believed to have entered into a dangerous condition. In fact, it is said that she has the "spear of Death" in her. She is, therefore, subjected to numerous taboos. Her husband must avoid giving her any cause of annoyance. She must not be approached by any other man than her husband; for it is a common belief that if an enceinte woman has sexual relations with any other than her husband she will either abort or give birth to twins. In this connection it may be noted that the Jukun have not, like their Chamba neighbours, a horror of twins, which led in the past to the murder of one or other or both of the twins. They are quite glad to be the parents of twins, but at the same time regard the twins with a considerable awe, even as the Muslim Hausa do at the present time. It must be presumed that at some former time, the Jukun regarded twins with more fear than awe and followed the custom of many Nigerian tribes of putting twins to death. Even at the present day every misfortune of the parents of twins is ascribed to the twins. The parents of twins wear double bracelets, and the reason assigned nowadays is that all people may know that they are the parents of twins; but it is probable that the wearing of these bracelets had originally a

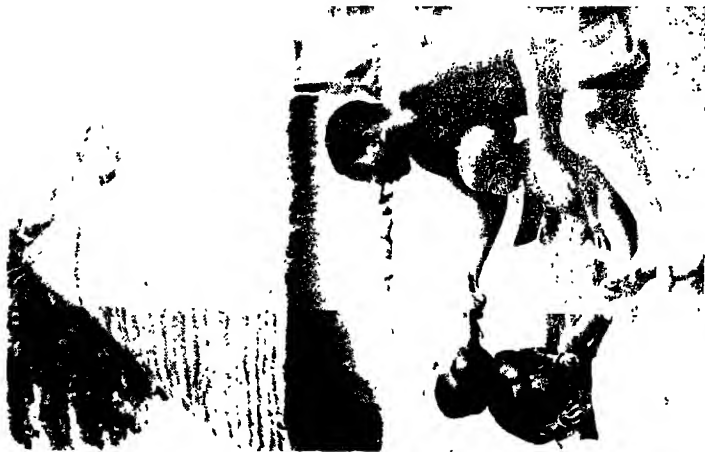
magical intention, viz. of preventing the evil which twins are capable of working. Twins themselves are believed to have magical powers, a belief which is found among most Muhammadan Hausa ; and among the Jukun it is said that if one twin dies "a hyena has taken him". It is taboo to say that he died, for it is believed that one twin had killed the other by the force of his superior magic or "witchcraft". Among many Nigerian tribes it is customary to kill one of the twins (the second born), and it is possible that this custom is ultimately to be referred to the practical difficulty of a Negro mother being able, as she is expected, to carry out her ordinary household duties within a short period of delivery. A mother can carry out these duties with one child on her back, but if she has to care for two children of equal age, she is no longer an economic asset. It is a general rule among most Nigerian tribes that a husband may not have sexual relations with his wife until her child has been weaned, and it is permissible to suppose that this rule was made, not for the benefit of the child but for the continuance of the home. For if a wife is unable by reason of having two unweaned children to carry out her domestic duties (such as cooking meals for her husband) the economic position becomes intolerable. It is not always contended by the Jukun (as among many tribes) that the birth of twins is evidence of adultery, for it was stated by a senior official at Wukari (the Kinda Achuwo) that twins were the consequence of the simultaneous desire of two ancestral spirits, who were presumably not happy in Kindo, to be reborn. On the other hand it is sometimes said that one twin represents a forefather and the other an evil spirit which had accompanied the forefather. It is a fixed rule at the present time that there shall be no discrimination between twins. They must be fed and tended equally ; and whatever the former beliefs of the Jukun were, it is clear from the accompanying photograph that there need not be any fear on the part of the Administration that the Jukun practise the murder of twins. It was the custom in some Jukun communities for the chief to appropriate twins. It is said that if one twin is treated better than another the latter will turn into a scorpion and sting his father. An offended twin is always liable to turn into a scorpion, and for this reason people avoid quarrelling with anyone who is a twin.

A pregnant woman must avoid eating the flesh of any

game-animal which was itself pregnant when captured or killed. She must avoid looking at lizards, tortoises, monkeys or any animal which is considered ugly ; for her child would be born ugly like the animal. Thus, if she frequently comes into contact with a water tortoise, her child would be born with a short neck and legs. If she were to eat a water-tortoise the child, when due to be born, would recede as a tortoise recedes under its shell. *Per contra* if she frequently comes into contact with a monitor lizard her child will be goodly to look upon ; he will have long fingers and nails, a sign of good birth among the Jukun. Among the Chamba it is believed that if an enceinte woman drinks water in which a cat's placenta or the stump of a human umbilical cord has been placed she will have an easy delivery.

Among the Jukun, an enceinte woman may not look on the horned mask of the tutelary genius Akuma lest her child should be born with a ram-like or cow-like appearance. Indeed, it is advisable for all pregnant women to avoid looking at any tutelary genius ; for if during a dance she catches sight of the legs of the human being personating the god, the god may retaliate by causing her to abort or by prolonging the period of gestation. If a pregnant woman accidentally comes into contact with the Akuma masker she immediately smears her forehead with charcoal, which is normally used as a protection against evil spirits. A pregnant woman must also avoid entering the compound by any other than the main route ; for if she enters by some side-path or by a hole in the matting, such as is made by a goat, her child will become a thief. She must not, in another woman's kitchen, stretch up to take anything from a shelf. Among Europeans there is a similar taboo against lifting the arms over the head, as this is believed to have the possible result of causing a strangulation of the cord by which the foetus receives sustenance ; but among the Jukun it is asserted that if a pregnant reaches up to take something from another woman's shelf, her child will become "long-armed", i.e. he will become a thief. There is no prohibition against a pregnant woman reaching up to take something from her own shelf.

In European countries it is considered inadvisable for a pregnant woman to engage in any form of physical exertion. But among the Jukun a reverse opinion is held. A pregnant woman who avoids her normal manual work will have a



A MOTHER FEEDING HER TWINS



AN ABAKWARIGA MOTHER

hard delivery. Manual work, such as cooking, pounding corn, fetching water from the river or fire-wood from the bush, causes the blood to circulate and enables the foetus to assume a variety of positions. If the woman gives herself over to excessive sleep or inactivity the blood congregates or coagulates. The Jukun say that a man who leads a sedentary life has a sluggish body and that he always wants to sleep, but that the blood of a man who takes physical exercise "runs". They have some conception of the circulation of the blood, deduced from the observation that the poison of an arrow-wound is transmitted throughout the entire system. A pregnant woman must avoid eating any animal which is taboo to her husband's family, and this avoidance lasts until the child is weaned. She must not eat honey, for if she did the child would, on the principle of sympathetic magic, be afflicted with catarrh of the nose. She may not look into a well, for if she did, her babe would be born with "deep eyes", and a "deep" character. After three months of pregnancy, she must avoid eating food which had been kept over from the previous evening and had consequently become dry; for otherwise the waters of childbirth would become dried up. She must avoid eating eggs, as otherwise she would be regarded as devouring her own child. Incidentally boys who are due for circumcision must avoid eating eggs, and this would seem to prove that circumcision carries with it the idea of rebirth.

After six months of pregnancy the expectant mother must avoid eating any form of tuber, such as yam or potato, or any form of ground-nut. For if she breaks this taboo her child will be born in the dirty condition of these underground forms of food. Two people meeting a pregnant woman must both pass her on one or the other side of the road. If one passes on one side and the other on the other it will cause the woman to be a mother of twins, a clear indication that the birth of twins was formerly considered unfortunate.

As the time of birth approaches the mother begins to collect firewood in order that neither she herself nor her newly-born babe may lack warmth. It is not a Jukun custom, so far as I know, for the husband to observe any taboos during the period of his wife's pregnancy, but most husbands will approach one or other of their deities with a prayer that the pregnant wife may have an easy delivery. There is, however, a definite rule that the

husband may not be present during the delivery and for a period of seven days after the delivery, and among the Jukun it is quite clear that this taboo is due to the awe or fear attached to the lochial discharge, the same awe which is attached to the menstrual discharge.

When labour begins a midwife (and midwives belong to a professional hereditary class) is summoned. The midwife makes the patient sit on a stone, or on a bundle of rags, and encourages her to be brave. A senior woman of the compound kneels behind the patient and holds her firmly to assist her in "bearing down", and to prevent her from falling off the stone. Throughout the period of labour no food is administered, as food is believed to hinder labour. In cases of prolonged labour this rule may have a disastrous effect. The juice of the "gadali" tuber is, however, sometimes given to the patient with a view to hastening delivery. If the delivery is unduly prolonged the divining apparatus is consulted by the husband, and preliminary rites are immediately performed by the husband to assuage the particular deity or ancestor who is hindering delivery, a promise being given that if the woman is safely delivered full rites will be performed subsequently. It may be noted that a wife married as a virgin bears her first child in the home of her parents, to which she returns after six months of pregnancy. But otherwise a wife bears her children in the home of her husband.¹

The child is received on a bedding of leaves, and the midwife, with a piece of guinea-corn stalk, cuts the umbilical cord at a point equal to the length of the child's thigh. The midwife rubs some charcoal mixed with salt on the stump. If the after-birth does not come away immediately, the end of the cord is tied-up with a thread, and a piece of string is fastened round the woman's waist to prevent the recession of the after-birth. The midwife also uses massage in order to expel the after-birth, and in some cases may even thrust her finger down the patient's throat with the intention of causing her muscles to contract. In cases of difficult delivery, the midwife may give the patient an additional draught of "gadali" juice and smear her body with the juice of the "dargaza" plant. The midwife also uses this juice as an ointment for her arms.

¹ Among the matrilineal Jibu a woman, of course, bears all her children in her own home.

When the child is born the midwife spits some water over him. This is done with the double purpose of making him breathe freely and also of making him grow fat. He is then washed. The midwife gives him a little water by dipping her fingers in water and applying them to the child's lips. The mother's breasts are washed, and the child is given to the mother to nurse. Among many Nigerian tribes it is considered that the mother's milk is poisonous for the first three days, but this does not appear to be a Jukun belief. The child is given, in addition to the mother's milk, a decoction of "dandana" leaves and "dauri" roots mixed with natron. Frequent sips of warm water are also administered. The position of the placenta is carefully observed, for by this the Jukun are able to say whether the child has come into the world under the auspices of Abi or of Aya, the dual names for the spiritual mother-in-Kindo.¹ The placenta is placed in a gourd and buried, as it is not the Jukun custom to attach any importance to the placenta, which among some Nigerian tribes is regarded as the child's double. The cults of Abi and Aya are the Jukun substitute for this belief. The child's head is smeared with oil, but no form of massaging the cranium is practised. The mother is given a treatment of hot water applications. Leaves soaked in hot water are pressed against the abdomen. She is also massaged morning and evening in order that her organs may speedily resume their normal position. Her abdomen is bandaged with strips of cloth with the same intention. This is a practice which is followed among the tribes of Zaria Province, and it is common in European countries. The child's umbilical cord is cut with a sharpened piece of straw and the stump is painted with oil mixed with the tar deposited by fire-smoke on the rafters of the hut. The stump falls off, usually, on the fifth day after birth.

During the period of his wife's delivery, the husband may not see her. He is kept informed of the progress of events, and sends frequent gifts such as cloth, corn, meats, fish, firewood and curtains. He has to make provision for his own meals by having recourse to the house of a friend. Soon after the delivery he may go and salute his wife, but he may not touch her or receive anything from her hand until she is free from all lochial discharge. The wife is in the same dangerous condition as when menstruating.

¹ See p. 206.

She is not readmitted to society until she is free from all discharge. It is noteworthy also that the child is not given its name until the mother has passed out of the dangerous condition. It is given a temporary name known as the "name of discharge". Among the Chamba neighbours of the Jukun no fear is attached to the lochial discharge, and it is customary to name the child on the fifth day after birth. There is a definite form of baptism. The maternal aunt takes the child in her arms and addressing him by the name chosen (by herself or by her brother) she places the child's feet in some beer and then smears a little beer on his head. She drinks some of the beer herself, and gives some to her sisters. In drinking this beer she is said to drink up the child's "defilement". In after years if the child is disrespectful or disobedient, she will say to the child: "If it was not I who drank up your pollution, then may my words pass you by; but if it was I, and you continue to disobey me, then may evil overtake you and cause you to waste away."

The Chamba mother resumes her normal duties as a housewife on the day of the naming of the child, i.e. within a week after giving birth, and she is permitted to re-enter the kitchen. But among the Jukun, though the woman is able to get up and is capable of grinding corn and of cooking, she is strictly forbidden entrance to the kitchen until all discharge has ceased and until she is formally re-admitted by special religious rites. These rites, which may be deferred until two months after the delivery, are also used for the purpose of conferring a name on the child. The child is formally dedicated to the gods. The ritual is as follows. The husband sets a brew of beer and at the same time announces to all members of his kindred that when the beer is ready he proposes to offer rites to Akwa in order that his wife may be reintroduced to society and to the kitchen. Having done this he resorts to a diviner in order to ascertain whether the child is a reincarnation of one of his own or of his wife's relatives. On the appointed day he directs that all the foods necessary for rites to Akwa shall be prepared, and when these are ready they, with the beer, are carried into the sacred enclosure. The mother sits outside the shrine with the child in her arms. One of the husband's relatives then comes forward and, taking the child on his right shoulder, carries him into the sacred enclosure. The husband sits down on the stone in front of the symbols of the cult, and after

sweeping the ground round the symbols he pours some water into the circular hole which is characteristic of this cult. This is the "Tso zo", or face-washing of the god. Meanwhile the attendant youths have scrupulously washed all the sacrificial dishes, and one of the youths pours some beer into a cup, which he hands to the officiating husband. The latter takes the cup and, turning to the elders present, says: "Ajó" (i.e. the rites). They reply, "Akura Yau yiya" (i.e. good, carry on). He pours one and then a second libation into the hole, and turns to the elders saying: "I have consulted the divining apparatus and it is revealed that my father (or paternal uncle, or grandfather, or one of his wife's relatives, or someone of another kindred) has been reborn in this child." They reply: "If that is so, may Akwa place his hand on the child's head, and may he receive health." The husband then takes the sacrificial chicken, and turning towards the symbol of the deity says: "Akwa, my wife has borne a child, and to-day, by these rites offered to you, I wish to escort her back to the kitchen. If formerly my father and grandfather did not do as I now do, then do you, Akwa, signify your dissent by causing this child to die an early death. But if I do as they did, may the child receive your protection and grow-up healthy and strong. For if he grows to become a man he will succeed me in offering rites to you. But if you permit him to die, then never again shall I come here to offer rites to you." He then turns to the elders and says, "Is not that so?" They all agree by slapping their thighs. The officiant husband then forces the chicken's beak into the beer that it may drink, and when it has done so he holds out the chicken while an attendant cuts its throat. The blood is allowed to drip into the hole. The officiant plucks out a few feathers from the right wing of the chicken and plants them in a circle round the hole. He instructs the attendant to cut off the right wing of the chicken, and having done so washes his hands. Next he transfers some porridge to a dish, and after having added soup he empties the contents into the hole. He does likewise with some cooked beans. After pouring another libation of beer he fills the dishes with porridge and soup, beans, and beer. He sweeps all round the symbols, and having again washed his hands, turns to the elders. A discussion follows as to the name which the child should receive: for it is not proper that the identity of the child, as revealed by the divining apparatus, should be disclosed by conferring on him the

name of the actual ancestor who has been reborn. The reason for this is that a returned ancestor returns secretly and does not desire a disclosure of his identity. The child is therefore given some other name which will preserve his incognito. The father addresses the child by this name, saying: "You are so-and-so." One of those present who has a steady hand shaves the child's head with a razor, and the excised hair is subsequently given to the mother to bury. The father takes some oil and drops some of it on the ground. Later he gives the remainder of the oil to his wife, who smears it on the child's head. Finally the officiant husband places some porridge and beans in the hole, in which the deity is supposed to reside, and after a further libation he eats some of the remnants of the porridge and beans and drinks some beer. Beer and food are served also to the elders and others present, the remnants being consumed by the attendants. But the officiant has to drink the dregs of the beer. When the elders have departed the attendants remain behind to wash the dishes, and they are instructed by the officiant husband to despatch a pot of beer to the women that "hearth rites" may be performed. The senior woman pours a libation at the hearth saying: "So-and-so (mentioning the husband's name) has brought his wife back to the kitchen to-day. If the deities and ancestral spirits have power over this household, may they put their hands on this new-born child that he may grow up strong". She pours a libation, and, having drunk some of the beer herself, gives to the other women to partake. A flagon of beer is also sent to the chief, and in the evening a dance is held.

As regards the character of the names given, children are usually called after one or other of the household gods or after some particular circumstance connected with their birth. Thus Tsokwa (= spear of Akwa), Sekenjo (= spear of Kenjo), Tsojô (= spear of Ajo), Ashuku (= the satchel of Aku), Asôgbadu (= we thank Agbadu), Hiki (= the mat of Ashenki) are common names for males. The corresponding female names contain the prefix wa = wife, indicating that the woman is regarded as married to the deity. Thus Wakwa = wife of Akwa, and Waku = the wife of Aku. The female may also be called by some emblem of the deity which is ordinarily associated with women, e.g. a woman may be called Asunki, which means "the pot of Death" (Aki). A child who is called after some cult is expected to give

special attention to that cult. The names Wunuji (m.) and Awaji (f.) are given to children for whom the divining apparatus was unable to discover any particular deity with whom they should be associated. These names mean "Person of his own counsel".

Examples of names belonging to the second category are as follows: Dabe (= wrong feet) is given to a child born with his feet first; Wanyacho or Wacho (= wife of road) is given to a female child born on the road; Ashu (=tornado) is a name given to a child born during a storm. Tsokê (= spear of war) or Awunukê (= man of war) is given to a male child born during a war, the corresponding female titles being Wapukê (= wife of the house of war) or Awakê (= wife of war). Jibeni (= "Destruction is everywhere") is given when war is raging. A child may be called Angbokake, i.e. "hunger is worse than war", if he was born during a famine. Angyu giri means "The smithing is finished", and is given by a blacksmith to a youngest son whose brothers had all refused to follow their father's profession. Agyo is a name given to a child born between 6 and 8 a.m., Agbu to one born about 2 p.m., and Adi to one born at sunset. Atabani (= the father is not) or Asêto is given to a male posthumous child, and Waka (= wife of mourning period) to a female posthumous child. Tstatsê (= being born afterwards) is given when any close relative had died during the period of gestation. Yakubani (= the grandfather is not) is given when a child was born soon after the death of his grandfather. If parents had lost their previous children they frequently call their next-born Chibaki (i.e. he is waiting for Death), or Kpâtuvo (i.e. we are holding him to no purpose). Twins are called Abe and Tê if both male, Kai and Pai if both female, and Abe and Kai if male and female.

Certain names such as Agabi, Ato, Angyu, Andu, Atsi, Ashu, Jibeni may be borne either by males or females. The Jukun have adopted a number of Hausa names. Thus it is common nowadays to call a child Angulu if his brothers and sisters had died. This title is a title of disrespect and means "vulture", i.e. the child is an ugly thing not worthy of the notice of the ancestors or deities who had killed off his brothers. The name Gambo is given to a person whose mother had previously borne twins. If the twins die the child born afterwards must, when he grows up, offer sacrifices to them. Gwanto (= a big or strong person) is another name adopted from the Hausa. One born on a Friday may be

called Dan Juma,¹ and one born during war may be called Magayaki.² Zokaji is a common Jukun name meaning "seeing is better than hearing".

The Jukun have also adopted from the Hausa the custom of shaving half the head of a child whose parents had lost their other child. The intention is apparently to make him unrecognizable. They also fasten threads with coins round his neck and waist as a sign that he is a slave and therefore unworthy of notice. They even go through a fictitious ceremony of selling him to some Hausa or other foreigner for a penny. It may be noted that if a mother has lost several children her latest child may be taken from her and sent to some other village, as her husband's relatives may consider that she is attended by some evil spirit.

The Jukun do not, like the Hausa, constantly change their names. A man may, however, be given a cognomen for some special reason, e.g. if he has proved himself to be an adept at something or other. A person may also receive some fancy title as a consequence of the rule that certain classes of relatives may not address one by one's own name.³ Young people hearing this title come to refer to the person so styled as though the title were his real name.

After three months the child's diet of milk and water is strengthened by the gradual addition of a very thin porridge, and when the child begins to crawl he is given small quantities of benniseed soup, seasoned with salt. Pepper is avoided. In due course he is taught to eat the thicker forms of porridge accompanied by stew. Mothers help their babies to learn to walk by fastening bells round their ankles. The babes, pleased with the sound of the bells, use their legs more frequently than they would otherwise do. Babies are washed by their mothers every morning and evening, and are frequently smeared with oil, as oil is believed to be good for the skin, and a protection against damp conditions.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that monstrosities or deformed children are not allowed to live, but left to perish in the bush or in a cave. For it is believed that such children are begotten by an evil spirit.

Circumcision and Initiation.—Circumcision is not among the

¹ *Juma* is the Hausa word for Friday.

² *Yaki* is the Hausa word for war.

³ See Chapter II on relationship terminology.



A YOUNG MOTHER (KONA)



THE CHIEF'S PRINCIPAL WIFE (KONA)

the Jukun closely associated with ideas of rebirth and initiation into the cults, and there are no elaborate rites, like those of the Chamba, involving segregation for a lengthy period. The ceremony is of a simple and open character, and may be carried out as the private concern of one or two families, and not as a public matter calling for the attendance of every boy in the town who has reached the circumcision age.

This suggests that circumcision is not a very ancient institution among the Jukun ; and a further indication of this is that the duty of having children circumcized is considered the affair of fathers and paternal uncles, and not of maternal uncles. If a boy happens to be residing with his maternal uncle at the time when he is due for circumcision he is usually sent back to his father's home for the operation, and the father pays the fees. A maternal uncle might, however, assist with some small gift. Usually a number of households, or all the households composing a ward, arrange to have their children circumcized on the same date. The father or paternal uncle makes a preliminary sacrifice at one of his shrines with a prayer that the lad may be brought safely through the operation. The lads are assembled at the appointed house and each in turn sits down on a stone before which a hole has been dug in the ground to receive the blood and ablated prepuce. The operator stretches the prepuce, and makes a mark at the point where he intends to make the incision. One man holds the boy's legs apart, and another presses heavily on his shoulders to prevent movement. The prepuce is then cut off with a razor and is thrown into the hole. The boys sleep together in the same hut for two nights. On the third day they are taken down to the river where the wound is washed by a friend. The wound is treated with oil made hot by being placed in a red-hot potsherd. The oil is applied by a feather. Acacia juice is not, as among other tribes, used to stop the bleeding.

Boys circumcized together regard each other as friends for the rest of their lives ; but there is no marked system of circumcision or age groups among the Jukun, society being roughly divided into children, youths, grown-up men in the full vigour of life, those who have passed this period, and the aged.

The Jukun say that if a man is not circumcized his children will be weak, physically and mentally. A circumcized lad scorns

any of his seniors who are not circumcized, and no Jukun woman will marry an uncircumcized man.

After circumcision a lad may be introduced to the family cults, the cult of Aku-ahwâ in particular. The following is an account of initiation as practised by the Kona, the cult of initiation being there, not Aku-ahwâ, but Buhor. The symbols of the cult are long calabash horns, which when blown produce a muffled sound, believed by the uninitiated to represent the ghostly cries of the departed. The cult is thus animistic in character. Boys are initiated into the cult about the age of 13-15. Each boy employs a friend, who has already been initiated, to pilot him through the rites, and there is considerable competition for the post; for though the boy's friend engages to receive, on the boy's behalf, some of the chastisement meted out to novices, he is well repaid by gifts from the boy and his relatives. Some time before the ceremony, which is held at sowing-time, the boy's friend ties a string round the boy's wrist as evidence of his engagement. The boys go the round of all their relatives and friends and are given numerous gifts, compensation for the hardships they are about to endure. At this time, in particular, boys may freely make inroads on their maternal uncle's property. Beer is also set to brew, and the boys are required to weave grass mats for the repairing of the shrine of Buhor. The chief makes provision for the numerous visitors who attend the ceremony, by gifts of a cow and supplies of beer and fish, the last being sent by the villagers of Lau and Kwinini.

On the evening before the ceremony the boys (who are for the time being known as the *jana we kwine*, or "children of the whippers") are shut up in a hut in the town, and when it is dark the officials of the cult come and dance outside the hut and blow their long calabash horns. One of the officials then begins to blow a smaller horn known as Doso, and as he does so the others keep calling out "Lassoo him with a rope and bring him away". This is said because all Kona boys and women believe that Doso resembles a cow. Another official then begins beating the wall of the hut with a pestle, and the terror-stricken boys, who have blocked up the entrance to the hut with mats and logs, select the strongest of their numbers to prevent the entry of the ghosts. The horn-blowing is kept up all night, and there is no sleep for the boys or for any of the women in the town. It is believed

that Doso feeds on human testicles, and it is on account of this belief that Kona mothers cover the testicles of their small male children with leaves in order that Doso may not smell them out. Just before dawn the Buhor revellers withdraw, and the lads are brought out of their hut and have the fronts of their heads shaven by their friends. They are then taken to their homes that they may bid farewell to their mothers before their initiation into the secrets of the cult. The boy's friend informs the mother that he is taking her son that evening to visit the ancestors. Many a nervous mother will burst into tears, saying: "My son, my son, you are leaving me who bore you to see your ancestors, and it may be that never again shall I look on your face." The friend comforts the mother saying that they are merely following the ancient custom of the Kona. The mother gives her son a draught of beer, and the friend, who has by this time himself drunk liberally, goes off with his charge. The boys are now assembled at the door of the Buhor enclosure, where a mound of sand has been raised with a branch of a locust-bean tree stuck in the middle. This spot is ever afterwards sacred to all initiates. The Kajen approaches and orders all persons who have been initiated to enter the enclosure and leave the novices behind. There a dance is begun, and the boys are again thrown into a state of terror by the unearthly notes of the horns, and by the rappings on the walls of the enclosure. The courage of some of the boys may fail at this stage, and some have been known to run away, saying that they preferred to be introduced to Buhor at some future time! The lads are then brought inside the enclosure preceded by the tutelary genius known as Wongkir. Their eyes are covered, and all, save members of the royal families, have to remove their loin coverings. As they enter the enclosure one of the officials sings out: "Yei wo wowo shu men bujare e hore jeng" (i.e. Yei wo wowo, the world is a silly affair, and the people in it are merely fools). The chorus is taken up "Yei wo wowo". Some of the officials then come and pinch the blindfolded boys all over, and the boys' friends say (as though addressing evil spirits), "Begone, begone at once." The boys (still blindfolded) are then made to kneel down in a row, while the horn-players march around them, blowing terrifying sounds into their ears. The masker (Wonkir) also dances round them. The players advance into the centre, and after giving a final

low moan with their horns, they secrete themselves behind some matting in a corner of the room. The order is now given for the lads to open their eyes. When they do so they see nothing to account for the weird sounds they had heard. The Avô or spokesman of the cult then addresses them saying: "Buhor has disappeared, he has entered the pile of sand in the middle of the enclosure." The boys reply, "We catch your feet in supplication—bring to us Buhor that we may see him." The Avô says: "But how shall I find him?" The boys reply: "We will pay you to find him." "Very well," says the Avô, "produce the purchase price." The leader of the boys then hands a chicken to the Avô, who says "Dig into this pile of sand and perhaps you will find Buhor". Immediately the boys start scooping up the sand with their hands. Presently the Avô bids them desist, saying that he will endeavour to help them. He then summons the calabash-horn players from behind the matting, and as they march round the boys, blowing their instruments, the Avô sprinkles each boy with water, which is said to have come from the mouth of Buhor. An official then takes the novices outside the hut, and, making them kneel down, bestows on each a sharp blow with a whip. He then says to the Kajen, "I have done my share; do you now do yours." The Kajen, accompanied by ten men, then proceeds to whip the boys. Each boy receives the first blow personally, but the succeeding blows are received by the boys' friends. The whipping is stopped at a signal from the Avô, who proceeds to dissect one of the horns, setting the pieces in front of the boys' leader, saying: "What is this?" The boy, now enlightened, replies "It is Buhor." The Avô replies "Buhor! What is Buhor? A thing that you cut with a knife you call Buhor?" The boys all reply, "It is Buhor." The Avô continues: "Who told you that; how can a mere calabash be Buhor?" At this stage the Kajen intervenes saying "Do not bother them further; what has been done is sufficient." (The object of the continued interrogation is to entrap some boy into saying that the calabash is a calabash and not Buhor; but all boys have been previously warned that if they are asked any questions they must reply "Buhor". If any boy were so indiscreet as to describe the horn as being a calabash he would, in former times, have been put to death by having a long arrow stuck into his

ears; and his relatives would be informed that he had been taken by Buhor.) The Avô now addresses the boys saying: "What you have seen here to-day must never be revealed to woman. It is the secret of the men. When a person has seen this we call him a man; and the voice of men must be one." The lobes of the novices' ears are then pierced and a wisp of grass inserted. This is the hall-mark of every true Kona, and in former times no one whose ears had not been pierced would have been admitted to any of the tribal religious rites. The boys then go to a stream and wash off the blood of their stripes and of their pierced ears. They return to the enclosure of Buhor, and after a short dance are each anointed with oil by the Avô. They are now allowed to go home, but must avoid meeting their female relatives, and so sleep in a special hut accompanied by their friend. Next day all assemble at the house of the Kajen, who takes them to the palace and formerly introduces them to the chief. The chief asks their numbers, and on being told says "I am grateful. If war were now permissible I should have warriors—men no longer capable of fear." The chief bestows on each a bowstring as a sign that they have grown to man's estate and can be called on to defend the land of their fathers. The Kajen is directed to take the lads before the chief's principal wife, who smears a little oil on the head of each. They now return to their homes, where they are joyfully welcomed by their female relatives, who also smear them over with oil, to soothe their bodily wounds. But the lads maintain an attitude of studied silence towards all females for a period of five days. On the fifth day all assemble at a crossroads by themselves. Their leader, who has on the previous day been supplied by the Avô with seeds of the various crops, then addresses his comrades saying, "The five days of our silence is now completed. We may open our mouths to-day. These seeds which we are about to sow will test our character. If we are men of good character the harvested crop will be bountiful. But if our disposition is bad, Chidô will not help us and famine and sickness will destroy the land. May Chidô grant that this may not come to pass." The lads clap their hands in assent, and the leader proceeds to plant the seeds. When he has finished his task, he puts his hands to his mouth and utters a loud "*Wirr*". The others reply "*We*". On returning home each boy salutes the head

of his family, who says "To-day you may speak to women as well as men. But be careful what you say". The lad is then free to converse with his mother and aunts and sisters, but he never again eats food in the presence of women. The introduction to the cult of Buhor is his passport to manhood. It might be thought that the fraudulent aspect of the ceremony would tend to disburden the lads for ever of all reverence for religious institutions, but this is not so; for all the initiated believe that there is a real power behind the symbols, and that whatever was a custom of their forefathers cannot be regarded lightly, but must have a hidden potency.

There is a further stage in initiation at Kona, for at the septennial festival of Aku, all who have been initiated into Buhoro must also be initiated into the cult of Aku. This cult is symbolized, like the Aku-ahwâ cult of the Wukari Jukun, by stones which are kept in the bush and represent the ancestors. The novices, clad in garments of leather (cloth being taboo), are assembled at some distance from the symbols, to which they are led forward with covered eyes. The priest of the cult then orders the senior men to free the eyes of the novices, whom he addresses, saying, "You have come hither on account of the thing which we call Aku. Everyone who comes here must come with a single heart and voice. If, therefore, anyone is conscious that his heart is not single, let him arise forthwith and take his departure." The priest dips his hand in the shea-nut oil and strikes each young man once on the back with his oily hand. The senior men do likewise. The women and other non-initiates are afterwards informed that the hand-prints left on the back are those of the ancestors, who have thus signified their appropriation of their descendants. Each senior man then takes a small pot, into which he hums a few notes. The sounds produced are intended to represent the cries of the ancestors; and the women, who are kept at a distance, believe that they are listening to the voices of their dead relatives. The young men are then made to follow the example of the seniors, stamping time with their feet until the priest orders them to desist.

Marriage. In all Jukun communities the normal mode of contracting a marriage is by the so-called purchase system. Marriage by exchange was formerly practised by the Jukun of

Kona, and was in fact the normal mode of Kona marriage until a few years ago. It is still practised by a small group of Kona who reside between Kona and Yola, and some account may be given of the system followed.

Marriage by exchange does not necessarily imply the absence of a bride-price; for, though a man gives a sister or female cousin in exchange for his wife, he usually initiates his suit by gifts to the girl's guardians. There is a regular scale. The preliminary gift is a currency bar. When the girl's breasts begin to develop a gift of a goat is made to her father, or to the paternal uncle who is acting as her guardian. Regular gifts of one mat and one currency bar are made to her mother for a period of three years; and shortly before the girl takes up formal residence with her husband there are further gifts to the girl's mother of six currency bars, fish, benniseed and cloth. The importance of these payments, which go principally to the girl's mother, is that the marriage is not simply a matter of two patrilineal family groups agreeing to exchange one of their female members. The mothers of the girls and the mothers' families have to be considered and compensated. It may be, therefore, that the inclusion of a bride-price in the exchange system has some connection with a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal conditions. At the present time the reason given for the payments to the mother is that they are compensation to her for her trouble in having borne the child.

In many cases a man may court a girl for a number of years before the exchange is arranged. A girl may have a number of lovers from whom she ultimately chooses one. It is not apparently a Kona custom to force a girl into a distasteful marriage, a practice which has had a good deal to do with a demand for the abolition of marriage by exchange in other tribes. There is the usual Kona rule that children born to girls who have not yet taken up formal residence in their husbands' homes belong to the girls' parents (and not to the father of the child). Should a girl conceive by some other person than the man she intends to marry she must remain in her parents' home until after the birth of the child. One reason given for this rule is that if the girl dies in childbirth her brother can claim as a wife the sister of the man by whom the child had been begotten. There is also the normal rule that if a man gives

a sister in marriage and does not receive a wife in exchange, he, or the members of his family, can claim all female children and the majority of the male children born of the marriage. The former are used as marriage exchanges (in order to provide wives for members of his own family or for his sister's sons). The latter live in the home of their maternal uncle as long as they remain happy there; but it sometimes happens that they are forced to return to their father's home on account of jealousies arising between them and their uncle's sons. In such cases the maternal uncle still has a claim on the economic services of his nephews.

The Kona deny that it was ever their practice to give a sister or daughter in marriage in order to discharge a debt, as that would be tantamount in their eyes to selling her into slavery. But they admitted that a debtor's sister or daughter who had been promised as an exchange wife to some third person might be seized by the creditor and held in pledge until the debt was liquidated. This custom is now illegal.

As regards the custody of children in the event of the dissolution of marriage, the general rule is that, if both the exchange sisters have borne children, even in disproportionate numbers, the children remain with the respective fathers; but if one sister has borne children and the other has not the children of the former remain with the mother or join the mother's family group. As an act of grace one son may be left with the father. The other sons become the wards of their maternal uncle, who, though he derives the advantages of their economic services, is responsible for their upbringing and for providing them with wives, using, when possible, the lad's sisters for this purpose. It is to be noted that if a maternal uncle uses his nieces in this way the major portion of the bride-price is handed over to the father of the girls as a recompense for the moneys which he had himself expended in obtaining his wife.

It was stated (though there was no opportunity of verifying the statement) that continued barrenness on the part of an exchange wife did not entitle a husband to a claim for the dissolution of the marriage, i.e. for the return of his exchange sister. It was also stated that among the Kona it was not customary, as among some other tribes, to hand over an unsatisfactory wife as an exchange to some third person; the husband laid his

complaint before the head of her family, who summoned her and sent her back with a warning. If she persisted in bad behaviour her husband returned her to her family and reclaimed his sister, the children remaining with the father (unless one only of the wives had borne children; in which case the children were claimed by her family).

The possible (and probable) evils of the system of marriage by exchange have been indicated. But it is contended by those who still adhere to the system that marriage by exchange is more solid than marriage by "purchase". It is normally in the interests of both family groups to make the marriage as permanent as possible; and if a wife abandons her husband for any slight cause she can count on little sympathy from her own family, least of all from her own brother, who will be deprived of his wife should his sister persist. Many a wife will refrain from hasty action out of consideration for her brother. But under the purchase system any man may seek another's wife with impunity, provided he has the means to repay such proportion of the bride-price as custom demands. This is, perhaps, a one-sided representation of the facts. For the exchange system, unless closely supervised, is liable to gross abuse, and is clearly more favourable to men than women. Nevertheless, hasty changes in the marriage system, even when advocated by the tribal leaders (who may have grown impatient of their excessive court work), may lead to greater evils than those which they remove.

There was among the Kona, and no doubt also among all other Jukun groups at one time, an alternative mode of marriage by a system of small payments. This was the mode favoured by members of the royal families.

Under the exchange system the wife's family had no claim to children born of the marriage unless certain circumstances, which have been indicated, arose. But under the second system the wife's family had an automatic claim on the major proportion of the children born. It may seem surprising that, where a bride-price is paid, the husband should not be entitled to the children, for it is frequently assumed that, under a system of "purchase", the wife and her potential offspring are bought outright. This misconception is due to the use, or misuse, of the word "purchase" to describe all forms of marriage under which moneys are paid by the bridegroom's family to the bride's. Where these

payments are so small that they are more than expended on the wife's trousseau, or marriage outfit, it is obvious that the marriage should not be described as one by "purchase". Where they are so large that a substantial profit is made by the girl's family, the payments may more justly be described as a purchase, though the term is objectionable, as it would seem to imply that the status of a woman married under the "purchase" system is little better than that of a slave. Though this is not so, there is nevertheless among most pagan Nigerian tribes a very marked difference in the status of children born of a marriage (*a*) in which the bride-price was low, and (*b*) in which it was high. For, where the bride-price was low, the wife's family has usually some claim on the children born of the marriage, but where it was high there is no such claim. Among the Kona the royal families refused to give their daughters in marriage by exchange, as they would thereby place themselves on a footing of social equality with other families of lesser birth. They equally refused to accept high bride-prices (a custom which has only come in with Muhammadanism), because they were not prepared to sacrifice their claim to the children born of the marriage. They, therefore, gave their daughters in consideration of a nominal sum (which was expended in gifts to the bride) in order that they might increase the size of their own families; for a large family is the passport to power among all so-called "primitive" peoples.

The marriage ceremonies of the Kona, under the existing "purchase" system, contain many interesting features. The first object of a lad's endeavour is to attain the position of being the accepted lover of the maiden of his choice, a position which does not necessarily mean that the maiden will eventually marry him: for she may have several paramours. She is not even under any kind of compulsion to marry the particular paramour by whom she has borne a child. It is customary among the Kona for girls to bear one or more children before they formally become wives, i.e. before they have taken up formal residence in the homes of their husbands. The young lad first seeks the girl's favour by making personal advances to her and then to her parents, to whom he brings small gifts, a chicken, perhaps, to her father and a mat to her mother. (By father is meant the person who is the head of her family: it may be her actual father, or it may be a cousin or brother of her father's.) After having received a

number of these gifts the parents inform the girl that the lad has been bringing gifts, and inquire whether she is prepared to accept him as a suitor. If so, she informs her parents that the boy has brought the presents at her own suggestion. The parents nevertheless exercise their judgment. They scrutinize the boy's character. If he is lazy or disrespectful, or boasts about the gifts he has given, he may be sent about his business, the gifts being returned. But if he is discreet and attentive he will receive formal approval, and in due course the maiden will bestow on him a ring or bracelet as a token of allegiance. The boy or his father sends further gifts at this stage to the parents of the girl. None of these preliminary gifts are recoverable should the girl subsequently repudiate the lad, and it will appear presently that all the proceedings prior to taking up formal residence in the husband's home (including the birth of the first child) are of the nature of a trial marriage.

The next stage is the ceremony of the piercing of the girl's ears, which takes place about the age of puberty. It is an offence for a man to have sexual relations with his betrothed until this ceremony has been performed. When the girl reaches the required age her parents inform the young man, on whom the expenses of the ceremony fall, that the time for the ear-piercing has arrived. He presents her with five currency bars ("taji") that she may purchase the oil required as an unguent on the conclusion of the operation, which is carried out by some male relatives of the lad's kindred. The lad's friends inform him when this has been done, by saying, "Your horse has had its ears pierced to-day: you can now mount the animal." The lad marks the occasion by sending, through a friend, substantial gifts to the girl's parents, twenty pipes, a large supply of tobacco, and some ten or twenty mats. These are divided up by the girl's father among his own and his wife's relatives in such proportion as the father thinks fit. None of these gifts are recoverable should the girl subsequently decide to marry someone else. The girl also receives her body and facial marks at this stage.

Soon after the ceremony of piercing ears, the boy sends one of his brothers to pay an evening visit to the girl. After some conversation she accompanies him out of the compound some way down the road and there bids him "good night". He protests that it is still early and that she might accompany him further

on his way, but she replies that she is sleepy. He says, "Oh, nonsense, do not put me to shame in that way ; you are expected at our home, and when you have talked with us there a little I will see you home". The girl again puts him off by saying that the hour is late, but he brooks no further refusal, saying that he will appeal to her father and mother. So on she goes to the home of her fiancé. After a few minutes' stay there, she proposes to depart. But her fiancé's relatives refuse to allow her to go, and she sleeps that night with him for the first time, returning home before dawn. Her fiancé visits her frequently there, but she does not repeat her visit to his home until the lapse of several weeks. Thereafter she is accustomed to sleep there regularly. When in due course she conceives, abortion (by massage) may be procured, should it be considered that the girl is too young for motherhood. But if she bears a child the child belongs, by Kona custom, to the girl's family. For the young man is still nothing more than the prospective husband, while the girl is known as a *sabe* or paramour : she does not become a *wuruwa barî* or " wife of marriage " until she has formally taken up residence with her husband. Even under the exchange system, if a man were courting a girl with a view to a marriage by exchange and she bore a child the child was claimed by the girl's family.

It appears, therefore, that the preliminary sexual relations between a man and his betrothed are in the nature of a trial marriage. For even after she has borne her first child the girl may repudiate her fiancé in favour of someone else. She may even, during this preliminary period, share her favours with other men, and if her fiancé were to upbraid her on this account she would reply, " Well, what has that to do with you ? Have I yet gone to your house as a *wuruwa barî* ? " Moreover (as we shall see), the main marriage payments have still to be made, and the final consent of the girl's parents to be obtained before the young man can claim the girl as his wedded wife.

On the other hand, it is clear that a main object in delaying the conclusion of the marriage is to enable the girl's family to have an undisputed claim to the first child born. This child may be regarded as part of the bride-price, or as compensation for the prospective loss of one of the members of the family. Under the system of marriage by exchange it is usual in most tribes for the girl's family to claim the first female child (in cases where no



MOTHER AND CHILD



AN OPEN-AIR KITCHEN

exchange "sister" had been given by the husband) in order that she may be used as an exchange. This was also the Kona rule, and it is said that many Kona parents refused to allow their affianced daughter to become a *wiwawa barî* until she had borne a female child. Though normally a girl was allowed to go to her fiancé's home, i.e. to become a fully wedded wife, as soon as she had borne her first child, this was by no means an automatic proceeding, and greedy parents might delay the full completion of the marriage until their daughter had borne as many as three children. On the other hand, if a girl were dilatory, and, after a reasonable interval, bore no children at all, she would usually be allowed to go to her husband's home. If she subsequently became a mother, her family had no claim on the offspring.

It may be remarked here that the custom, found among the Hausa and numerous other tribes, of parents refusing to acknowledge publicly the paternity of their first-born child, may be due to a former custom by which the first-born child was handed over to the wife's family.

Some six or seven months after the birth of her first child the girl goes off suddenly to her fiancé's home, without first asking the permission of her parents. The lad's parents send word to those of the girl saying that she is not lost but is living in their compound. The latter demand her immediate return, but the girl may, if she is high-spirited, refuse to return, and her parents are forced to accept the bride-price offered by her fiancé. Normally, however, the girl is returned, and on the following day the young man, accompanied by a uterine relative, goes to her home and demands to see someone of her relatives with whom he is on friendly terms. This friend announces their arrival to the head of the girl's household, who summons the visitors. The latter enter his hut and sit down before him, in an attitude of deep respect, with their legs crossed under them and their bodies bent forward. They salute him by saying "A" three times, and by clapping their hands. He acknowledges their salute by saying "Ne bera", i.e. "You have come," and they answer "A", and again clap their hands. The girl is then summoned, and she salutes her father, i.e. the head of the household, by saying "A" (but without clapping her hands). He acknowledges her salute by saying "A shira", i.e. "You are sitting there (I see)." He then addresses the young man saying: "You two have

shown yourselves determined to have each other at all costs. That is not a proper frame of mind : for men may not take what they want by force. You may only marry my daughter if I allow you to do so. To-day I give you my formal permission.”¹ The young people then throw dust on their heads and clap their hands in gratitude. The visitors are shown a hut in which to rest after their journey, and here they all congratulate each other. The fiancé has now to give to the girl's mother a gift of some twenty or thirty currency bars, and to her father, or rather her guardian, a goat or fifty currency bars. These payments constitute the real bride-price ; and they are largely expended in fitting-out the bride.

The bride now begins the pleasant task of decorating the hut assigned to her in the home of the bridegroom. On this she spends several days, assisted by her friends, and she returns to her own home each evening. When all is ready, three old women of her father's kindred carry to her new home bountiful supplies of food, with which they cook a meal in honour of the bridegroom's family. The bridegroom himself does not share in this banquet, and the bride is not present, for she does not make her formal entry until the following evening. When she arrives she is met by her fiancé and the three old women who, before taking their departure, address the young man, saying, “ To-day we have brought to you your wife. Last night we slept in your hut in order to bless your marriage. Do you look after your wife well. You and we have to-day become the relatives of each other. You can look for assistance from us in your troubles, as we also shall look to you.” Then, addressing the bride, they say “ And do you care well for your husband—without anger or disrespect. You must not live together like dogs (that continually fight), but like goats (that seldom fight). If you are hasty with your husband and leave him, you will only find that your new husband is less patient than the one you now have.” The old women are then escorted out of the compound, laden with gifts as a recompense for their services.

Some four or five days later, the new wife gives a banquet to the household to show off her skill in cooking and to celebrate her adoption into the household. The feast is set out and all sit

¹ When marriage by exchange was practised it was sometimes customary to arrange for an exchange at this stage, though this might have been done earlier.

down, the bride remaining some distance off. The senior man present takes a little of the porridge, dips it into the sauce, and then addresses the bride saying : " We have been accustomed to see you coming and going, and we saluted you with due formality. For we did not then know that your visits would end in marriage, and that you would become one of ourselves. May you each look after the other well, and may no quarrel arise between you." He then casts the piece of food on the ground, an offering to the unseen powers by whom every Kona believes himself to be surrounded. All then proceed to eat of the food, and on the following day each person present sends a gift to the bride as a token of his appreciation.

I have dwelt at some length on the marriage system of the Kona Jukun, as it is possible that this system was formerly practised by other Jukun groups. But at Wukari there is no recollection of any other form of marriage than that which can be described as marriage by consideration of substantial payments in cash or kind accompanied by agricultural and other services.

At Wukari a boy who is enamoured of a girl initiates his suit by sending, through a female friend, a gift valued at ten shillings to the mother of the girl. This gift is refused in the first instance while the mother ascertains from one of her daughter's female friends whether her daughter really cares for her suitor. If the daughter does not favour the suitor there is no further action ; but if she does, the gift, which is again brought on the following day, is accepted. The mother reports the matter to the father who instructs his wife to inform her senior brother. The latter instructs his sister to keep the money for the time being. In due course the lad, accompanied by his friends, pays a formal visit of greeting to the girl's parents. They salute by cracking their fingers, and the principal friend of the lad says that they have come to enquire after the health of the parents. The boy himself says nothing. The girl's mother dismisses them by saying that they must go and salute her senior brother.

At the bulrush-millet harvest the lad sends two bundles of millet to the parents of the girl. The father takes one and hands the other to his wife, who sends it to her brother. At the guinea-corn harvest similar gifts are made, and the suitor during the dry season also sends gifts of firewood. The firewood is divided,

one-half being given by the father to his mother or senior female relative, and the other half being given by the mother to her mother or senior female relative. At the present time it is also customary for the Jukun suitor to make the Muslim festivals an occasion for sending gifts to the parents of his fiancée. These gifts are given each year until the girl reaches marriageable age. It is also customary for both the father and the maternal uncle of the girl to call on the lad's services at harvest. He is expected to bring with him all his friends to help in the work of gathering in the crops.

The suitor does not see a great deal of his fiancée. He may meet her from time to time at the dances held by the younger people, and he may pay occasional visits to her in her own home. If she is shy she may speak a few words only to him during these visits, but if she overcomes her shyness she may become so friendly that she may agree to sleep with him. But pre-nuptial sexual relations are an offence. When the girl reaches marriageable age, i.e. soon after puberty, the suitor makes substantial payments with a view to concluding the marriage. The payments range from £1 to £2, plus a goat and a cloth. It was the former custom among the Jukun that the major part of these payments went to the maternal uncle of the girl, who would give to the father such proportion as he considered fit. But the position is now reversed, unless the girl happens to be residing with her maternal uncle. A large proportion of all the marriage payments were expended on providing the girl with the clothing and utensils required by her as a married woman, and in former times the maternal uncle bore the major part of these expenses. At the present time the expenses are borne principally by the father, but a good deal depends on the relative social positions of the father and maternal uncle. A maternal uncle who is comparatively well-off will consider it *infra dignitatem* to allow a comparatively poor father to incur greater expense than himself. If the marriage is subsequently dissolved by the girl's repudiation of her husband the pre-marriage payments have to be refunded in accordance with the mode of division when they were received. It may also be noted that it was formerly the custom among the Jukun for a niece who had no brother to inherit property, her claim being greater than that of her maternal uncle's son. This rule would not be observed at the present time. But even at the

present time a married woman who is in straitened circumstances can appropriate a goat, chickens, or corn belonging to her maternal uncle, in order to purchase a cloth.

When the ceremonies for concluding the marriage are due (they take place usually during the dry season) the lad or his father sets a brew of beer, and when this is ready, nine pots are despatched to the girl's parents accompanied by small gifts in cash (1*ḍ*. per pot). The mother appropriates one of the pots and the major portion of the cash payments as her due for having weaned the girl. The father of the girl takes four of the pots and the maternal uncle four. It was formerly the custom for the maternal uncle to send one of the pots as a gift to the king or chief, but at the present time this duty is more commonly carried out by the father. A second brew of beer is prepared for the ceremony of "taking the bride", and it is customary to inform the chief of this intention, and to send to him two pots of the brew. Another brew is prepared for the friends of the bridegroom. It may be noted that some of the beer sent to the parents of the bride is used by the father for a special sacrifice to the Atsî or ancestors, a prayer being offered that she may bear children and may not quarrel with her husband.

The concluding ceremonies are as follows. The bride is mounted astride on a horse, though she may never have ridden before. Covered with a veil she is surrounded by her male and female relatives and also by those of her husband. All give vent to joyous songs, but she herself weeps all the time. The procession goes to the royal palace, and there the women inform the Wakuku, or head wife of the king, that they are conducting a bride to the home of her husband. The Wakuku informs the king, who wishes them well, though he does not usually appear.

On arrival at her husband's house she is greeted by him and his friends. But she scarcely answers. He may touch her hand, but she is covered with shame and will bid him desist. She eats no food prepared in her husband's home. She eats secretly the food sent to her by her mother, and secretly returns the dishes or calabashes to the latter. The young people of the compound, male and female, engage in dancing; but the young bride remains in the seclusion of her hut, surrounded by her female friends, who stay with her throughout the night. On the following day also she only partakes of food sent secretly by her mother. In

the afternoon the friends of the bridegroom arrive and are served liberally with beer. At sundown they make such presents to the bridegroom as they are able to afford, those who are themselves married repaying in this way the gifts they had formally received from the bridegroom. The bride joins them, escorted by two of her own friends, and all sit down in front of a mat which is covered by a cloth. Gifts of cash made by friends and relatives are deposited in a calabash placed on the mat. These gifts are subsequently tied up in a cloth and handed to the bridegroom, who if he is already married hands it to his first wife. The latter hands it to the bride's mother. The father appropriates some of the money and sends the balance to his wife's brother. Three friends of the bridegroom then select a new name for the bride and confer it on her by saying "We have given you such and such a name". They then raise the bride and her two best friends on their shoulders and carry them to the home of the bride's mother where they eat their evening meal. After the meal they carry the bride and her two friends back to the bridegroom's compound, where the bride sleeps that night in the company of her female friends. On the following morning, after their ablutions, all the three females (including the bride) proceed to sweep the ground round the hut of the senior male member of the compound. In recognition of this service the latter confers a gift. They also sweep round the hut of the mother of the bridegroom, and round the huts of all relatives of the bridegroom in order of seniority. They then go to the river and fetch water. If the bridegroom is already married he hands some corn to his first wife, who delivers it to the bride, that she and her friends may mill the corn and cook the evening meal. When this is ready the food is left in the cooking-pot and the husband's first wife distributes it into calabashes, one of which is handed to the bridegroom, one to the bride, one to visitors, and the fourth she keeps for herself. Each eats separately. This constitutes the formal initiation of the bride into her household duties.

After the evening meal the mother and an aunt of the bride arrive, and having dismissed the friends of the bride they address the bridegroom, saying, "Here is your bride—you may sleep with her to-night."

If the bridegroom finds his wife a virgin he takes the bridal mat, ties it in a white cloth and sends it to the bride's mother

as evidence of her daughter's virginity. The mat is carried openly along the road and all know its significance. As a token of his satisfaction he gives his new wife the gift of a chicken. The girl's mother and father also give her gifts. Her friends remain as her attendants for several days, and then return to their own homes ; but her younger sister may remain as a companion for several months. If the husband does not find his wife *virgo intacta* he bores a hole in the mat on which he had slept with his bride, ties the mat up with fibre and sends it to his wife's parents. It is carried openly along the road and is a public reproach, not so much of the bride as of her parents, who had not taken sufficient care of their daughter, or who, knowing that she was not a virgin, had said nothing. The parents, if they had been ignorant of their daughter's misbehaviour, will thrash her soundly and demand to know the name of her seducer. In former times the seducer of a virgin was haled before the king or chief, who had him beaten and fined, the fine consisting of ten cloths which the king appropriated for his own use (though he might give some of the cloths to the injured husband). The husband could retain the girl or repudiate her, reclaiming his pre-marriage payments.

In many Jukun groups a husband will not sleep with his bride until he has first sacrificed to his gods, and the beer for this sacrifice must be prepared by the bride. He asks the god to bless their union, and that the marriage may not grow old without his wife conceiving.

Such is the normal marriage ritual ; but this ritual was not observed by the king nor by the senior officials such as the Abô, Abô Zikê, Kinda, Kû Vi, or Kuyu. The king appropriated any girl he pleased and handed her over to the Angwu Tsi to look after until she became ripe for marriage. The other officials mentioned could also take any girl they pleased by simply handing a cash payment to the girl's guardians. There were no other formalities, and there was no formal celebration of the marriage by the usual beer-festival.

Among the Jibu the marriage system is totally different from that found among other Jukun sub-tribes, as the Jibu are a mother-right people and practise matrilocal marriage. The pre-marriage payments are small, in view, it is said, of the economic advantages which the girl's parents or maternal uncles

derive from her husband. For when a man obtains a son-in-law, who is obliged to live in his father-in-law's house, he begins to slacken off his own farming activity and to rely on the efforts of his son-in-law. When he obtains two sons-in-law he can enter into a comfortable retirement. The Jibu, therefore, say that the bride-price is the man himself, and that a suitor's ability to farm is of far greater importance than any forms of wealth he may happen to possess. If during the first two years of his married life he shows himself lazy and disinclined for farm work he is turned out of the household, i.e. the marriage is summarily dissolved by the woman's guardian and the husband has no claim to any pre-marriage payments or to the custody of a child which had been born during the period of probation.

A suitor makes personal advances to the girl he favours by giving her a ring and bracelet. The girl hands these to an elder brother or cousin who shows them to the mother. The mother in turn takes them to her mother or senior female relative who consults her husband or the head of the household. If the lad's suit is approved the articles are handed back to the girl; if not they are sent back to the boy. In the former case the initial gifts are followed up by the gift of a cloth which is shown to the head of the family group, who will then declare that in future the girl's father (or maternal uncle, if the girl is living with the maternal uncle) should see to such matters.

When the girl reaches the age of puberty the lad is invited by her father (or maternal uncle) to come and take up permanent residence in his household. He builds a separate hut for himself and his wife, and when the hut is completed he presents a cloth to the girl, a hoe to her father, and a chicken to the head of the household, who may be the father himself, or the father's father-in-law, or father's wife's sister's husband, or the mother's brother or maternal uncle. It will be seen that these preliminary gifts are comparatively-speaking trivial.

For the first year or two the young husband is required to work on the farm of his father-in-law or on that of his wife's elder sister's husband, and his conduct is closely scrutinized. In the second or third year he is assisted in making a new farm for himself, and if his wife is by this time sufficiently grown up for farm work she helps her husband in his labours. Should he develop lazy propensities in these later years he will be compelled

by the ridicule of the other male members of the household to amend his ways or to seek a wife elsewhere. For although each male married member of the household has his own farm the proceeds of the farming are pooled, the disposal of the corn being usually in the hands of the senior son-in-law.

We come now to the question of the custody of children. The strict rule formerly among the Jibu was that children remained with the mother or the mother's relatives. If, therefore, a married man was discontented with his wife or her relatives and abandoned her, he was not at liberty to take his children with him. The children remained on in the home in which they had been brought up. The mother might continue living in that home if her father or mother were still alive. She might even elect to continue living there if her father and mother were dead and the headship of the household had passed from her father to her elder sister's husband. But she might prefer to take up residence with her mother's brother or her own brother; and most women on their husbands' death join the household of their maternal uncle or brother. It is on this account that when a man goes to live in his wife's home the head of the home may be not his wife's father but his wife's maternal uncle. If a man's wife died he might abandon his late wife's home and seek a wife elsewhere, but the children remained on in the wife's home or joined the group of the wife's brother.

If a husband and wife were childless and the husband wished to leave his wife's group and settle in another village he might, with the concurrence of his wife, do so, provided the wife's father or maternal uncle agreed. The latter (father or maternal uncle) would only agree if he had another son-in-law to look after him in his old age.

These rules have now become relaxed to the extent that children are permitted to accompany their father, if they so desire, this alteration in the former custom being ascribed in some cases to association with the Fulani, and in others to the fear that under the British Administration a refusal to allow children to accompany their father would be misinterpreted as trafficking in children, i.e. as breaking the law against slavery. But in practice, it is said, children are not willing to abandon their mother and be taken by their father to a new home; or, in other words, the mother-right principle is still dominant

among the Jibu. Apart from the members of the ruling families at Bali and Garbabi, no Jibu may marry a Jibu unless he agrees to submit himself to the matrilocal rule and its consequences.

There are certain consequences of matrilocal marriage which places it on a higher social level than the normal form of marriage under which wives reside in the homes of their husbands. It entails monogamy, and so prevents the accumulation of wives by the rich at the expense of the poor. It makes adultery almost impossible. The rules regarding the custody of children are a strong deterrent to husbands from abandoning their wives; and wives, on the other hand, have no opportunity for frequently changing their husbands, as they are not free to wander about as they please. But under the patrilocal and so-called "purchase" system the dissolution of marriage may become a matter merely of repudiation of a wife, or a re-imbursement of a husband whose wife has elected to marry someone else. Elopement with married women, which is an organized system in many patrilocal pagan tribes, is rendered impossible. The few tribes which practise the matrilocal form of marriage are conscious of its advantages, and do not hesitate to assert that the marriage laws of Muhammadan courts are little removed from a system of licensed promiscuity.

They also state that parents-in-law normally treat their sons-in-law with greater consideration than they treat their own children.

Dissolution of Marriage.—Dissolution of marriage is infrequent among the Jukun as compared with other tribes, though under modern conditions it is on the increase. A Jukun clings to his first wife, and there is a proverb which says "The first horse does not drink dirty water—only those do so which come after". It is a common belief that the wife who was married as a virgin will be the wife and the only wife that a man will have in Kindo. But a Jukun is averse to parting with any wife who has borne him children, for his "blood has been united" with hers. Moreover, owing to the bilateral character of the Jukun social system, a husband who parts with his wife is liable to lose the custody of his children, for the children may choose to follow their mother. If, therefore, his wife commits adultery, the husband will normally exercise the utmost patience and warn her that her conduct is likely to cause the anger of the gods and her own consequent

sickness. He will also point out the danger which she incurs of contracting venereal disease. If she still continues to misbehave he will ask his brother or friend to remonstrate with her ; and as a final step will report her conduct to her brother, father, or maternal uncle, who will rate her soundly. If all measures fail the husband will dismiss the wife. And if there is clear evidence that the wife was at fault he is entitled to reclaim some proportion of his pre-marriage expenses. Normally, however, no Jukun husband would claim any compensation on account of a wife if she had borne him children, the children being regarded as full compensation for any misbehaviour on the part of the wife.

Similarly, a wife will remonstrate with a husband who is unfaithful to her, and will warn him that a continuance of his attentions to the wife of another man may have dire consequences for himself ; for that other man may take steps, usually of a magico-religious character, which will cause the sickness and death of his wife's paramour. If he persists she will secure the services of a friend to represent the state of affairs to her husband's father, paternal or maternal uncle, or to his senior brother. These relatives, recognizing the truth of the assertions made, will remonstrate with the wayward husband. But if these remonstrances fail to have effect the injured wife will abandon the husband's home and return to that of her father or of her maternal uncle. The husband, brought to his senses, may follow her and ask for her return ; but if she refuses he would not dream of asking for the return of his pre-marriage payments, more especially if the wife had borne him children.

It is claimed that adultery was more uncommon in the past than it is to-day ; for prior to the advent of the British Administration, severe penalties were exacted from adulterers. A husband could take the life of a paramour who was caught *flagrante delicto*, and he or his relatives could exact heavy damages from one who, on the wife's or his own confession, had been shown to have had illicit sexual relations. As already indicated sickness was frequently attributed to sexual immorality, and an adulterer who fell sick believed that his sickness would continue unless he made a confession of his offence. But nowadays with the establishment of " native courts " adultery may be merely a matter of paying a small fine. It is said, also, that pre-marital unchastity is becoming more frequent in consequence

of the introduction of the Hausa custom which permits girls to sleep with various suitors prior to the conclusion of those ceremonies which, among the Jukun, have the same validity as the marriage service among Christian peoples.

It may be noted, on the other hand, that a Jukun husband frequently takes an oath of loyalty to his wife by a formal ceremony which entails the drinking of each other's blood. It is of the same character as a blood-brotherhood ceremony, and is known as *nyicho* or "the eating of the spittle"; for with the spittle the blood of each is swallowed by the other. Each vows to be true to the other for all time.

The Daily Life.—The daily life of a Jukun varies according to the season of the year, the character of his occupation, and his age and sex. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to give a synopsis of his daily life. But as the vast majority of Jukun engage in agriculture as the principal means of livelihood we may attempt to describe a typical day in an agricultural household according to the age and sex of the various occupants.

When the head of the household rises in the morning and has performed his toilet, which includes the washing of his feet as well as of his hands, he summons his wife to accompany him to the granary and receive the daily measure of corn. He may enter the granary himself or direct a small boy of the compound to do so on his behalf. He instructs his wife to sell half the corn in order to purchase the daily supplies of beer, and to set aside the other half to be converted into flour for the preparation of the evening supplies of porridge.

It may be noted that beer is an essential article of diet to all Jukun men, women and children. It is thick like a light porridge and contains nourishing properties. The average Jukun does not bother much about other forms of food during the day, provided he obtains occasional draughts of beer. Even children from the age of three are taught to drink beer as a food. It is believed to have medicinal qualities, being regarded as a preventive against worms and other infections.

Having given his orders the householder requests his wife to bring him some beer, and when he has drunk this he is saluted formally by the various male members of the household. He may use the occasion to administer a rebuke to any among them who had not been behaving to his satisfaction. He will ask the

offender to remain behind, and then speak to him as follows : " If you do not mend your ways you will have to leave this compound. I have been informed by one man that you are running after his wife : and another, a senior man, tells me that you, a mere youth, argue with him and use insulting language. Are you going on like that in order that you may meet a violent death ? If you are overtaken with sickness, or if someone poisons you, you need not say that your forefathers have spurned you. If your conduct is bad your ancestors are not going to help you. But if you behave yourself your ancestors will know whether anything that befalls you is from an enemy or from Chidô " (i.e. they will help you as far as it is in their power to help).

The head of the household then sends the junior members about their daily task. In the dry season, when there may be nothing to do, he may tell them to follow their own devices. But for ten months in the year there is always something to do. There is no greater fallacy than the belief that in his own home a Negro is an idle person. His struggle for existence is unceasing throughout the year. For, though the rains only last for some six months, the agricultural operations, including the preparation of farms during the hot season before the rains (Shukune) and the final work of harvesting the guinea-corn after the cessation of the rains, cover a period of nine months. During the remaining three months there is much to be done in repairing the compound and in carrying out the religious ceremonies which are a duty as well as a pleasure. New mat fences have to be woven, and many of the huts and granaries have to be re-thatched. The hunting drives are held at this time. Into these three months, also, are crowded a variety of social duties which cannot be carried out during the period of hard labour on the farms, visits to distant relatives, and attendance at the marriage ceremonies of relatives and friends.

Having issued his orders the head of the household, if not over-old for farm work himself, changes into his oldest clothes. He lays aside the gown which he had donned at sunrise in order to receive with dignity the formal visit of the other members of the household, who had also donned their best clothes, and he surrounds himself with rags. It is a matter of surprise that Jukun men, who are always decently clothed round the loins, should take the trouble of covering their bodies with rags (which

were once a gown) in order to go to their farms. But, according to native ideas it is more decent, when walking along the road, to have some form of body covering in addition to the loin-covering, and it is also said that the rags worn offer some protection from dew.

Taking his spear, axe, hoe, and bag, he starts off for his farm, which he approaches quietly in order to observe if the young boys, sent before sunrise to stop the attacks of birds or bush-animals on the crops, are doing their duty. He hangs his bag on a tree. This bag contains his charm against bites by snakes, his flint and steel, and if he is a smoker, his pipe and tobacco. The old Jukun bag had two compartments, but many Jukun have, in recent times, adopted the single-compartment bag of the Munshi. In his bag he also carries a razor which is used in cases of snake-bite or for cutting out thorns. He may also have a needle for extracting thorns, and he may carry a drinking-cup and a few snacks of food. Finally there is his protective "medicine", wrapt up in rags or deposited in a gourd, the "medicine" obtained from a *pa-sêhé* which will protect him from all evil. On his arrival the boys detailed to keep off pests salute him by saying "Mbagye". He replies "Mhum-mbagye ho" (Hail to you). He then enquires if the monkeys or birds have been making inroads on the crops.

If it is close on harvest-time, he takes his hoe and clears a space in which to collect the harvested crops. He may then with his axe cut down a few branches, some forked and some straight, with which to make a platform for the temporary reception of the harvested grain. While he is engaged on these proceedings his wife or daughter arrives at the farm with supplies of beer or of a light porridge for the farm-workers. About four in the afternoon he sets out for home, which may be many miles off, giving orders to the boys that they must not desist from their duty of keeping birds from the crops until the sun has sunk. When he reaches home his wife brings him some beer. Having had a smoke he removes his work-a-day rags and dons a cloth round his waist which reaches below his knees. He may throw a larger cloth, extending lower, over this; or he may throw a cloth over his shoulders. Friends may come to the porch of his compound to greet him, and one, poking fun at him, may remark "Ha! I hear that your farm this year is going to produce

over one hundred bundles of corn". He will protest, saying "Oh, nothing at all like that. The farm is a very small affair, and monkeys have been making quite unusual inroads this year". Later he may be joined by younger brothers or cousins, or by his grown-up sons, and they may discuss their plans for the dry season, the religious festivals, hunting prospects, house-repairing, or the marriage of some younger member of the household. By this time the evening meal is due, and the head of the household washes his hands, and is followed in this by all the others in order of seniority. If the household is comparatively large the males divide themselves into two groups for the evening meal, a senior and a junior. If the household is small, and the head of the household is not distinguished by having some official title, all the male members of the household group themselves around him without any arrangement based on seniority. The head of the household begins the meal by taking some porridge, dipping it into the soup, and throwing it in front of him or behind his back, a gift to the unseen powers. This rite corresponds to the custom in European countries of saying grace. He then takes some porridge, dips it in soup, and proceeds to eat, followed (for the first round) by the others in order of seniority. When the calabashes of food are nearing depletion, he desists from eating further, and his example is followed by all the others. For the remnants of the meal belong to the youngest people of the compound.

A chief, priest, important official, or any possessor of an important cult, would always eat alone in the privacy of his sacred enclosure.¹ No one, not even his own brother, may "see his mouth". The food provided is not necessarily cooked by his own wife or acolytes; all married women of the compound have to perform this duty in turn. The food ritual of personages belonging to the above classes has already been described in detail.² The following account of the food-ritual observed by heads of important households who do not belong to the special classes mentioned above may be of interest. At sundown a junior male member of the household sweeps, with a brush, the *bieko*

¹ To the high caste Hindu, eating is regarded as a sacrament. "To secure purity the Hindu usually cooks for himself, first plastering a sacred circle, within which he can conduct the operation without danger of interference from men or demons" (Crooke, *Things Indian*).

² See pp. 157-63.

or enclosure in which the head of the compound is accustomed to take his evening meal. The lad lights a fire and spreads a mat for the head of the household. The women are, meanwhile, busy preparing the food, and when this is ready the head of the household takes his seat on the mat. The lads of the compound then go and collect the calabashes of food prepared by the various wives, and place them in front of the head of the household. A small boy brings a dish of water in which the head of the household washes his hands. Having done so the head sits with legs crossed under him. The other male members of the household sit round in a circle with their legs tucked under them. The head, after the usual ceremony of offering a piece of food to the ancestors, eats two mouthfuls, and then tells his juniors to begin their meal. The next senior man present first puts his hand into the calabash, and is followed by the others in order of seniority. After the first round, however, all eat together indiscriminately. When the head of the household has satisfied his hunger he turns his back, and at this intimation the younger people present rise and remove the calabashes to some spot in the back-ground, where they continue to eat their meal. When they have finished they carry the calabashes to the women and one of their number brings a brush and sweeps the ground in front of the head of the household so as to cover up all pieces of food which might have been dropped on the ground. The head of the household has, meanwhile, washed his hands. The others sit respectfully round him, i.e. with their legs tucked under them. A junior member lights his pipe, and when the head has taken a few whiffs he may pass the pipe round the circle. In due course the head dismisses the younger people, who may wish to talk among themselves or to attend a dance. When all have gone the head's wives come forward and salute him. They all talk freely for some time until the head of the household signifies his desire to retire for the night. If he wishes one of his wives to sleep in his hut he calls to her by name from the hut saying : "So-and-so, will you bring me a firebrand ? ". A man and wife at night discard all clothing, save loin-coverings. They sleep on a single mat, and are covered by a single cloth or blanket. Before going off to sleep a husband may discuss with his wife the question of the amount of beer required for the morrow ; for the wife with whom he sleeps has the duty of purchasing



A WOMAN CARRYING A POT OF BEER ON HER BACK



WOMEN FETCHING WATER

beer for the household next morning. They may also discuss the conduct of their children and decide on the steps necessary for dealing with negligent or sick children.

It may be noted, as regards the provision and preparation of foods, that if the head of a household has a married brother, cousin, or son living with him, each wife prepares food every day for her husband and herself and her children. The food provided for her husband forms part of the meal which the males eat in common. The wives also, if they agree together, share a common board, each contributing a share. The major part of the beer consumed in a household is contributed by the head of the household, but all married men are expected to assist in this direction. If the head of a household is old his younger brother or cousin or his eldest son is expected to keep the household supplied with beer.

At harvest everyone works at full pressure, not merely on his own account, but also on behalf of friends and relatives. After harvest there is the duty of house-repairing, and all have to be energetic, collecting grass, digging-up and transporting clay for plaster, and making string for thatching. It may be noted that the Jukun do not, as a rule, mix straw with the mud used in building huts, but that they commonly do so for their granaries.

The duties of grown-up women are, in the early morning, to see to the sweeping of the compound, to the purchasing of beer, and to the washing of the dishes and calabashes. The food utensils of the head of the household are not usually taken to the river or stream for washing, as his *dindî* or soul is intimately associated with these. The dishes used by him may not be used for giving food to a visitor, or for transporting food from one compound to another, as is frequently done when a number of male friends of different households arrange to share a common meal.

After these preliminary duties the Jukun wife drinks a draught of beer, and gives some beer to her children. About eight or nine in the morning she sets out with beer and possibly some food to join her husband on the farm. There she may collect some leaves for seasoning the soup of the evening meal, and on returning home she may prepare a rough-and-ready meal of porridge and beans for herself and her children. She may devote some time

to spinning, or (exceptionally) to weaving, or to cleaning and dressing her hair. But about 2 p.m. she begins to think of her principal duty of preparing the evening meal, pounding, winnowing, and grinding into flour the millet or maize which is the essential constituent of the porridge served. She is assisted by her daughter or niece, who also has the duty of washing the dishes used for the gravy or soup. The soup ingredients are set to boil, the daughter attending to the fire. When the foods are cooked they are sent to the males of the household, and in some cases gifts of cooked food may be sent to female friends. For it is a Jukun custom for women to exchange foods with their friends. The porridge left sticking to the ladle is given to the young daughter to eat. Having finished her own evening meal she takes her mat and joins her husband. If her husband has a separate hut she lights a fire there early in the evening. It is said that the fire drives out evil spirits who, tired of their wanderings during the day, have congregated in the hut at sundown. Some women go out to the bush about 8 a.m. in order to collect firewood, and on returning to the village visit the market to buy ingredients for soup or to purchase a little meat with money provided by their husbands or obtained by their own enterprise. It is not uncommon for Jukun women to provide the whole of the daily household necessities by money obtained from the sale of firewood or beer.

A young married man begins the day by formally greeting the head of the household, and, after a draught of beer, he goes off to his own farm. But if occasion demands he may put in some work also on the farm of the head of the household. When he returns home he greets his wife with the stock question whether she has sufficient constituents for the evening stew. If not he supplies her with the benniseed, meat, or fish necessary. If he is a fairly senior man he eats in the company of the householder ; and in a small household even if he is comparatively young he may have this privilege. But otherwise he eats with men of his own social status. The food cooked by his wife is not sent directly to him in the first instance. It is sent to the head of the household, who takes some for his own use and then returns the calabash by the hands of small boys to the place where the young husband is going to have his evening meal. It is to be noted that the head of a household does not confine himself

to food cooked by his own wife, but makes a point of eating something from each calabash of food cooked by the wives of other members of the household. When the young husband has finished his meal he must go and pay his respects to the head of the household. He may remain in the latter's company listening to stories of the good old days, or if the head of the household is not inclined to talk, he may go off to see a friend in some neighbouring compound. It is worth recording that if a visitor arrives in another's compound at night and calls out the other's name it is not considered safe to reply "Here I am; come in". He replies by asking "Who is there?" and when the visitor has given his name he is invited to come in. The reason for this precaution is that the visitor may be a witch seeking the other's soul, and if the other answers his call his soul will go out to the witch who will capture and devour it.

Young unmarried men work with their fathers, paternal uncles, or senior married brothers. If the youth is working on his father's farm he may accompany his father to the farm in the morning, and the father may discuss with him his proposals for next year, suggesting perhaps the taking-up of a new piece of ground, the present site of the farm having become worn-out or over-productive of weeds and grass. The father apportions a share of field-work to the son, and then goes off to hoe his own section. Whoever finishes his section first helps the other to complete his. When they tire they sit down under a tree and refresh themselves with beer. At the end of the day the youth is expected to remain behind in order to collect and bring home some firewood which he lays at the door of his father's hut. He then goes and washes, and helps himself to some beer, which he may have purchased on his own account. Pending the time of the evening meal he may visit the market, where his youthful friends are likely to be found. Incidentally it is considered improper for a Jukun boy and girl to go off for a walk together. The youth greets his male friends by saying "Hail to you on the conclusion of your day's work". They talk and laugh together, and much of their conversation is about members of the other sex. They make fun of young lads who, on account of shyness, have not yet made advances to any girl. If the banter of his companions fails to arouse such a lad to take the steps expected from one of his age a senior member of his household

may take the matter up seriously and force him to initiate a suit by asking him if he is a eunuch !

On returning home a young lad would usually in former times light a fire in his hut in order to drive away evil spirits. But it is said that owing to a recent change in public opinion lads who do this are now taunted with being cowards or old women.

After the evening meal, which the youth eats in the company of those of his own age, he goes and salutes the head of the compound, and he is then free to rejoin his friends. They may engage in a few dances, or watch the girls dancing. As the evening advances the lad may, in these days, ask his sister to go and invite his fiancée to come and sleep in his hut, he himself going on ahead and being joined by his fiancée later. When she arrives he may twit her for having kept out of his way all the evening ; but she may excuse herself by saying that she could not come earlier to the market as her mother had given her some task to perform. At early dawn she rises and goes home. This custom by which young unmarried people sleep together is a recent innovation, having been adopted from the Hausa. It is not viewed with favour by the older men.

Small boys are an economic asset from an early age, and render valuable service in the fields by driving off birds and animals from the ripening crops. A boy engaged in this duty has to be up at cockcrow, and he goes off with his spear and bag, into which he may slip any fragments of food he may have been able to find. On arrival at the farm he makes a preliminary inspection to see if any damage has been done since the previous day. He then takes up his position on a raised platform and keeps a look-out for all farm pests. If he sees a troop of monkeys he may hurl stones or pieces of wood ; or he may descend from his platform and chase them away with his spear. He keeps off birds by continuous shouting or by the use of clappers. About 8 a.m. a small girl of the household brings him some beer or light porridge which he eats with the wooden spoon he carries in his bag. He has a long dull day, and if he is alone on the farm he may bewail the fate that led to his selection for the duty of guarding the farm while many of his companions are allowed to play at home for the greater part of the day. But if he succeeds in killing a monkey he is a proud boy when he reaches home soon after sunset. He must not arrive home empty-handed, but armed

with as much firewood as he can carry. This he lays outside the hut of his father or the uncle (paternal or maternal) who is his guardian for the time being. His guardian rewards him with some beer, porridge, ground-nuts, or other food to stay his hunger, pending the arrival of the evening meal. After the meal he goes off to play with other boys ; but if he stays out too long he will, in view of the early hour at which he must rise in the morning, be severely rebuked. The boys may be too tired to play, and so may be content to sit and talk. One may ask, " Who amongst us has ever killed a four-footed animal ? " He will then proceed to tell the tale of how he had once speared a very large baboon. A smaller boy may then say that he had once killed a red monkey ; and this will provoke ridicule from the bigger boys, who will say that a red monkey is not a baboon, and that anybody could kill a red monkey. He may retaliate by saying that lots of boys, and some even of those present, had never killed anything, not even a red monkey. They may then take to boasting about the merits of their respective fathers or guardians. One may say " My father is a red man (i.e. a man of prowess) ; when ' gaya ' (co-operative farmwork) is being done his work is worth that of two other men ". Another may retort : " Oh, go along ! I have always heard it said that when your father and mine were young and wrestled together my father threw yours every time." Or another may say : " My father is a wonderful carpenter, but yours cannot fashion anything." The other will reply : " Your father may excel mine, but I certainly excel you in farm work, in fact I excel your elder brother." This last remark will provoke loud laughter. Then one may say : " So-and-so has a terrible father. If he speaks his voice is like a clap of thunder. You have only to see his eyes and you'd fly for your life, they're red like fire at night-time. If a single monkey does ever so little damage to his farm he almost beats his son to death." The others will say : " Good gracious : if I had a father like that I'd very soon run off to my mother's brother."

They then separate for the night ; and if the boy oversleeps himself he is roused by an angry father and has to start off for the farm, leaving his ablutions until he comes across a stream on the road.

If a small boy commits an offence, such as breaking a flask, sleeping on the farm, or going off to a neighbouring farm and allowing monkeys to ravage the farm of his guardian, he will

fly off to some old man who lives in a neighbouring compound. The old man will take him back to his guardian and intercede on his behalf. In this way the boy may avoid a thrashing. When a boy is receiving a thrashing he keeps calling out the name of some very senior and respected relative of his parent or guardian. Thus he may cry out: "I call on grandfather Ato, I call on grandfather Ato." Or he may call the name of the head of the kindred or of the ward, or even of the chief. In this way he attempts to assuage the wrath of his angry parent, for he knows the awe which those names bear for his parent. In the same way a little girl who smashes a water-pot or calabash, or upsets the soup, or loses some household utensil, will seek the intervention of some old woman.

A small girl has quite a number of duties. After saluting both the senior male and female relatives and washing her face, she has to sweep out the kitchen (her mother, generally, herself sweeps round the confines of her husband's hut). The little girl then collects the pots and dishes which had been left unwashed from the previous evening and cleanses them thoroughly, together with the pestles and stirring utensils. She then takes a pitcher to the well or stream and replenishes the supplies of water. Her next duty is to prepare the light porridge required in the morning by the females and young children. Having done this she may be sent off with porridge, beer, cassava, or sweet potatoes for the sustenance of the young boys guarding the farms; and when she returns, having brought home some firewood, she assists her mother in milling the flour required for the evening meal. She helps to prepare the soup or stew, holding the pot while her mother stirs and washing such dishes as may be required. When the food is ready she helps in its distribution, and on the conclusion of the meal she collects the various dishes. At times she assists her mother in the brewing of beer, and at times is sent to the market to buy food. In the evening she joins her girl friends, and may discuss with them the subject of clothes, the various designs of a cloth she already has or has been promised. One may boast that her mother is an expert weaver of headkerchiefs and that before long she herself will have learnt the craft. Another may say that her mother is an adept at hair-dressing and is instructing her in the art, so that before long she will be able to dress the hair of all her friends.

The life of the aged is not without its interests. An old man seldom leaves his hut in the morning until the sun has become warm. He then washes his face and sits at the door of his hut, while his wife or his son's wife brings him a little refreshment in the form of a light porridge or of beer. If he is still able to walk he may take a hoe and do a little work on the home farm, taking with him his staff or the spear which he had carried as a young man and is now worn down. Before he begins work he says: "Kapara Basho," i.e. "Permit me, Mighty Ones." For if he were to attack the soil without asking the permission of the indwelling spirits, he would cause a disturbance among the spirits, which would react on himself. He works away gently, with frequent rests; and when the sun becomes hot he returns to the compound, where he goes to sleep for an hour or two, after having partaken of a little food and drink. When he wakes he calls on one of the small girls of the compound to bring him some water, and going to the back of the compound he washes his body entirely. The Jukun are not, comparatively speaking, an over-cleanly people. They wash frequently during the hot weather and after vigorous physical exercise, but otherwise they may go for a fortnight without washing their bodies at all.

After his ablutions the old man sits at the door of his hut, and he may be joined by another. One may say: "The cold these days is terrible. Last night I was so cold that I could not get a wink of sleep. I lit a fire, but the wood was insufficient, and if I cannot get some more wood to-night I shall perish during the night."

If they see a well-dressed boy passing one will say: "Just look at the lads of to-day, how overdressed they are! When I was a boy I thought myself lucky to have a loin-covering; but these lads are not content unless they are disporting themselves in gowns the whole day long." The other will reply: "Yes, but what about the girls of to-day? Why the smallest child must needs surround her middle with a cloth." The other will reply: "It's quite true. When our mothers were older than these girls they wore nothing at all. What is to be the end of it all?"

In the cool of the evening the old man may take his axe and try to add to his supply of firewood. As he carries along his small load he may be met on the road by a young man who takes

his load and carries it home for him. The old man will bless him saying : " May those in Kindo guard you well. May you have strength of hand and foot. May your forefathers protect you, and may you attain all your desires. When you leave the world may it be in the cool of the evening and not in the mid-day heat." The blessing of an old man is greatly prized.

After sunset a boy or girl lights a fire in the old man's hut ; and after the evening meal he may be joined by his younger brother or eldest son, who may be the acting head of the household. He will tell his son that he had gone to his farm, but had not been able to do much. The son will reply : " Yes, but a little work every day amounts to a lot in time." His father will reply : " Now, now, desist ! I have become a weak old man, and it is for you to work now." The son may then report the illness of some member of the household, and the old man will advise the son to go and consult a diviner in order to ascertain the cause of the illness. He will add that he personally is of the opinion that the illness is due to occult powers and that rites should be performed. He dismisses his son by saying : " It is time that you went back to your hut and that I went to bed." He stirs up his fire, arranges his mat and lies down to sleep, thinking perhaps of his dead relatives or the meagre character of the religious rites of these days compared with those of his boyhood.

Aged women may also have to perform some farm-work each day, and as the old woman applies her hoe to the ground she may give vent to a grumble that : " Hard work is worse than death." And so she toils away until forced by the heat to stop. She then collects some small sticks as firewood, a piece of bark to light the fire, and a bundle of grass to serve as a torch at night. On returning home she has a drink, lights her pipe, and rests awhile. Later in the day she goes to the confines of her small farm and collects leaves and other ingredients for making soups and stews. Some of these she may take to the market to sell. When she returns home she lights her fire and cooks some snacks of food to allay her hunger while waiting for the evening meal. Some of these snacks she may send to small children of the compound. After the evening meal she may be joined by an old male friend who will greet her, saying : " Lady, hail to you this evening, hail to you on resting from your day's work ! How

are you feeling in your old age ? ” When she has replied he may ask whether her grandson had brought her any firewood that day. If she answers “ Yes ”, then he says : “ Well, why not light a fire ? We old people cannot exist without warmth.” If the old dame has no firewood her visitor will send to his house for some, and then they will fall to discussing the good old days. The old man may say : “ Yes, it was just about this time of the year that we used to go to war. I remember we attacked such and such a place at this very time. It was a hard fight ; my best friend was killed there, and there were heaps of wounded. But we got a lot of loot from that town.” The old woman will reply : “ Yes, times are changed. Now the smallest child can go outside the walls without fear, but when I was a girl if we had done that we should have been caught by the Chamba or Fulani and sold.”

An old woman whose husband is still alive may assist her husband on his small farm, carrying out porridge to him about 9 or 10 in the morning. As they work away one may say to the other : “ If we only had some spare cash we might employ a lad to do this work for us. For of a truth the major part of both of us is already in Kindo.”

An old woman who has no husband can make herself useful in the compound in a variety of ways ; by sweeping the compound, preparing ingredients for soups, spinning, and looking after young children whose mothers are engaged in domestic or farm work.

CHAPTER X

THE ECONOMIC LIFE

Farming.—Farming is the principal occupation of the Jukun, over ninety per cent. of the male population being engaged in agriculture.

All unoccupied land is free to any person to farm without reference to anyone, not even the king or chief. That is to say that a farmer may occupy virgin land in the bush, or he may farm on land which had formerly been farmed by someone else and subsequently abandoned. The only occasion on which he asks permission to farm land formerly farmed by another is when the abandoned farm includes the site of the other's former house. In this case the new farmer would ask the permission of the other or of his descendants, for the religious reason that the spot is sacred to the previous owner, as it contains the graves or, as the Jukun would express it, the umbilical cords of the former owner's forefathers.

In a large community wards of towns may agree to farm each in a certain direction, but there is at the present time no hard and fast rule. Members of the same household, however, generally endeavour to farm in one locality. When a farmer decides to take up a piece of virgin land he stakes his claim by raising one or two mounds of earth round the chosen site and by cutting down a few trees. If he has a number of friends in the ward he will go to them and point out the advantages of the new locality in order to induce some of them to take up adjoining land. This is done with the object of co-operation against farm-pests. There is no "communism" as regards ownership of land in the modern sense of that word. Nor is there any communism as regards the working of the farm. A farmer may work his farm in common with a younger brother or son; but normally every married Jukun has a farm of his own. There is, however, as we shall see, a definite system of co-operation among farmers at certain periods of the agricultural year. But this co-operative system has nothing to do with "communism".

When a number of men farm close to each other they plant lines of koko yams to mark the boundaries ; or they may make hedges of a shrub which is known to the Hausa as *magimfa* and is used as a fish poison. Most Jukun also bury at the corners of their farm a certain species of tuber which is believed to have the effect of preventing one farmer from drawing to his own crops the goodness of another's crops.

If a farmer has a number of relatives he will call in their assistance for the preliminary purposes of clearing the new farm of grass, cutting down trees, and digging up the roots of the larger trees. He will provide them with beer and porridge, and he will, at some future time, render similar assistance to those who had assisted him.

If the farmer has an insufficient number of relatives to help him in this heavy preliminary work he will have resort to the co-operative system. That is to say that he will notify a large number of friends and neighbours, to whom he has himself rendered services at various times, that he intends to hold a *gaya*¹ on a certain day. On the appointed day all these friends assemble at his house at daybreak and are liberally served with beer. This beer is known as *foshé*, i.e. the beer of the new farm. On arrival at the farm they sit down under a tree, and the eldest man present proceeds to appoint a leader and sub-leader of operations, men well-known for their farming ability. The leader and sub-leader are each assigned a second-in-command, and the general body of workers, who are styled *jéne* or "children of the hoe", are divided into two groups. Before operations are begun all the hoes are collected and sprinkled with beer, a prayer being offered by the senior man present that their labours may be attended with success. Work is then begun on one sector of the farm. Two groups of workers compete with each other, each hoping to finish their half of the sector before the other. Drummers may be present to encourage the work. After the completion of the first two sectors a halt is called for the first beer-bout. Six pots of beer are provided for each dozen men present, and for the first bout three of the pots are used. Before drinking is begun the senior man present pours a libation at the foot of a large tree and utters the following

¹ This Hausa word for co-operative farm labour is used by many tribes. It is possibly connected with the name of the classical goddess of fertility (Gaia).

prayer : " Ye mighty ones who are present with us here, behold, we have brought to you fluid, that the handles of our hoes may be cold, that no one may fall ill, and that we may finish our co-operative labours successfully." All then proceed to drink ; and when they have slaked their thirst they may give a little beer to beggars who often make their way out to the fields on such occasions. On completing three more sectors the workers again stop and demolish the remainder of the beer. After the second beer-bout the workers complete one more sector, and that concludes the bargain. If the farmer has a reserve supply of beer he may request the workers to complete a further sector ; but if he has no beer left this request, if made, would be refused. There is a regular, well-understood tariff.

On returning to the town all the workers assemble at the farmer's house, where the farmer hands a final pot of beer to the leaders of the gang " to dissolve the leadership-titles ". When they have all drunk the farmer dismisses them with thanks, saying to the leaders, " The titles you held for this day's work have now ceased to exist."

The farmer continues preparing his land by clearing grass, burning leaves, and lighting fires at the foot of any large trees which have been left standing—not so much for the purpose of getting rid of the trees altogether as of causing the leaves which would keep the sun from the crops to wither. In due course a second *gaya* is summoned in order to make the mounds in which the seeds are to be planted, the Jukun favouring a mound rather than a ridge system of cultivation. Before this work is begun an old man scatters some millet seed, mixed with beans, here and there on the farm, a symbolic offering to the unseen powers. It is probable that this rite, and the one previously described, was originally an offering to Ama, the Earth deity ; but at the present time the offerings are made in a hazy way to the plurality of ancestors and spirits.

A Jukun who takes up new farming land invariably invokes with libations in his household shrine the assistance of his gods, Kenjo or Akwa. He also raises a mud pillar on his farm to Jô Pi (or Jô Pî),¹ rites being carried out at sowing-time, on the ripening of the crops (with a view to securing the assistance of the Farm Spirit against birds), and on the conclusion of the

¹ See p. 289.



A GAY4 FOR DIGGING A WELL

harvest, when the farmer, in addition to offering a libation, ties a head of new corn round the trunk of the tree beside which the Jô Pi symbol has been erected. When all the members of a ward farm in the same locality a single Jô Pi may be erected as a protection to all the farms, the rites being carried out by a man specially detailed for this duty.

When the first rains are due the farmer enters his granary and takes out some heads of seed corn which he hands to his wife to thresh and winnow. The farmer deposits the seed in a basket which he suspends to one of the rafters of his hut in order to protect the seed from rats. It may be noted that during the period when the rains are due the householder does not permit any member of his household to warm his feet at a fire; for it is believed that seed pressed down at sowing with a foot which had been warmed would die.

If the first rains descend heavily, the farmer proceeds to plant, but if lightly he waits for the heavier showers. On the morning after a heavy fall of rain he directs his wife to purchase a large supply of beer and to bring it to the farm, to which he goes off, accompanied by all the members of the household. Before planting, rites may be performed to Jô Pi with a prayer that the seed may be fruitful and may not be devoured by bush-fowls; or the farmer may address a prayer to his dead father or uncle, saying: "You, my father, taught me the art of farming. I am now about to plant: help me to obtain a good crop." Each person then puts some seed into a calabash cup or a fragment of a pot and proceeds to plant. Towards sundown all return home; but a boy is left on the farm until after sunset to protect the newly sown seed from being dug up by bush-fowl or guinea-fowl. The work of planting is continued next day, and so on until all the farms belonging to the various members of the household have been planted. Scarecrows are set up, and fires are lit before sunrise to scare off animals. Farms may also be fenced.

The principal crops grown are guinea-corn plus beans, bulrush-millet plus maize, *pennisetum spicatum* millet plus (sometimes) guinea-corn, *coleus dysentericus* tubers with guinea-corn occasionally sown in the furrows, Kaffir potatoes sometimes interspersed with guinea-corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, rice, benniseed, koko yams (sometimes with pumpkins), and ground-nuts (sometimes with pumpkins). It is noteworthy that the Jukun do not

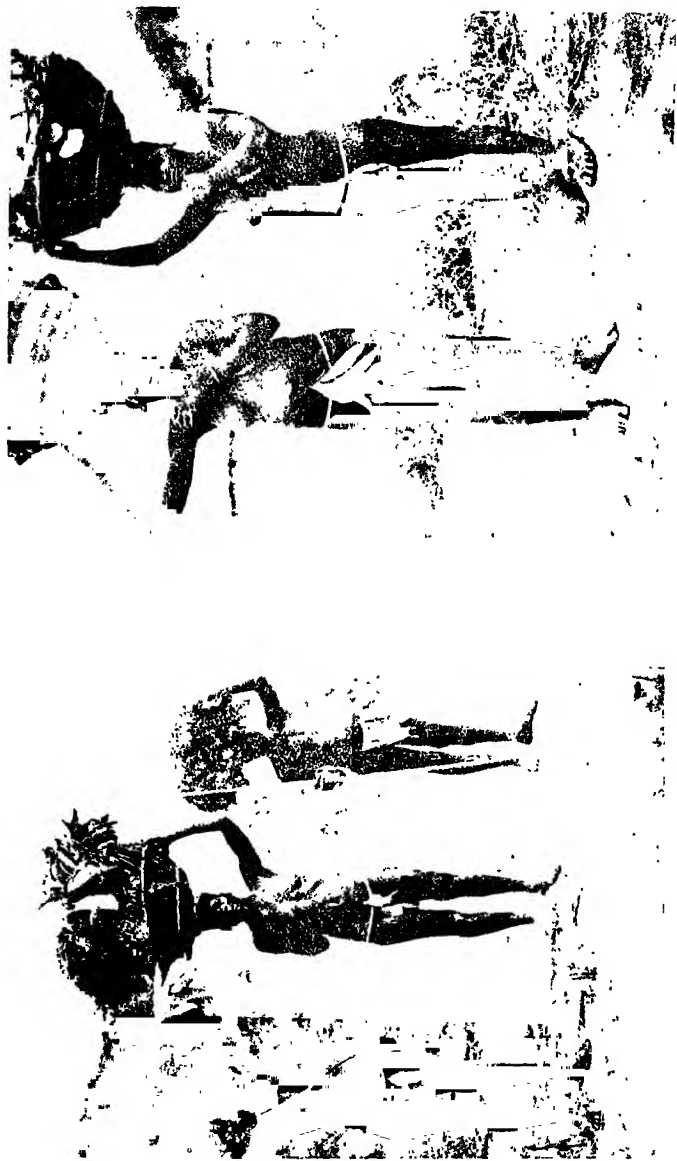
grow *digitaria exilis*, which is a favourite crop among the Semi-Bantu-speaking tribes of Northern Nigeria.

Women assist the men in all but the heavier work of farming. They take a main part in planting, in collecting the harvested crops and in transporting them home. They assist in clearing the grass from the millet farms and in protecting the bulrush-millet crops from attacks by birds. In the farming of rice the women do the sowing and the men the hoeing. The women assist the men in weeding; they collect the crop and deposit it in the pit in which it is threshed. They also do the winnowing. Kaffir potatoes, koko yams, *coleus dysentericus* tubers and ground-nuts are often cultivated entirely by women, to be used on their own account or on account of their children and friends. They are regarded as reserve crops which can be used in case of a shortage in the millets. Many women also have small millet farms of their own, so that they may be able to provide themselves with additional supplies of food, and to prevent themselves from suffering hunger should their husband have at some time to absent himself longer from home than he had anticipated. For no woman is allowed to enter her husband's granary and help herself to corn.

It is to be noted that bulrush-millet is never planted on a new farm during the first year. It only thrives during the second or third year of a farm's life. Beans, on the other hand, are always planted during the first year, together with the guinea-corn, presumably because they enrich the soil which has not yet derived the benefit of the rotted grass hoed in during the first year. Beans are also sown in the third year.

The first weeding of the farm is carried out some two months after planting, men, women and children all taking part in this work, which is repeated after an interval of a few weeks. The oncoming crop is pruned and thinned where necessary, the plants removed being replanted. Bulrush-millet is never transplanted, as this crop requires plenty of space. It is a crop that calls for incessant attention, being specially subject to attacks by birds.

The next stage is the hoeing process known as *maimai*, the heaping up of earth round the base of the millet plants. This work is carried out by men only. At this time the women are usually busy planting ground-nuts, and removing leaves, for use as soup, from the bean crops.



KONA WOMEN BRINGING IN CORN



GRANARIES

While the guinea-corn is ripening, care has to be exercised that the crop is not injured by the smaller antelopes and other animals ; and the farmer may find it necessary to spend the night on the farm platform and to use stick-clappers at intervals to frighten off the animals. He also goes round the crop every day, binding stalks broken by the wind to unbroken stalks. This is to save the heads of corn from being eaten by ants on the ground. About this time the bean crop is picked by the women and children. The crop is placed on a wooden platform on the farm to dry, small quantities being taken home each day as required. By this time the rains have completely ceased, and preparations are made for harvesting the guinea-corn. A platform is built in the middle of the field for the reception of the harvested crop. A *gaya* may be called for the harvesting ; or the farmer may rely solely on the assistance of the various members of his own household. Before beginning to reap, he uproots a number of small plants which have not grown well, and with these he festoons all large trees on the farm in order to pacify the spirits which haunt large trees. He also deposits locust-bean leaves on all paths leading into the farm, with the double intention of preventing evil spirits from entering the confines of the farm and of preventing sorcerers from stealing the corn by means of their black magic.

All now proceed to level the crop by bending the stalks double near the base and trampling them down with the foot. The reaper takes a knife, to the blunt edge of which he fixes a piece of guinea-corn stalk as a guard for his hand, and cuts off the heads from each stalk. But before cutting off the first head, he exclaims, "Kapara Basho," i.e. "Permit me, ye Mighty Ones". He severs the heads by an outward stroke, and he is assisted by all grown-up males. The women collect the heads and carry them to the platform, and they subsequently scour the farm for any loose corn lying on the ground.

When the harvested crop has become thoroughly dried by exposure to the sun and wind, the farmer divides it into two grades of quality. Having cleaned out his granary, he deposits the better grade there. He sometimes employs a person who is considered lucky to store the grain for him, in the hope that the grain will be magically increased, or at least prevented from decreasing. The stored grain is used for making the beer required for religious

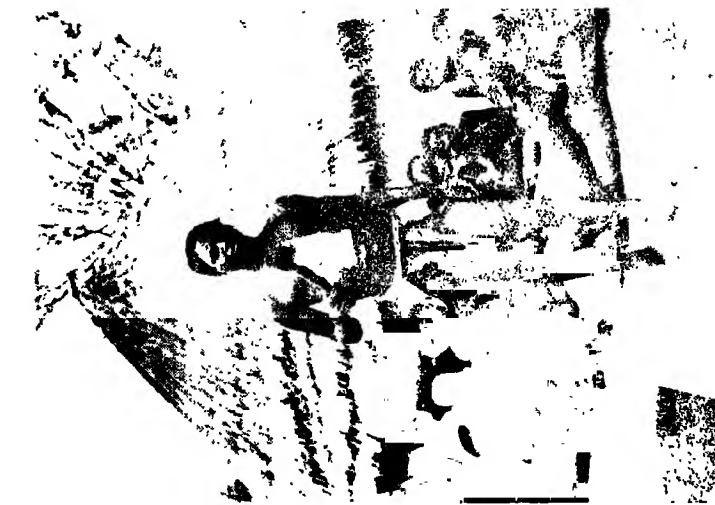
rites, and for the periodical *gayas* (co-operative farm-work). Some is reserved for seed purposes, and the remainder is used for general household purposes or to sell in exchange for clothes.

The second grade quality is deposited on a platform in the compound to meet the immediate needs of the household during the dry season. The farmer always makes a gift of three or four bundles of corn to his wife at harvest that she may purchase clothes. He also hands her a few bundles of corn, sufficient to meet the food-requirements of himself, his wife, and his children for the ensuing fortnight. This the wife threshes and stores in a small indoor granary. Later he issues corn to his wife at intervals of five days or longer. A wife is considered reckless and extravagant if she uses corn issued for household consumption in order to give gifts to her friends or to provide clothes for herself. This would lead to remonstrance by her husband, who would tell his wife that if she wants to purchase anything she must inform him and he will supply her with corn specially for the purpose. If she fritters away the periodical supplies of corn issued as food, the husband will foresee a period of starvation for the family.

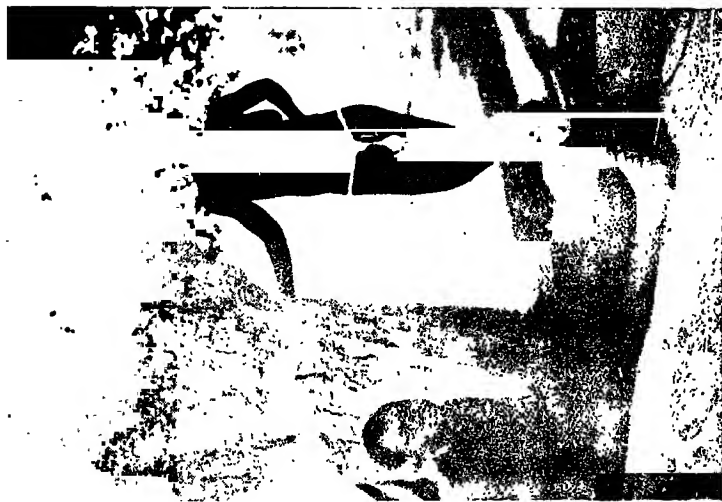
If the family is large, grain may be stored in a number of granaries. Grain to be used during the dry season is stored in one granary, grain to be used during the wet season in another, grain to be used for beer-making in a third, and grain to be sold in a fourth. There are separate granaries also for bulrush-millet, benniseed, beans, and ground-nuts.

The bulrush-millet is harvested three months prior to the guinea-corn; and after the bulrush-millet harvest the benniseed crop is gathered. This is pulled up by the roots and made into bundles bound with fibre near the head. The bundles are stood-up in the fields, with the stalks pulled out wide so that the wind may be able to penetrate. When dry the bundles are collected. A hole is made in the ground, and the seed is beaten out with sticks into this hole (with the idea of confining the seed to a small area). The seed is then winnowed by the women and transferred to bags of woven palm fronds. The bags are stored in a granary. The better quality of seed is set aside for sale, use in religious rites, and for seed purposes. The second quality is used for household cooking. The stalks of the plant are burnt, and the ashes used for flavouring soups.

The Jukun have recently adopted from the Munshi the practice



A KONA HOF



HAIR-DRESSING

of planting two crops of benniseed annually, one at the first rains and one after the bulrush-millet harvest.

Ground-nuts are planted in April, either on the bush farms, or in patches of ground on the outskirts of the village. The ridges are made by men (usually), the clods of grass being turned down into the ground. The nuts are planted by making a hole in the ground with the heel, inserting two or three nuts, and kicking back some soil over them. In a broad ridge four sets of nuts are planted across the ridge, two sets with the right heel and two with the left. A boy is set to guard the newly planted farm, to keep crows, pigeons and other birds from digging up the nuts. But after a few showers of rain this precaution becomes unnecessary owing to the settling of the soil. After a month or so the farm is weeded by women and small boys, and later earth is heaped up round the young plants to replace the earth washed out by the rains. This work is carried out by women. When the crop is ready for gathering the men go round the farm digging up the ground-nuts with a hoe, the women and young people following with baskets to collect the nuts. When the basket is full it is emptied at some central spot ; but a few of the nuts are always left in the basket with a view to increasing the crop by magic or preventing its decrease. The conception appears to be that the spirits, having been given a tithe of the nuts, will be content, and leave the main supply alone.

When the work is completed each woman assistant is entitled to appropriate for her own use a calabashful of ground-nuts. The harvested crop is carried home by the women and their female friends, and is spread out in some open space in the compound to dry, care being taken to prevent inroads by the household fowls. When thoroughly dried the nuts of poorer quality are set aside for immediate use, the remainder being transferred to bags of palm-fronds and stored in a granary. Many women farm ground-nuts on their own account, using the proceeds of their labour either as food for the family or as a medium of exchange. Some women store their nuts in large pots, covered with a potsherd which is plastered over with mud.

Sweet potatoes are also grown extensively by women, though men of the household may assist the women in making the mounds. Or women owners may employ male friends to perform this work, rewarding the workers with gifts of beer. The crop is planted in

June, and after a month the farm is cleared of grass, hoes being used for this purpose. There is a second weeding carried out later, but this is done by hand. When the crop is ready (after three months), the larger tubers are removed by hand, the earth being loosened with a stick. This work is done solely by women. Later the balance of the crop is dug up, and in this the women may be assisted by men. The harvested crop is boiled in large pots and is then cut into small pieces and dried in the sun. This preserves the potatoes so that they remain in good condition for many months. The pieces are stored in pots or in a granary. They may be sold or used as food, being boiled, sometimes with beans, and mixed with benniseed or ground-nuts. The smaller tubers are cut up, dried in the sun, and used for sweetening soups.

Cassava may be grown by men on the bush farms or by women on the home farms. It is planted in two rows to each ridge. Men, women and children all take a share in weeding the farm, but if the ridges are broken down by the rains they are generally restored by the men. The crop may be planted at any time, and is ready for use after three and a half months ; but the major part of the crop is left standing in the ground until required, when it is pulled up by the women. The crop may be disposed of in a cooked or uncooked condition ; or it may be used as food by the household, either raw or cooked. It may be made into flour by paring the skin, soaking in water, pounding, and drying. This is, of course, woman's work, and if the crop had belonged to the husband he rewards his wife with a gift for her services. If a man has no wife, he may employ someones else's wife to convert the cassava into flour, and in such a case the woman is entitled to one-third of the flour.

The ground-nuts known (to the Hausa) as *gurjia* are grown both by men and by women. The nuts are planted in small mounds during July or August, the mounds being prepared by the men but the planting being usually done by the women. The first weeding is carried out by hoeing, but the second weeding must be done by hand, lest injury should be done to the spreading roots. When the leaves begin to turn red, the crop is ready for gathering. The first picking is used as food by the household, or is sold. The main crop is dug up later, dried in the sun, or stored in a granary, a portion being set aside in a special bag for seed purposes.

Koko yams are cultivated principally by old women on

marshland. They may be grown with or without the use of ridges, and with pumpkins intermingled. The hibiscus known as *yakua* may be grown along the edges of the farm. When the leaves of the koko yam crop begin to turn yellow the tubers may be dug up as required. But they have to be well boiled before use, as otherwise they irritate the throat. When the leaves of the plant have become dry all the remaining tubers are dug up and transferred to the compound. As koko yams do not keep for any considerable time the crop is not grown on a large scale.

Rice is not extensively cultivated by the Jukun. It is grown in ridges on swampy ground. The planting is done either by men or by women, the seeds being dropped into a hole made by the heel. As many seeds are planted in one hole as can be held by three fingers and the thumb. The holes are made close to each other. The farm is usually fenced to protect it from bush animals. It is weeded of grass by hand after some two months, and as the crop ripens it has to be guarded against the depredations of wild duck and crested crane. When the crop is ready the men prepare a pit to receive it. The pit is two or three feet deep with a similar diameter, and all loose earth is carefully scraped out. Early on the following morning the men and youths begin reaping with sickles, each person being assigned one ridge. The reaping is done by seizing the head of rice with the left hand and cutting it off with the right. When the left hand becomes full, the heads are laid in a bundle on the ground, and are collected by the women and deposited at the edge of the pit, where they are left for some days to dry. The ears are then beaten from the stalks into the pit, sticks being used for this purpose. All members of the household engage in this work. The rice is then winnowed (in trays of plaited grass) by the women and is deposited in calabashes. The men pack it into bags. When the crop has been brought home the owner gives some to his wife for culinary use, and he may also send some to his sisters and his maternal uncles. Gifts of rice are also given to those women who had assisted in the harvesting.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that many farmers now live on their farms for the greater part of the year. If they are men of some importance they may build a special eating-enclosure on the farm; but normally the men eat together under a rough shelter (away from the women). The farmer may take with him

the ring symbol of his Akwa cult, and make a circular hole in the ground for its reception, surrounding the place with matting. Or he may wear the symbol on his arm. In this way he secures protection for his temporary home.

The Jukun keep sheep, goats, dogs, chickens, and a few ducks. A man who owns a large number of sheep and goats may hand over some to a member of another household to tend, the herdsman being rewarded by an occasional gift of a lamb or kid. Dogs are kept for hunting, and are sometimes used for sacrifice and for food. A farmer may reward those who assist him in heavy farm work by gifts of dog's flesh. Dogs are less well cared for than sheep or goats. During the wet season the latter are tied up and fed on leaves and grass three times a day. But dogs have generally to fend for themselves. They are seldom given more than the scrapings of pots.

Hunting.—Among the Jukun, hunting is not necessarily a hereditary profession confined to special families. Hunters have special secrets without which no man can hope to be successful, but anyone who wishes to become a hunter may do so by attaching himself to the household of a hunter. He becomes, in the first instance, the servant or assistant of the hunter, and gradually learns the technique of the craft. At a later stage he is shown the secrets of the poisons used and also the various charms. He may be required to pay something; but if he has served a long and faithful apprenticeship his master will part with these secrets without payments.

For the hunting of the larger game, the professional hunter usually adopts a disguise. He may disguise himself as a hornbill, using as a headpiece the head of a hornbill, or an artificial representation in wood of a hornbill's head. He is fumigated with a secret medicine which is believed to have the power of drawing bush-animals towards him. He also arms himself with charms designed to protect him from the evil spirits which are believed to accompany the larger game-animals. He has charms which render him invisible, or prevent him from losing his way. He washes his hands in a medicine which ensures that arrows, on hitting a target, shall not fall to the ground without effect. He offers rites to Kenjo the day before he sets out, and he must avoid sexual relations that night. He leaves his compound at early dawn in order, apart from other reasons, that he may avoid

meeting or speaking to anyone ; for he is in a condition of taboo, and contact with things profane would cause the disturbance and disappearance of the spiritual forces which surround him. His sole arms are his bow and arrows. He may mount a tree near a watering-pool, or some place which game-animals are in the habit of frequenting, and there wait patiently for his quarry. Or, on sighting game in the bush, he may don his hornbill mask, swathe his knees in cloths (to protect them while he is crawling), and then, kneeling down, will make his way slowly towards the quarry, plucking things here and there from the ground, like a hornbill. He carries his bow in his left hand and a poisoned arrow in his right. It is said that an antelope on sighting him will begin to approach closely, as antelopes like being "ticked" by hornbills. When within range the hunter discharges his arrow, and as he follows-up the wounded animal he keeps saying : " Do not let him cross that path, for if you do you have lost your character." This remark is addressed to the poison which is regarded as possessed of a spiritual personality.

Another disguise used is the skin of a baboon which covers the hunter's head and back. He crawls along, bounding about like a baboon and picking berries here and there. If the game-animal, after the hunter's first shot, remains in the vicinity, wondering where the shot had come from, the hunter continues simulating the actions of a baboon until he again comes within range.

Another device specially favoured by the Jukun of Kundi, is for the hunter to go to the bush accompanied by a tame female cob which he controls by a halter fastened to its hoof. On sighting game the hunter conceals himself behind the female cob, which soon attracts the males of a herd of cob. In this way a hunter may be enabled to kill two or three male cob at once, and able also to approach closely such other game-animals as roan and haartebeeste.

All hunters are, of course, aware of the necessity of approaching quarry from the lee-side.

Noose traps are used for trapping game-animals of moderate size which go about in herds and damage farms. These traps take the form of a series of running nooses suspended between two branches across paths used by the herd, at the same level from the ground as the heads of the animals. The nooses are attached to

strong ropes of fibre or leather, the ends of which are made fast on each side to a stout tree. The trap is camouflaged with grass. The hunter may sleep close to the trap, and is speedily on the spot to track down an animal which has caught its head in one of the nooses.

Another trap of the same character for catching single animals which invade a farm at night is a noose held in an upright position by two sticks ; the end of the rope, of which the noose forms part, is made fast to a heavy log of wood.

The method of dealing with porcupines, which frequently work great mischief to the crops, is interesting. The hunter (or farmer) goes to his farm at night, armed with a spear, a potsherd, and one or two bundles of straw. He climbs a tree on the farm at a point close to where the porcupine is accustomed to dig up the ground-nuts or cassava. He listens intently, and when he hears the porcupine at work he quietly descends and lights his straw torch, concealing it in the potsherd. He approaches the porcupine noiselessly, and when he thinks he has reached the spot, he pulls out the straw torch and holds it over the porcupine's head. The porcupine crouches, perplexed as to what he should do. The hunter immediately takes his stand facing the animal and spears it. When the quills fly out backwards, as it contracts its body, the hunter remains unscathed, and immediately aims another blow at the porcupine's head. A hunter who is not skilled in hunting porcupines will generally ask a friend to accompany him, that both may simultaneously engage the animal. Hunters are frequently wounded by porcupines, and when this happens they drink an antidote (*mbuto*). The flesh of the porcupine is eaten, and the quills are collected, as they are believed to be a powerful remedy against the operations of witches and sorcerers.

The hunting of badgers is a sport among the Jukun, as it is in England. The hunters, armed with spears, form a circle round the badger's earth and block up all holes by which the animal might escape. The main entrance to the earth is then opened by digging, and when the hole is sufficiently large one hunter enters with his spears and endeavours to ascertain the direction of the badger's retreat, signalling the results to those above, who in turn begin digging over the spot where the badger is believed to be at work. One by one the various retreats of the

badger are cut off by the man inside, who, by using his spear, may be able to kill the badger, before it becomes necessary to dig it out of its last retreat. It sometimes happens that a man digging for a badger loses his life by being sealed up in a tunnel which a fellow-worker had closed, the latter being unaware that his companion had followed that route. The operations may last several days, and in this case a guard has to be posted at night. The main entrance may be blocked with logs of wood, and if the badger tries to escape through the logs, he is easily detected by the noise. The flesh of the captured badger is eaten, and its claws, after being carefully counted to see that none has been purloined, are burnt, for it is believed that badger's claws can be used for working black magic.

During the dry season drives are held for hunting and capturing the smaller forms of edible animals. These drives take place after the annual burning of the bush, and centre round the areas of unburnt grass. Those taking part, armed with two spears each, and accompanied by their dogs, surround the unburnt area and set fire to the grass. The animals lurking there seek to escape at once, but are compelled by the loud shouts of the hunters to remain under cover as long as possible. On finally emerging their bewildered condition makes them an easy prey. Strict rules govern the division of the spoil. Thus if a gazelle is killed as a result of four successive spears which had remained embedded in the animal's body the animal belongs entirely to him who threw the first spear. The neck is usually given as a gift to the thrower of the second, but the others are not entitled to any share. No consideration is given to the owner of a spear which had not remained in the body of the animal until the animal had died. Or if a dog catches an animal by the tail or pins it to the ground, so that the hunters are able to kill it, the animal is given to the owner of the dog. The hunter who had first thrust a spear into the animal captured by the dog receives a gift of the neck only. In the case of the smaller animals which are killed by clubs no share is given to a man who had taken a secondary part in the killing. Drives are sometimes carried out in open park land, the men beating the ground with sticks and shouting as they go along and the dogs scouring any spots where the grass is growing thickly. Certain areas of country are regarded as royal game reserves, and here annual drives are held by the king's

followers and others who care to join in the hunt. A proportion of the kill, varying between one to two-thirds, is handed over to the king. If a man has killed three or four animals the king takes two in either case. If he has killed one only he seeks out another man who has killed one, and between them they give one to the king and share the remaining one.

There is always a leader of the hunt known as the *aku nyô*, who directs operations and settles disputes. Before the drive begins the *aku nyô* takes a species of grass and touches the spears of each huntsman, saying: "If a leopard, snake, hyena or other animal opens its mouth to catch or injure one of us to-day may its tooth die. May we kill a leopard or lion that we may bring it to the king."

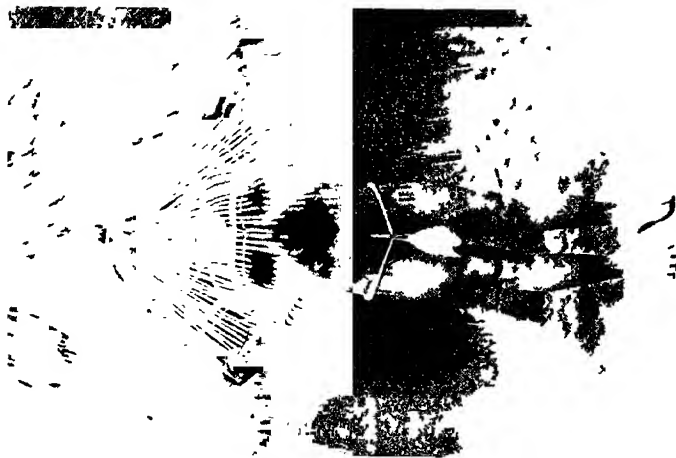
The wives of professional hunters are, as stated in an earlier chapter, subject to a number of taboos, especially sexual taboos. If the wife of a hunter commits adultery her husband will, it is believed, meet with continual unsuccess. The natives offer no explanation of this belief. It is possibly connected with the idea that sexual immorality is particularly offensive to Ama the Earth-deity, the author of all living things, including all bush-animals. If a hunter observes that his arrows constantly miss or fail to take effect he will usually, in the first instance, become suspicious of his wife's chastity, though he may finally arrive at the conclusion that his unsuccess is due to the interference of one or other of his ancestors or of his household gods. Or he may form the opinion that it is due to an enemy who practises witchcraft or has obtained some evil medicine from a sorcerer.

As already stated in Chapter IV ¹ certain animals are regarded as having a powerful soul-substance or *bwi*, and if a hunter kills any of these animals he must protect himself by special rites. If the rites for allaying the pursuing ghost are not performed the hunter will be pursued by the ghost and killed. If they are only partially performed the hunter will dream constantly of the slain animal and will eventually go mad and die. It is necessary to protect oneself against the *bwi* of lions, leopards, hyenas, wart-hogs, and roan antelopes. For some reason the roan-antelope is believed to have an abnormally powerful *bwi*. It is said that this animal when it has been severely wounded and lies down

¹ See p. 204.



A YOUNG NURSE KONA)

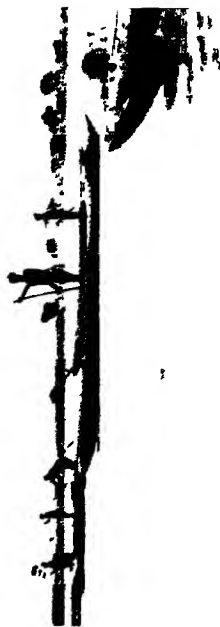


A KONA GIRL WITH FISH TRAP



III 4A (17) Hsüchung Ni

(Note p. 419)



ON THE WUNNIP RIVER
(from negative lent to Mr. K. I. Hphinstone)

to die keeps its upper eye open ; and if the hunter approaches it before it has died and meets its dying glance he will be pursued by the animal's ghost until his own soul has been captured. It is believed that *bwi* rites are, in this instance, of no avail.

Side by side with the belief in the *bwi* there is a concomitant belief that bush-animals are accompanied by spirits who are their lords or, as the Jukun would say, "Masters of the house." These spiritual controls may be good or bad from the point of view of the hunter. No hunter can kill any animal without the consent of the spirit controlling the animal. If he is successful in killing several members of a single herd or species he concludes that the spiritual control of that herd or species is good. Vice versa it is bad. The controlling spirit is apparently regarded as a kind of herdsman.

This is of some interest for the study of totemic beliefs, for it was stated by one Jukun that the spiritual leader of a herd might be the ancestor of the hunter and might, from feelings of vindictiveness, continually inhibit living members of his family from killing any animal of the herd or species, so that finally all the members of the hunter's family would give up making the attempt. This did not appear, however, to be a normal Jukun belief.

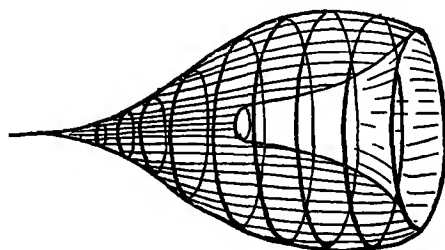
Any bush animal which, because of its excessive proportions, or for any other reason, abandons the herd and acts independently, is regarded as being accompanied by an evil spirit, which confers on the animal the power of second-sight. Few Jukun hunters are ready to attack such solitary animals, for it is believed that they are possessed of a specially powerful *bwi*. The relationship of the *bwi* to the spiritual control in such cases is not clear.

Fishing.—Fishing is an important industry, especially among that section of Jukun-speaking people known as the Wurbo.

The means employed for catching fish are (a) traps, (b) nets, (c) lines with hooks, (d) spears, and (e) poisons.

Traps are not employed to any great extent. A hand trap for catching fish in shallow water is used by the women of Kona, but I did not observe this type of trap among the Jukun of Wukari. It is illustrated in the accompanying photograph.

Conical basket traps known as *galla* are also used. The design is as follows :—



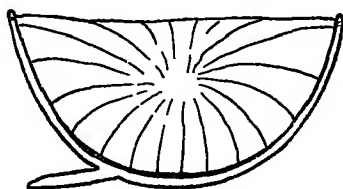
These traps are made either of fibre or of woven grass, and are attached to the bank by their tail string. They catch fish which are working their way up-stream. They are also used in pools. The fish are removed by undoing the binding at the tail-end.

A more elaborate trap observed at Dampar is designed as follows :—

It is baited with guinea-corn bran and is placed in the centre of a stream. Fences are erected on each side of the trap so that fish following the sides of the stream are forced to seek a passage in the centre and there enter the trap. This type of trap is non-Jukun, and was introduced by the fishermen of Kebbi, who have numerous settlements on the banks of the Benue.

Nets are of three kinds. There is the usual large seine net common all over Nigeria. It is known to the Hausa as *taru* and to the Jukun as *andu*. A smaller form of this net which is known as *tsali* is worked by two men in shallow water. The water is dragged with the net, or else the net is fixed and the fish driven towards it. This form of fishing is necessarily carried

out in shallow water and the fish caught are the smaller varieties. There is also the hand net known to the Hausa as *homa* and to the Jukun as *komo* or *kiba*. It is made of a semi-circular frame of wood to which is attached a pouched net woven with the fibre of the bean plant. Its appearance is as follows :—



This type of net is not used by individual fishermen, but only during the communal drives which are held in the dry season in shallow waters. The fishermen, each armed with two nets, enter the pool in a circle, and, standing close to one another, drive the fish to the centre, where they are easily caught in the hand-nets. In the deeper places the fishermen dive down in a circle with their nets to the bed of the river, and such fish as escape are caught by a reserve of men standing in shallower water. The fish caught by each man are his own property, but if a man has borrowed a net he must pay some proportion of his catch to the owner. The leader of the drive is also given a gift. The fish when removed from the net are deposited in a string bag which each fisherman carries at the waist.

The pools are normally open to all to fish ; but, when drives are carried out in pools which had been cleared for fishing purposes at the instance of the king or chief, part of the catch is regarded as a royal perquisite. If the pool had originally been cleared by some former king a proportion of the fish is given to his successor, the gift being regarded as the fulfilment of the promise made by the fishermen's forefathers to those of the king. There is a Jukun proverb which says, in this connection, " What the mouth has shut let not the hand open."

The characteristic net of the Jukun for ordinary fishing purposes is that known as *akauji*. It is best described by the photograph overleaf. It consists of a pouched net fixed to a circular framework, which is anything from ten to fifteen feet in diameter. The frame-work is made of eight pieces of wood

lashed together with fibre, a groove being cut in one of the two overlapping pieces of wood to prevent the fibre slipping. The two bottom pieces of wood have a natural rectangular bend, but the two top pieces are bent round by hand. The frame swings on a lever of two forked branches fixed to the bank of the river, and is lowered into the water by means of a string. When the fisherman thinks that fish may be passing over the lowered net he raises the net, and the captured fish drop into a basket at the base, where they are either speared or killed with sticks.

There are two methods of fishing by lines. The first is known by the Hausa term of *marimari* or *mamari*. It is a line which is stretched across the river and to which are attached, at intervals of six inches, pieces of string seven inches long with an iron hook at the end. This line is weighted so that it sinks to the bottom, but is held up by floats on the surface to prevent the hooks from actually catching in the river bed. The ends of the line are made fast to a tree on each bank. Fish learn by experience the danger of these lines, and to avoid them will swim nearer the surface. The fishermen, therefore, may vary the depth of the line by lessening or removing the weights. Bells made of tins with nails inserted are sometimes attached to the surface line. When he hears the bell ring the fisherman pulls up the line and spears the fish. It is said that if large hooks are used and placed close together, it is possible to catch a crocodile. The crocodile becomes entangled with one hook and, in its struggle, with many more, and so finally dies. The hooks are not usually baited; but sometimes fish-bait is used, with the special object of catching a crocodile. *Marimari* lines are not used at night. For night work the Jukun employed the lines called *kpwesa*, or, to use the Hausa term, *yan zube*. These lines are baited with worms, snails, meat or small fish. The practice of using rod lines with baited hooks is followed by some individual fishermen. The bait may be worms, chicken's liver, a piece of frog or porridge. The larger fish caught in this way are speared.

Spearing is employed by fishermen who scour in their canoes the backwaters to which fish retire to spawn. Or the fishermen may follow the banks of a river during the dry season, spearing the fish as they rest in the shade of over-hanging trees. In the dry season also regular spearing drives are held. Thirty or forty men follow each other along the bank, each thrusting his spear into

the water on the off-chance of catching a fish. A double-pronged harpoon is also used for killing fish at night from a canoe, the fisherman using a grass torch to locate the fish. A single-pronged harpoon is used for killing crocodiles, buffaloes, and hippopotami. The method of killing crocodiles is as follows. Two baited hooks are attached by a string to a floating stick of bamboo. After the crocodile has swallowed the hooks his position is indicated by the piece of bamboo and he is then harpooned. Buffaloes are driven into the water and are harpooned from canoes. The harpoonist stands at the bow, and the navigator at the stern has to back quickly should the buffalo turn. If a harpooned buffalo makes his way to the shore he is followed up and killed by a spear thrust.

One of the commonest means of catching fish is by poisoning the waters. A number of men agree to act in concert, and appoint a leader who is known as the *Ashibyehtwa*. Each man prepares the species of poison he favours, and the leader then goes to consult a diviner as to whether they are likely to have success at the waters intended, and if so on what day they should start out. On arrival at the chosen waters each man begins erecting a platform on which to deposit the fish he expects to catch. The leader then calls on each man to bring his contribution of flour, salt, and pounded benniseed, in order that rites may be performed in honour of "The Strong Ones", i.e. of the local spirits of the bush. Accompanied by two senior men the leader goes with the offerings to a large tree in the neighbourhood, and after cleaning up the ground round the foot of the tree he goes down on his knees and says, "Well, what am I to say? You, my father so-and-so, if we have left our homes in order that someone's son may become meat or fish for us, then may we have no success. But if our purpose is not witchcraft, but to obtain food by honest means, then grant that the fish may drink the poison which we are about to place in the water. Thus shall we know that you, our forefather, have accompanied us hither. Here are our offerings. Bear them, we pray you, to the great ones. May the fish drink the poison, and when they have done so may they rise to the surface and not remain at the bottom."

After these rites all assemble at the river's bank, and, after warning each man that on no account must he relieve nature in the water, the leader selects a man to deposit the first instalment

of poison. The man selected is one who, when he drinks beer at home, becomes easily intoxicated, the conception being that the fish will, on the principle of sympathetic magic, become easily stupefied. The man fills both hands with poison and then falls backwards into the water like a drunk man, scattering the poison in all directions. The others follow suit ; and as they scatter the poison they address it by its name, saying : " Make the fish rise to the surface ; let them not lie at the bottom of the water ; for otherwise the water will say that he and not you has killed his offspring." The fish are (with the exception of the mud-fish) soon stupefied and caught. If the fishermen are numerous, every man acts for himself ; but if they are few they act together and divide the fish, after they have cleaned and dried them over a smoke fire. The first fish caught is, however, put on one side ; and after being cooked is offered at the base of the tree to " the Strong Ones ", with a prayer that the fishermen's eyes may be opened and that they may add to their catch without measure.

Next morning the operations are continued, the fishermen diving to the bottom of the river in search of those poisoned fish which had not risen to the surface. Before returning home, each man is required to give two fish to the leader, one as a reward for his priestly services, and the other as a payment to the diviner.

Most professional fishermen arm themselves with secret charms to ensure success. Some tie a species of tuber known as *gadali* to their fishing implements, others employ a lily root known as *abî*. This lily is considered so sacred that oblations are offered to it. Even young people will plant the lily near their huts, and if they kill a bird they will pour some of the blood over the lily, believing that it was by the grace of the lily that the bird had been drawn in their direction.

The reason for the respect accorded to this species of lily is given in the following story. Once upon a time, a man saw a fish-eagle catch a fish. It did not eat the fish at once, but brought it to the banks of the river, where it vomited forth the root of the *abî* lily with the purpose, it is presumed, of first offering to the lily the blood of the fish it had caught. The man drove off the fish-eagle which, in its hurry, was unable to re-swallow the lily root. The man then took possession of the root and planted it at his home, having concluded that the lily was the secret of the fish-eagle's ability to catch fish.

By possessing himself of the lily root, he also would be able to catch fish like the fish-eagle. And so the lily has become a charm for fishermen; and if a fisherman is going to take part in a fish-drive, he peels off a little of the lily root and wraps it up in a cloth which he fastens to his hand-net. All Jukun fishermen use this charm and attach it to their fishing utensils, believing that it has the magical power of attracting fish. Periodically they offer to it oblations of the blood of the red cat-fish.

This species of fish, incidentally, is believed to have a powerful *bwi* or soul-substance. Anyone, therefore, who accidentally or by design captures and kills a red cat-fish has to be fumigated in order that the pursuing ghost of the fish may not compass the death of the slayer or of one of his family. The whiskers of the fish must be removed; and they, together with the oil of the fish and the dung of a bush-cat, are wrapped up in a piece of dirty rag and burnt. The slayer has to breathe in the fumes. The intention is that the evil smell of the fumes shall keep the *bwi* of the fish at bay.

All fishermen protect themselves by charms against attacks by crocodiles. There are charms also for protection against the stings of water scorpions and against the assaults of the numerous evil spirits which haunt all waters.

Fish are cured by being opened, cleaned, and placed on a platform under which there is a fire. The process of curing lasts from two to four days, according to the size of the fish, and when cured the fish are fit for use for two or even three months. An alternative method is to place the fish on a pot, the bottom of which has been knocked out. A fire is lit underneath. This method is only suitable when the catch has been meagre. Some fishermen cure their fish simply by exposing them to the sun.

Canoe-making.—A fisherman who requires a new canoe seeks out some other men who have the same need, and each assists the other. They go off together to the forest with their tools and supplies of food. There they pitch their camp, or rather choose a site for purposes of eating and sleeping, for there is no necessity for building shelters as the work of canoe-making is always carried out in the dry season. The first duty is the propitiation of the spirits which haunt the surroundings; and the leader of the party, therefore, immediately clears a space round the foot of the largest tree in the vicinity and deposits an offering of food with a prayer

addressed to his ancestors as follows: "You, our forefathers, we have come here because of our poverty, and not for the purpose of devouring our fellows. May we receive in abundance what we have come to seek, and grant that we may return home in health. May we also, during our stay, be successful in killing game and in finding dead game in the bush."

It is noteworthy that in all Jukun rites the appeal is made to the ancestors, even though the rites are directed towards the propitiation of local spirits who are not regarded as ancestors.

On the following morning, each man goes forth into the forest armed with a white cloth, and when he sees a tree of dimensions suitable for the making of a canoe¹ he binds the cloth round the tree, the cloth being regarded as a gift to the spirit or spirits that tenant the tree. It may be noted that in expeditions of this character there are two leaders among the party, one charged with the religious duties, and one the person considered most expert in the practical work of canoe-making.

On the following morning after breakfast all take their tools and proceed to the site of the tree chosen by the expert leader. There the religious leader slays a cock and pours the blood at the foot of the tree after having uttered some such prayer as the following: "You, our forefathers, who have accompanied us here, behold we give you blood. Do you carry this blood to the spiritual owners of this forest, for we have come here with a single heart. May none of us fall sick in consequence of the work which we are about to begin, but may we all return home in safety, having accomplished our purpose." He then takes an axe and saying, "Great Ones, permit us," he begins hacking at the tree. The others join in, and before long the tree is on the ground, the white cloth offered to the spirits being left tied round the stump. They measure out the length of the canoe required and cut off the unrequired parts. The trunk is hollowed out with adzes and a rough shape is given to the bow and stern. Next day the workers deal similarly with another tree until the wants of all the members of the party have been met. During the operations the members refresh themselves with draughts of mealy water, and in the evening they replenish their stocks of food by hunting lizards and rats or by spearing fish.

¹ The trees most commonly used in canoe-making are the *Chlorophora excelsa*, *Azelia africana*, and *Khaya senegalensis*.



COLLECTING THE SALT IMPREGNATED SOIL



FILTER POTS

The roughly fashioned canoes are dragged down to the river bank over trees and branches used as rollers. They are sunk in the water in order that the wood may not split during the final operation of finishing-off the canoe. This process of soaking may last as long as a month, and during this period the party returns home. On re-assembling each man brings with him an expert in canoe carpentry. The canoe is pulled in to the bank, and the final work, which includes decorations, does not occupy more than three or four days. Wooden paddles are made and poles of stick or bamboo are obtained. The workers are rewarded with beer, and the expert is given a chicken in addition. These gifts are not regarded as full payment for services rendered, for the person who received the services is expected to return them to his assistants on some future occasion. The owner of a new canoe calls the canoe his bride, and before entering it deposits a little flour on the prow as an offering to the soul of the canoe.

The canoe owner may use his canoe for ferrying, or he may lend it for purposes of transport or of fishing. If the canoe gets damaged the borrower must assist in repairing it. If it drifts away during the night and is lost, the owner must be fully compensated. One who borrows a canoe for fishing purposes must give half his catch to the owner of the canoe. But if the borrower is accompanied by an assistant, the catch is divided so that the owner and each of the fishermen gets one-third of the catch.

A charm, sometimes the sacred sign of Akwa, is set at the prow as a protection against theft of the canoe, and a "medicine" for attracting fish is added when the canoe is required for fishing purposes. Before setting out on a fishing expedition the crew of a canoe deposit small offerings of porridge at the prow for the "soul" of the canoe, in order that the canoe may conduct them to places where fish are abundant, and may bring them home safely. Similarly if a man uses a canoe to transport his crops he deposits a few heads of corn as a gift to the "soul" of the canoe.

A canoe owner who is a fisherman is generally accompanied by a younger brother, cousin, son, or nephew, fellow members of his own household. In such cases the catch is first shown to the "father" of the owner of the canoe, i.e. to the head of the household. The "father" appropriates such proportion of the catch as he thinks fit. The canoe owner appropriates the major part of the residue, giving a small gift only to his younger brother

or cousin. This is not so unreasonable as may at first sight appear, for the junior companions of the canoe owner can at all times call on their senior brother (or "father") for such assistance as they may happen to require. If the canoe owner is accompanied on his fishing expedition by a friend who is not a member of his own household he has to compensate the friend by giving him half of the catch.

The senior man in a fishing canoe usually stands at the bow and does most of the spearing, the junior being at the stern and responsible for the navigation. This is not, however, an invariable rule; for if a junior is a more expert spearman he occupies the forward position.

The preparation of Salt.—The prevalence of brine-springs and pools throughout the areas formerly controlled by the Jukun is strongly suggestive that the desire to control the supplies of salt, one of the most prized commodities among inland peoples, exercised a considerable influence in the formation and building-up of the Jukun state. Salt has ever been regarded as a divine gift, a substance "dear to the gods" as Plato said. The presence of salt conferred a peculiar sanctity on any district; and the Jukun with their elaborate religious ritual, were peculiarly fitted to exercise control over salt-bearing areas, the full advantage of which could only be obtained with the assistance of the gods. It is for this reason that, even at the present time when the salt-workings have, to a great extent, passed into the control of Hausa Muhammadans, the assistance of pagan Jukun priests is still sought in order to secure a successful salt-season. It is even a matter of speculation as to how far the necessity felt for propitiating the gods of the salt-bearing areas was itself a mainspring in the creation and evolution of the Jukun ritual. The need of salt as an article of diet has frequently in history induced nomadic peoples to assume a settled life in a salt-bearing area; and it is noteworthy that in many of the traditions of Jukun settlements in salt-bearing areas the founders are said to have been hunters who, in their hunting expeditions, came accidentally on lands incrustated with salt, and decided to settle there, maintaining their position subsequently by force of arms.¹ Just as in European history the Germans waged war for the possession of saline springs, so the Jukun, by war, secured

¹ See my article on the Jukun of the Awei district (op. cit.).

possession of all the salt-bearing areas of the Benue basin ; and when they in turn were overcome by war in later times they sought by religious means to maintain the position which, afore-time, they had gained by force of arms.

The general method of winning the salt, viz., by the concentration and evaporation of the salt solutions, is that usually pursued in other parts of the world. Thus among seaside peoples it is usual to trap the tide, if necessary in basins puddled with clay, the water being allowed to settle, and the concentrated salt being removed by a scraper. Among inland peoples the brine-impregnated soil is collected and filtered, the brine being subjected to a process of boiling by which the salt is concentrated. Before describing the Jukun process it may be of interest to mention that of the Bunyoro of East Africa, as described by Mr. Roscoe. "In the river beds are the salt claims each marked out with stones. To obtain the salt they spread over the rock-surface in the dry season a kind of sand ; and the water, which contains many saline substances, bubbles through the hole in the rock, and saturates the sands. The sand is scraped up and washed in pots, which are perforated with small holes at the bottom, the water filtering into a large vessel underneath. This water is put into pots over a wood fire, and evaporated, leaving a crust of salt deposit behind it." ¹

Among the Jukun the general method is the same, varying only in detail, according to the presence or absence of a definite saline spring. Thus at Awei there is no spring, but there is an extensive marsh outside the town from which saline deposits are obtainable in the dry season. This marsh is, at the beginning of the dry season, cleared of grass ; and after the performance of religious rites ² the salt-impregnated soil is carried home, filtered and evaporated at leisure. The first layer of briny soil is scraped off and carried away ; it is replaced by another coating of soil, which soon becomes impregnated with the saline salts (the process being assisted by adding the brine of such trickling springs as exist). The briny soil is not, as elsewhere, treated *in situ*, but is collected in the compound and is later deposited in a number of pottery sieves placed on a log of palm wood at an angle of thirty degrees, so that the water passed through them flows into

¹ Roscoe, *The Soul of Central Africa*, p. 160.

² For a description of these rites see my article on the Awei district, *op. cit.*

a pot at the base of the log. This pot receives the concentrate which is evaporated off, leaving the deposit of salt. The work of concentration and evaporation is usually postponed until the first onset of the rains has put a stop to the collection of the salt-impregnated soil. The soil, when cleared of salt, may be used for house-building. The work is in the hands of women, acting on behalf of their husbands, or having themselves purchased the rights from the male owners of the claims. They frequently employ pagans from neighbouring tribes for the manual work of carrying the briny soil from the marshes to the town, rewarding their employees with an agreed proportion of the salt obtained. All the salt lands were formerly in the hands of the local chief who received a percentage of the salt won. But the chief took to issuing rights over the marshes to his various officials with the result that offices were eagerly sought. The wives of the officials worked the claims; but the claims might be sublet to other women. During the nineteenth century, the local chief used a proportion of the salt won in order pay the tribute which was exacted by his Fulani overlords.

At Azara, Abuni, and several other towns the brine is obtained from pools which, on the conclusion of the rains, are baled out in order to increase their salinity. A layer of soft earth is spread in the vicinity of the pool and this is sprinkled repeatedly with brine. When thoroughly impregnated it may be treated *in situ* so that the labour of transporting the soil into the town, as at Awei, is avoided. But in such cases the work of concentration and evaporation cannot, as at Awei, be carried out at leisure during the wet season. The owners of the pools hire them out to the women workers. Thus a woman may hire the use of a pool for a week at a time, drawing as much brine as she can use in this time.

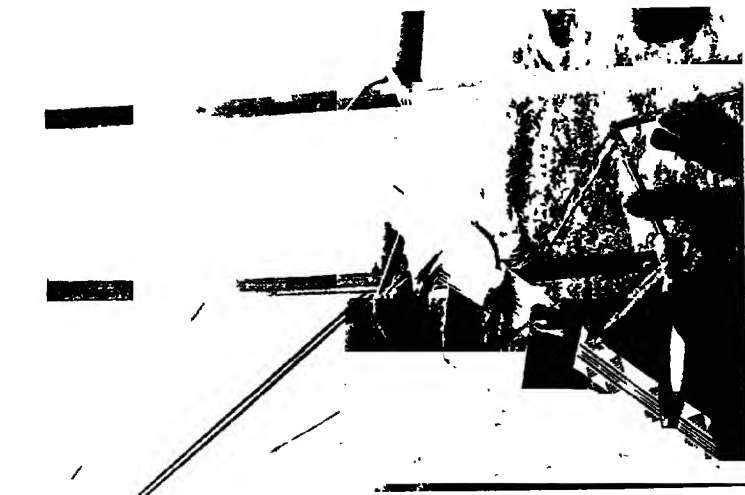
At Akiri there is a salt marsh in the centre of which there is a hot brine spring. The marsh is parcelled out into claims. The female worker spreads a layer of sticky earth (obtained in the vicinity) over four or five square yards of her claim, and leaves it there for two days. At the end of the second day the coating of earth, now impregnated with salt, is collected into a heap by means of an oval iron scraper. During the night the surface of the claim receives a fresh incrustation of salt. It is accordingly covered once more with the earth which had been scraped up the



A BRINE SPRING AT AKIRI



THE BOILING COMPLETED



WIAVING AWASHLE CLOTH

previous evening, and at night this coating is again collected. And so the process goes on daily for a period of six days, until the dressing of earth is thoroughly saturated with salt. The dressing is then deposited in sieves (perforated pots). The worker draws supplies of brine from the hot spring and keeps pouring these on to the dressing, the liquid, as it drains through, being caught in pots placed underneath the sieves. When a sufficient amount of salt-water has been obtained to fill two large pots it is carried home and boiled in large earthenware dishes. As the water evaporates the saline crystals are deposited on the sides of the dishes. Salt manufactured in this way is preferred to the salt imported from Europe, possibly because it is less susceptible to adulteration by the addition of millet or cassava flour.

It is of interest to note that Mr. Talbot records a different method practised by the Ekoi in treating the brine which they obtain from their numerous springs. The brine is condensed by being exposed in hollowed tree trunks for several days, the water being finally evaporated off by being boiled in earthenware jars.

The spring at Akiri has long been regarded as sacred. It was believed in former times to have been tenanted by spirits, to whom it was customary to offer gifts. At one time silver and gold bracelets could be seen inside the spring, but these have long since disappeared. The spirits departed because the bracelets were stolen. The quality of the spring has, therefore, deteriorated. It was customary in bygone days to observe certain taboos. Thus it was not permissible for one who had had sexual relations the previous evening, or who wore a white gown, to approach the well. A black pot might not be dipped into the well. The non-observance of these taboos to-day is a source of sorrow to the older men.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the Jukun word for salt is *ma*. This root is widely distributed in the Benue regions, and is also common in Togoland. It is probably the same as that of the Jukun Earth deity, viz. Ama or Ma. This suggestion is supported by the observation of M. Tauxier that among the Abron of the Ivory Coast the finding of gold is associated with the Earth Deity.¹

Weaving and Basketry.—The Jukun have long been famed for a narrow embroidered cloth which is known as *kwashe*.

¹ L. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Bandoukou*, p. 353.

It is woven on a double-heddled horizontal loom, the heddles being worked by stick-treadles. Or the treadles may take the form of discs of calabash attached to strings and fixed between the toes, as among the Ashanti.¹ The heddle is of the frame pattern, consisting of two rigid bars connected by a series of loops with smaller loops in the centre, through each of which is passed one of the set of woof-threads. These threads run over a beam and through the heddles and comb on to the breast-beam, behind which the weaver sits. The comb is suspended by a string which passes through a pulley fixed on to the wall above the weaver's head. The teeth of the comb are made of guinea-corn stalk. The shed-stick used for keeping the two sets of odd-and-even threads in position is a piece of calabash, which is turned up to accentuate the shed. The shuttle is worked by hand, and two shuttles are employed. The additional sheds required for the weft-thread are produced by string dividers worked by hand. The finished fabric is wound round a stick between the weaver's knees, which is kept in position by two smaller sticks stuck into the ground, one at each end. The warp is known as *fið a wuwe*, and the weft as *fið a zube*. The whole process is illustrated by the accompanying photographs.

It would seem that the Jukun derived the art of weaving from the Hausa-speaking Abakwariga, for the technical terms used are Hausa and not Jukun. Thus the shuttle is called *kwoshia*, the beam *takala*, the heddle *alera*, and so on. When Jukun terms are used they take the form of vague paraphrases, the beam for example, being called *anhi wa zo bu*, i.e. the stick of weaving.

A recent introduction among the Jukun is the vertical loom, which is common among the Yoruba and Igbira, and was characteristic of ancient Egypt. It is worked inside the house, being set up against the wall. It has a frame to give it rigidity. The weaver sits on the floor with her feet in a hole in the ground. This loom has no treadles, the shed being made by gripping the heddle and inserting the sword. Laze-rods are used to prevent the sets of threads from becoming entangled. Single threads of local make are used, or double threads of European manufacture.

It may be remarked, incidentally, that in the dyeing of gowns the Jukun employ a system of appliqué work which suggests

¹ See Rattray, *Religion*, etc., p. 224.

a cultural connection with the Yoruba, as appliqué work is not found among any other tribes of Northern Nigeria. It is noticeable at Wukari that gowns worn by tutelary *genii* are always decorated by the appliqué method and so also are those which are presented by the king to high officials. Designs are stencilled with charcoal on a white gown, and along the lines of the design rolled strips of palm fibre (*bâ*) are sewn. The gown is then thrown into indigo dye, and when it is taken out the fibre strips are removed, leaving the white lines of the stencilled design. The process is known as *bu sese*.

There are many varieties of bags and baskets. There is the large square bag known as *aba* which is used for purposes of transport or of storing. It is woven on a ground frame from strips of bamboo leaves, the strips being removed by damping the leaves. There is the plaited grass bag known as *aguma* which is used for loads carried in a cradle. In former times a man's wealth was reckoned by the number of *aguma* of cloth which he possessed. There is the four cornered checker basket made of fan-palm leaves and known as *abubu*. The common wickerwork basket is known as *atishe*. It is made of cane, and the rim is reinforced by a binding of plaited grass. The *hwôshê* is a checker-work basket used for carrying sacrificial foods. It is sacred, and if women or young people see it being carried along the road they must stand at the side of the road until it has passed. It is woven by men, is eighteen inches long and has a diameter of ten inches at the mouth. (See photograph on p. 320.)

The *atâ* which is used for straining beer or porridge is woven from strips of guinea-corn stalk. It is fourteen inches long and has a diameter at the mouth of four and a half inches. (See photograph on p. 442.)

String-making.—String is made from the hemp plant known as *azhî* or *rama*. Bundles of branches of this plant are soaked in water for two or three days. The fine outer skin is then peeled off the stems and beaten with a stick so as to clean it and render it soft. It is then dried and cut into thin strips of uniform length. A number of these strips are taken and are made into a single strand by moistening the ends and rolling them together. When a large number of strands have been made in this way, two or three or more (according to the thickness of the string or rope

required) are moistened and rolled together on the calf of the right leg with the palm of the left hand, so that they become composite. The ends of this composite piece of string are left open, so that a continuing series of strands can be inserted and united with the first by intertwining and rolling.

Pottery.—The making of pottery is women's work, but pottery pipes are made by men. The woman potter seeks out a refractory clay which she fines down by grinding with a corn-rubber. The clay may be tempered by the addition of sand or pulverized potsherds. This prevents the pot cracking during the process of baking. A lump of the clay is mixed with water and kneaded, and then placed in a bowl or on a broken piece of pot lined with dust to prevent the clay sticking to the bowl or potsherd. The potter makes a hollow in the middle of the lump of clay and begins to form it into shape. After having obtained a base she proceeds to build up the pot by the coiling method, i.e. by the addition of long sausage-shaped fillets of clay. As she works she keeps turning the growing pot on the bowl base so as to bring another part convenient to her hand. She keeps dipping her hands in water to prevent the clay sticking to them. The neck of the pot is made specially strong by the addition of an extra coil of clay. When the pot has been built, the surface is smoothed first with a piece of a pod of the mahogany-tree, and then with a leaf dipped in water. In some case pots are at this stage smeared with a slip made from pounded laterite mixed with water, the slip being smoothed over afterwards with a polished stone. A design is imprinted on the neck of the pot by rolling a piece of string over the surface. The pot is then left in the shade for some hours, and when it has hardened further decorations may be added to the body of the pot. The easiest and most common form of decoration is that made with a piece of netted bag. This is laid on the ground and the pot is laid over the bag on its side. The potter then taps with a stone the inner wall of the pot at the point where it impinges on the piece of bag. The pot thus takes on the impression of the woven bag. Designs may also be impressed with pieces of beer strainers, or they may be incised with a pointed stick or piece of straw. Common patterns are (a) checker, (b) chevrons, (c) herring-bone, (d) elliptical punch-marks, and (e) lozenges.

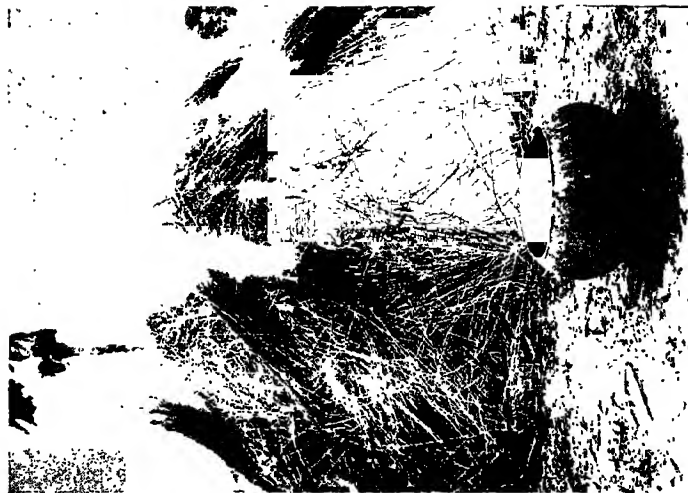
The pot is left for several days to dry in the sun, and when



A POTTER AT WORK



TYPES OF POTS (KONA)



FIRING THE POTS

a number of pots have been made and sun-dried they are set on a pile of logs and covered over with dry grass. The grass is then fired and the pots are baked. They are finally smeared with the juice of locust-bean pods diluted with water. This juice cements the surface of the pot. Pots presented as wedding-gifts to brides are given a special final decoration with streaks of chalk and European "blue."

The various types of pot are illustrated in the photographs. One type, a three-legged pot, is not shown. This type of pot is common at Kona and Wase, and its absence from the Wukari area is noteworthy. It is burnished by being beaten with bunches of smouldering grass, and is covered with a slip composed of the water which rises from porridge prepared on the previous evening.

In addition to pots and pipes Jukun clay-workers make four-cornered pottery lamps of the type which is common in West Africa.

In some Jukun groups, which have been in contact with the Hausa, one or two families practise the making of bronze pipes by the *cire-perdue* method. A wax model is moulded on a core of baked clay or hardened sand. The model is then coated with clay. The wax is melted out, and the molten metal takes its place. The clay is removed, and the casting is the result.

This is not a typical Jukun practice, and it is obvious that the Jukun have only recently learned the craft. Among the Hausa the *cire-perdue* method is commonly employed in the manufacture of swords. The absence of swords among the Jukun is remarkable.

Firemaking.—The normal method of producing fire is by the use of flint and steel, plus silk-cotton for catching the flame. The steel is shaped like a magnet, and the striking edge is roughened with a coating of lizard dung mixed with water. The steel is heated and plunged into this mixture. The cotton is prepared in the following way. The pod of the silk-cotton tree is covered with live charcoal, and when nearly burnt through it is covered with sand to extinguish the fire. The partially carbonized cotton is then removed from the pod, and after being rubbed in the hands is ready for use. Without this treatment the cotton, on catching the flame from the steel, would burn up before the flame could be utilized.

The drill-method may be used during the dry season, and in certain religious rites, in which fire is required for cooking the sacrificial animals, is the only method permissible. A stalk of guinea-corn is split in two, and a groove is made in one of the halves. The grooved half is then laid on the ground over some dried rags or cows' dung. Another piece of guinea-corn stalk is rotated in the groove until the heat generated ignites the dried dung or rags.

The Preparation of Foods.—Something may now be said about the various forms of food, and the mode of their preparation.

There is normally but one formal meal in the day, viz. the evening meal. For the rest of the day the Jukun satisfies his hunger with beer, light porridge, or snacks of food consumed at irregular intervals. A formal meal in the morning is only served if the household has not been able to have a regular meal the previous evening. Thus if the men have been out hunting and brought back meat in the evening they may decide to postpone their evening meal until the morning in order to allow the women time to cook the meat. If the stocks of grain are running low the household may be compelled to forego from time to time the one meal of the day. A careful eye is always kept on the granary, especially if there are young children; and many parents are compelled to lead a life of semi-starvation, particularly during the months preceding the bulrush-millet harvest.

Apart from beer, the principal form of food consumed during the day is the light porridge known as *afu*. This is made from one or other of the millets which is ground into a mealy condition and mixed with cold water. Boiling water is added and the mixture is well stirred. If it is desired to sweeten the porridge some ground sweet-potato is added overnight. Maize or rice may be used instead of the millets.

A variation of this form of food is obtained by grinding some millet into flour, mixing the flour with water, and again grinding the mixture. To this mixture is added a quantity of benniseed which has been fried and ground. Some pepper is introduced, and the mixture may be eaten in the form of balls, or, diluted with water as a kind of light porridge. This form of food is known as *aso*, and corresponds to the *markaden sha* of the Hausa. *Afu* and *aso* are used by women and children, more than by males, who prefer to satisfy their hunger and thirst during the day by

drinking beer. Other forms of light foods eaten during the day-time, mostly by women and young people, are maize (parched over a fire), the toasted fruit of the fan palm, boiled beans (including the skins if freshly plucked), boiled ground-nuts (*asuma*), and a mush made of unripe pawpaws boiled in water with pumpkin leaves.

The main meal of the day, viz. that served after sunset, is composed firstly of some form of mealie or porridge, plus some form of soup or stew. The former is known as *aki*, and the latter as *afyu* or *abo*. As the preparation of this comparatively elaborate meal involves a good deal of labour and brings into play many factors illustrating the social life of the people, it may be described in some detail.

We may begin by saying that the general principle followed for the provision of the evening meal is that each farming unit of the household is expected to contribute food towards the common meal in proportion to its numbers. If the various units are united by kinship ties one unit may provide the meal for the entire household one day, another the next day, and so on. But if the units are not related each unit provides a proportion of the evening meal, the contributions from each unit being pooled. In this case the wives will consult together so that different brands of soup may be made and that the food supplied by each shall not be excessive. Husbands are quick to note any wastage caused by bad staff-work on the part of their wives. A miserly husband will sometimes advise his wife to cook less than the share expected of her, but this is soon detected, and if a man persists without reason in behaving in this way he is told that he must in future confine himself to his own calabashes.

On the whole, however, there is a good deal of give and take. Thus if a younger brother has run out of his supplies of corn the elder brother may provide the corn when it is the turn of the younger brother's wife to cook. One who has been unable to farm on account of illness will be fed by the others. A member of the household who follows some other occupation than farming, will be expected to buy corn for himself, and if he is unmarried the corn will be converted into food for him by one of the wives of his relatives. If a woman whose turn it is to provide the evening meal lacks some necessary ingredient, and her husband is unable to provide the cash to purchase it, she may obtain it

without payment from some other woman of the compound. There is, therefore, a certain amount of communism or at least of co-operation as regards the evening meal. But in the matter of food and drink during the day each unit is independent, and there is no communal effort as regards the meals of the children. Each mother feeds her own children from her own or from her husband's stocks. When stocks run low, the grown-up members may have to go without an evening meal, in order that their children may be properly fed.

In a large household it sometimes happens that one section of the household does not get on well with another, and in this case the evening meal is not eaten in common : each group eats by itself. If the household consists merely of a man and his wife and children the food for the household is cooked by the wife of a neighbour during the wife's menstrual period.

The woman who is going to cook on any particular day begins her duties by pounding and winnowing the corn and by grinding it into the flour used in making the mealies or thick porridge, which is the main constituent of the evening meal, and is known as *aki*. In the afternoon she goes to market and purchases the ingredients for making the stew or soup (*afyu*) with which the porridge is eaten. These ingredients may be fish or meat, salt, benniseed, and a sauce known as *asu nyû*. This sauce is made of locust-bean leaves which are boiled, strained, mixed with wood-ash water, and left to stand for two days. This mixture is partially dried in the sun, and is then pounded, made into balls and finally dried. *Asu nyû* may also be made from the calyces of the Red Sorrel, the fruit of the *prosopis oblonga* tree or from dried fish. It is said that the locust-bean variety of seasoning which is now commonly used was introduced within recent times by the Hausa.

On returning home from the market the woman decides on the particular variety of soup (*afyu*) which she is going to prepare. She has plenty of choice, as soup may be made from the leaves of calyces of the Red Sorrel, from benniseed, ground-nuts, pumpkin seeds, spinach or various leaves. If she decides to make Red Sorrel soup she washes a small pot, adds water and then the pods or cut-up leaves of the hibiscus. Some meat or dried fish is also inserted, together with pounded benniseed or ground-nuts and the *asu nyû* seasoning described above. All are thoroughly

boiled and during the process salt, pepper, and palm oil are added. The benniseed may be soaked in water before being added to the other ingredients. This prevents it from becoming lumpy, though many prefer lumpy soup.

It is not necessary that a soup should contain all the above ingredients. There are many variations. Thus fresh fish may be used instead of dried fish, and in this case it is not usual to include either benniseed or ground-nuts. If fresh meat is used no wood-ash water is added, and the only form of seasoning employed is that made from locust-bean leaves. Some prefer thick soup, some thin. The thicker soups are made usually from the fresh or dried leaves of the *ceratotheca sesamoides* plant, or of the baobab-tree, or from pumpkin seeds (either fresh or dried and pounded), or from the bark of the *grewia mollis* shrub soaked in hot water, or from the fruit of the *vitis pallida* (wild vine).

The woman next turns her attention to the making of the porridge or *aki* which is to accompany the soup. She winnows the flour so as to separate the rougher from the finer. The rougher is stirred gradually into a pot of boiling water, the lighter being added afterwards. The whole is kept simmering and is constantly stirred. Before removing the porridge from the pot the woman deposits a little on the outside edge of the pot or on the cooking stand as an offering to the spirits of the kitchen, who are thought to show their gratitude by increasing the amount of the porridge. It is said that Jukun women dislike having male children in the kitchen during the cooking of the porridge and its transference to the calabashes, as the presence of males is believed to have a diminishing effect on the food.

The *aki* may be made either from millet or maize flour. Cassava, boiled rice, or pieces of sweet potato may also be added.

When the porridge and soup are ready they are carried in separate platters to the men, together with a calabash of water that they may wash their hands before eating. The women then proceed to eat their own meal.

As a change from the usual porridge and soup there are a number of dishes, such as beans pounded and boiled in water, ground-nuts fried, pounded and mixed with beans, salt being added, new leaves of the horse-radish tree ground up in wood-ash, and mixed with pounded benniseed or ground-nuts, palm-oil or shea-nut oil being added, together with salt and pepper. Boiled

cassava, sweet potatoes, yams, pawpaws, bananas, Kaffir potatoes, ground-nuts, and *coleus* tubers may all be eaten, with some pounded benniseed or ground-nuts intermixed, pepper, salt, and oil being added.

Beer-Brewing.—As beer plays an important economic and religious part in the life of the Jukun, some account may be given of the mode of its preparation. Beer is made either from sorghum or from bulrush-millet, or from maize, a more recent introduction into Africa. It is prepared by the women, and the first stage of the process is the separation of the grain from the stalk either by beating it out with sticks, or by pounding in a mortar. The husks and grit are removed by winnowing. The woman then divides the corn into two halves, one of which slightly exceeds the other, as an equal division would hinder the subsequent process of fermentation. The smaller half is set to soak first (in water), and when this is done a Jukun will say *ché jina we*, or *biéshé wera zhena*, i.e. to-day beer has been set. It is the first day of his system of reckoning the week, which is based on the process of beer-brewing. Some hours later the woman adds some more water, and in the evening she strains off all the water. The following day is known as *ché jina da* or *biéshé tutu*, i.e. "to-day is the beer washing", the second day of the Jukun week. She adds some water and stirs up the soaked grain with her hand. In the afternoon she again stirs the grain, and keeps up the stirring until the evening. That night the grain begins to burst. The following morning is known as *ché jina fe*, or *biéshé fefe*, i.e. the day of the boiling of the beer. The woman fills a number of pots with water, in which she proceeds to soak the second half of the grain. The first half which had burst is known, at this stage, as *za shé*. It is divided out to various assistants to be ground into a pulp. This pulp is placed in a strainer (*atá*) which is dipped into a large pot of water, the juice of the pulp being expressed through the strainer into the water by stirring with the hand and beating the sides of the strainer. The pulp is then removed, and again ground, and again strained. The residue of the pulp left in the strainer is submitted to a further process of soaking in a separate pot of water. Quantities of the strained juice are then taken from the large pot and boiled in a smaller pot over a log fire, the boiling liquid being stirred constantly with the branch of a fan-palm tree.

The next day is known as *ché jina zo* or *biéshé zu*, i.e. the day of the second boiling. The woman takes the lees left over from the previous day, grinds them once more and strains them, repeating the process twice. At the same time she keeps her eye on the pot of boiling juice, stirring it frequently to prevent any deposit settling at the bottom, becoming burnt and spoiling the flavour of the beer. As the boiling continues the liquid thickens. The woman removes the foam periodically and samples the liquid to see if it has attained the required consistency. When she is satisfied of this, she draws off the liquid into calabashes, mixes it with the juice obtained from the final grinding of the lees and deposits it in a separate pot. It is possible to drink the liquid as beer at this stage when it has cooled. But it is not palatable.

On the fifth day, which is known as *ché jina wo* or *biéshé wuwo*, the beer-maker turns her attention to the second half of the grain which had been left to soak in water on the third day of the brewing process. The grain having burst, is treated like the previous half, except that the whole process is carried out in the one day. On the evening of the fifth day, therefore, there are two separate brews of beer, the first known as *zo*, and the second as *wo*. These two brews are mixed together on the night of the fifth day and the combined brew is then known as *woché*.

On the following morning (i.e. on the sixth day, which is called *ché jina bié* or *biéshé biera*) the beer is ready for use, and the woman carries a sample to her husband. If the beer was made from her own corn, she may sell it for cash or barter it for guinea-corn, measuring it out into pots of recognized standards known as *nwugu*. One can always tell a house where there is beer for sale by the up-turned pot which is placed outside the compound as a sign.

If the corn had been provided by the husband the beer may be used for domestic or religious purposes, or it may be sold to meet the taxes imposed by the Administration.

It is said that a better quality beer is obtained by allowing the soaked grain to ferment for an extra day, i.e. by postponing the process of grinding the burst grain until the fourth day. If this alternative method is followed, the first day is regarded as a *dies non* in so far as the beer-week is concerned.

Among the Mumuye tribe the process of beer-making extends over nine days. The grain is soaked in water for two days, and is then placed in a pot (without water) to ferment for another period of two days. On the fifth day the grain is ground and boiled. The boiling is continued on the sixth day. On the sixth day also a second supply of grain is set to soak, and after two nights this is ground, boiled and mixed with the previous brew.

Beer made from bulrush-millet is considered the best, and is the brand most commonly used in religious rites. It is to be noted that in making beer for religious purposes the female brewer must not test it by tasting. It is regarded as sacred to the gods.

Weapons : Bows.—In giving an account of the various bows observed, I propose to follow the mode of classification suggested by Mr. S. B. Leakey,¹ though this classification must be regarded as purely provisional. Among the Jukun, all bow-strings are fixed to the stave by direct attachment. No indirect attachment bows were observed anywhere on the Benue. The bow-strings also are always of leather and never of rattan. Direct attachment bows are divided by Mr. Leakey into four groups, viz. (a) frontal bows, (b) loop bows, (c) eyelet bows, and (d) knotted string bows.

The characteristic of the frontal bows is that the bow-string at one or both ends of the bow passes from the front over a notch in the end of the stave when the bow is strung ready for use. This form of bow is the typical form found in Nigeria. It occurs in a number of varieties, but always, as far as I know, with a single notch at one end of the stave. In the first form, which was observed at Wukari, the technique was as follows (when unstrung) :—



It will be observed that there is an eyelet, but if we adhere to Mr. Leakey's classification, this form of bow is not a true eyelet bow, as in all true eyelet bows the string passes through the eyelet *direct* from the inner side of the bowstave. It may be described

¹ See *J.R.A.I.*, July-December, 1926,



A YOUTH WITH A BEER-STRAINER



A BOWMAN

therefore as a frontal single eyelet bow. It is not a typical Jukun bow, for the commonest form of Jukun bow at the present time has a raised knob and not a sunken notch at the end of the bow stave. Moreover, it cannot be said that any form of bow is typically Jukun, for according to tradition the early Jukun are believed to have used spears and not bows as a principal weapon. If this tradition is true it would suggest that the stratum which created Jukun power was of Northern or North-eastern origin. The other end of the bow-stave has no notch and is graded so that the string, which is made fast by a knot, is prevented from slipping by means of a leather collar. It may be observed that this type of bow is found in Sierra Leone, Togoland, and the Western Congo, as well as among the Bushmen of South Africa. In Nigeria it is found also among the Munshi, but in the specimen of Munshi bows which came to my notice the notch was not so deep as that depicted above, and the collar at the other end was made of string and not of leather.

The next type of frontal bow is what Mr. Leaky describes as the asymmetrical bow, so described because the two shoulders of the notch are not level, the one being lower than the other, thus :—



This is the normal type of bow used by the Hausa and Fulani tribes, and its presence among the Jukun is said to be due to the recent influence of Hausa and Fulani. It is also the type used by the Chamba neighbours of the Jukun; and it is of interest to record that when a Chamba dies the leather string of his bow is replaced by rattan, and the rattan-bow is taken to the cross-roads where rites are performed on behalf of the dead man. On the conclusion of the rites, the inheritor of the bow replaces the rattan with leather. This custom indicates that the Chamba formerly used bow-strings of rattan, and would suggest that they may have come into Nigeria from the direction of the Cross River, where rattan-bows are still in use. The bows described above

have no central bend, but the Hausa and Fulani bow with its so-called " Asiatic " bend is frequently seen among the Jukun in the following form :—



The description " Asiatic " applied to this type of bow is misleading, as " Asiatic " bows are of composite character. In Nigeria the stave is single and the bend is produced by placing a heavy stone on the centre of the shaft, the ends of the stave being kept in position by being lashed to two pieces of wood. The notch at the side is made by an incision one inch in length, thus :—



To prevent the wood splitting at the shoulder a binding of tendon is made round the shaft for one half inch below the shoulder. Sometimes a leather collar takes the place of this binding of tendon. At the other end of the stave the bow-string is made fast by a half-hitch knot, which is prevented from slipping by the increasing thickness of the wood.

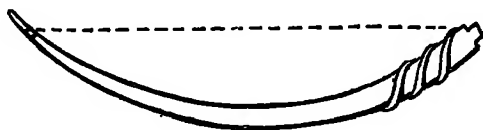
As regards Mr. Leakey's second group of direct-attachment bows, viz. loop-bows, no bows of this character were observed among the Jukun, nor have I, so far, seen them among any

Northern Nigerian tribe. In the commonest type of Jukun bow the string is made fast by a loop-knot over the end of a knob at one end of the stave, but this type would probably be included in Mr. Leakey's general group of knotted string bows, to which he assigns many classes of bows which do not seem to fall in with his system of classification.

The next group of direct attachment bows is the true eyelet bow, i.e. the form of bow in which, when the bow is ready for use, the string passes directly from the eyelet and not over a notch. Two forms of this bow were observed. In the first the technique was as follows :—



It had a single eyelet only, the string being made fast at the other end by a knot. One example only of this type of bow was seen (at Dampar on the north bank of the Benue). The second type of single eyelet bow is that which is most characteristic of the Jukun. It is as follows :—



It has a single eyelet at one end of the stave, and at the other end the string is made fast by being knotted round a knob or notch at the extremity.

These single eyelet bows are found in the Cameroons and, according to Mr. Leakey, they are found also among the Nuer and Bari of the Upper Nile, as well as among the tribes of the Zambesi-Nyasaland area.

We come finally to the fourth group of direct attachment bows, viz. the "knotted-string" bows. Mr. Leakey is quite frank in stating that he has relegated to this group many classes of bows which do not accord with his system of classification.

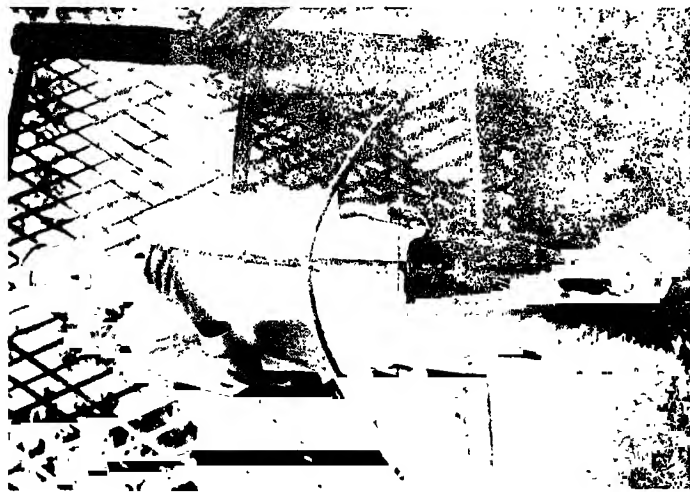
In this group must, presumably, be included the type of bow commonly used by Hausa and Fulani and adopted also by the Jukun, which has neither a notch nor an eyelet. The string is tied at both ends of the bow-stave without the use of an eyelet-loop or of a *frontal* notch. The knots are prevented from slipping by the increasing thickness of the wood, and a leather collar is frequently used. At one end of the bow the knot is made by passing the end of the string round the stave and back underneath the string. A slit is made in the end of the string and the slit end is passed over the end of the stave. The string is then pulled tight. At the other end a double loop is made and the remainder of the string is wound round the stave and made fast by a half-hitch.

In this class of bow we are compelled (by Mr. Leakey's classification) to include the type of bow which is frequently seen in a number of Jukun communities. It has a raised knob at one end of the stave. It is of the same type, therefore, as the single eyelet bow already described with the exception that there is no eyelet at the other end, the string being made fast by a knot.

Bows are made of a great variety of wood. A favourite wood is that of the tree known to the Hausa as *kadanyar rafi*—one of the Rubiaceae. Bamboo is also used. The strings are commonly made from the hide of the oribi antelope, and as this antelope is small the string may be made in two halves which are knotted together near the centre.

Before leaving the subject of bows it is worthy of remark that Jukun boys use a form of cross-bow partly for purposes of play and partly for killing birds and rats. For the stock a stalk of guinea-corn is used, and into this is fixed the bow (a piece of bent wood with a leather or rattan string). The trigger is composed of a piece of stick affixed by a binding of string to the stock. The string of the bow is pulled back under this stick and is held in position by a wooden peg which is introduced from underneath the stock and fits into a hole in the stick. The arrow is fitted and is discharged by the withdrawal of the wooden peg. The prevalence of this form of toy is due to the former presence of Portuguese and other European nations in the countries south of the Jukun.

Arrows.—I did not devote any attention to the study of arrows, observing merely that the Jukun sometimes use the



A CROSS-BOW TOY

leaf-shaped single or double barbed metal arrow of the Hausa, and sometimes the half-leaf shaped arrow of the Munshi, which has a single barb. The former has the greater penetration, the latter a longer flight. Both are fitted by the tanged method, a binding of sinew or fibre being used. The blade is generally about two inches long and the shank about six inches. A notch is cut in the end of the shaft and is prevented from extending by a binding of sinew or fibre. The fibre used is obtained from the pod of the locust-bean tree. An iron ring is employed for drawing the bow-string, and the left forearm is protected from the twang of the string by a leather pad. The ring is carried attached to the quiver by a piece of string which has a forked stick tied to the end. This stick prevents the ring from dropping off. The quivers are generally made of the wood of the red-flowered silk-cotton tree and are covered with leather. To the quiver is attached a plaited grass cap which is used as a cover for the arrows when they are not in use.

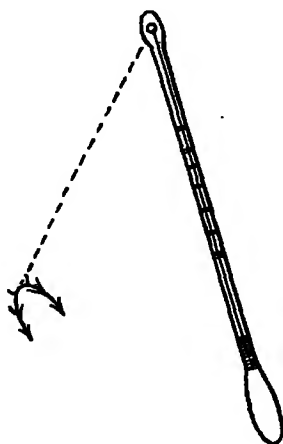
Spears.—There are many varieties of spears. There is the broad-bladed thrusting spear, the head of which is always fitted by the socket-method. The shaft is of wood. The throwing spears may be socketed or tanged. They are usually about seven feet long, the shaft being six feet and the head one foot. At two feet from the lower end of the shaft, a strip of iron is rolled round the shaft to act as a counterpoise. In the tanged variety a spiral binding or iron is used to prevent the splitting of the shaft at the point where the tang enters the shaft. On striking the target the tanged head may come out of the shaft.

The king of Wukari has an all-metal spear which is the symbol of his authority. It is six feet six inches long. The leaf-shaped blade is thirteen inches long and has a midrib with a groove at each side. Attached to the shank at four and seven inches from the bottom of the blade are two bronze rings from each of which hang thirteen bronze grelots one inch in length. The butt of the spear has a knob fashioned from the solid to serve as a counterpoise. Spears of this type, without the decorations, and with a spike at the butt, were formerly used by horsemen in war.

Fishing spears are made on the tanged principle. The head is about a foot long and is rectangular in shape until within three inches of the end, where it tapers to a rounded point. The

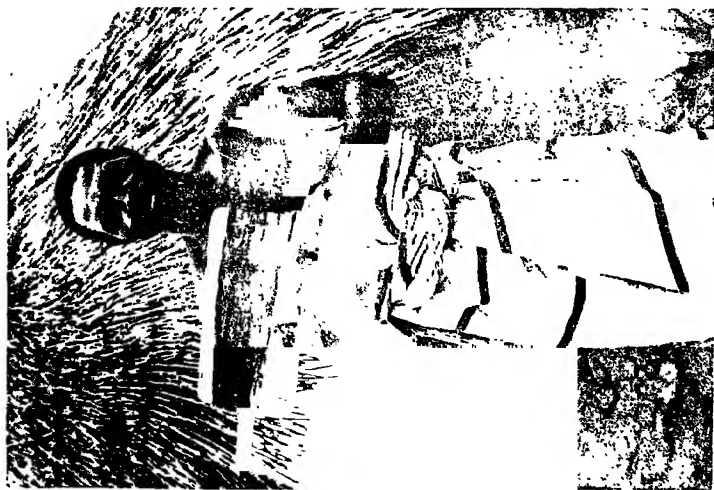
rectangular edges are chiselled up so as to form an innumerable number of small barbs.

It may be observed that the Jukun use a harpoon for killing the larger fish. The shaft is made of bamboo and is covered with a string binding to prevent the hand from slipping. It is shaped as follows (when unstrung) :—



Similar harpoons are used by the Kede and Kebbi tribes, and it is probable that the Jukun adopted the harpoon from one or other of these.

Houses and Furniture.—All Jukun huts are of the round type with conical thatched roof. The thatch is supported by rafters of bamboo or some other wood, the spaces between the bamboo rafters being sometimes filled-in with a lining of guinea-corn stalks. Occasionally four of the bamboo rafters are allowed to protrude through the pinnacle of the roof for some reason I was unable to ascertain. In other cases the pinnacle may be surmounted by a pot, in order to save the thatched pinnacle from injury by birds. In all Jukun groups, with the exception of Kona, the house furniture is scanty, and there is little attempt made at decoration. The bedstead is usually a raised platform, with a fireplace underneath (as shown in the photograph overleaf). The bedstead may be rendered more private and more protected from wind and rain by a mud screen built out from the wall between the bedstead and the door. In addition to the bedstead there is sometimes a raised platform



A JUKUN HEAD-REST



A KONA SHRINE
(AKŌRI SHŪ)



HEDSTEADS (OF ABANDONED HUTS)



which the occupier may use for reclining on during the day. Or it may serve as a second bedstead during the night. Overhead there is usually a shelf made of woven fibre. A saddle-shaped seat of baked clay is sometimes seen in the porch of a compound, but no one may sit in this seat except the head of the compound. Head rests, used also as stools, are of two patterns, that shown in the photograph, and the other shaped as follows :—

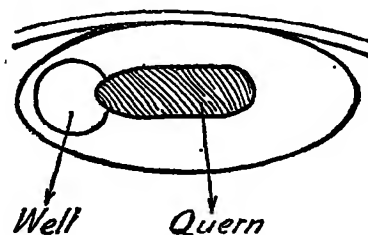


One often sees in riverain houses the shell of a water-tortoise, which is employed either as a seat or as receptacle for rubbish or for carrying the mud used in house-building.

A woman's hut contains numerous pots for holding water, beer, and grain. She has also a number of calabashes used for drinking, eating, and storing cotton and other articles. Stuck into the thatch there is usually an antelope's horn containing some remedy for snake-bite. There may also be a horn for cupping. One may perhaps see hanging from the rafters a child's drum consisting of the neck of a broken pot covered at one end with membrane. Suspended from the roof also there may be a rattle such as is used by boys for frightening birds from the crops. The commonest form of rattle consists of four or five fan-palm nuts suspended at intervals along a string. The kitchen may contain four or five querns set on a platform of baked mud. The corn-rubbers are usually sausage-shaped.

The houses of the Kona are unlike those of other Jukun groups. The thatched roof has usually a top covering of woven grass. The interior walls are often splashed with red, white and black pigment; and an outstanding feature is the use of mud "screens" built parallel to the walls to serve as shelves for the three-legged pots which are characteristic of the Kona. I have observed similar shelves among the Bura of Bornu. There are other features of Kona houses which are reminiscent of the Bura, viz. (a) the stack of firewood which every wife possesses, and (b) the design of the mill used for grinding corn. The mill is built out from the wall of the house, and consists of a mud platform into

which is set, at an angle of fifteen degrees, the stone on which the grain is ground. At the lower end of this stone there is a well for the reception of the flour, thus :—

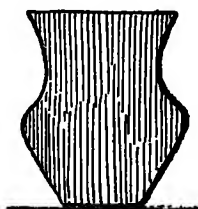


An interesting feature is the use of round stones for crushing the grain before it is milled. By this preliminary process of crushing, the conversion of the grain into flour is rendered easier. Numerous other tribes also use these round rubbers (which are known to the Hausa as *makodi*). It is surprising, therefore, to find that the smaller "pot" stones of similar character are, when dug up, used by the Kona in the same way as neolithic axes are used by the Jukun of Wukari, viz. as charms against thefts from farms. They are rubbed in some burnt guinea-corn, smeared with oil, and set on a three-forked branch, which is planted on the boundary of the farm. The Kishau kindred has a regular cult of these stones, which are known as "Akûri Shu", or "The calabashes of Rain". Offerings are made to them, and by them oaths are sworn. The accompanying photograph illustrates one of the Akûri Shu shrines.

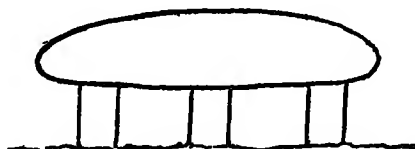
The function of these round pot-stones, which resemble cannon-balls, has been a matter of speculation. I have seen them used as hand-hammers by blacksmiths among the Angas tribe. There would seem, however, to be little doubt that they were at one time employed for crushing grain, in view of the following statement by Clapperton (*Second Journey*, p. 21): "The hill (at Duffoo in the southern regions of the kingdom of Oyo) was covered with women grinding corn. They make round holes in the face of the rock, in which they crush the grain with a small stone in the hand." This would seem to explain also the cup-shaped grooves which are frequently found in rocks in certain parts of Nigeria (e.g. at Kaura, in Zaria Province, and in parts of Sokoto).

Other features of Kona houses are the string nets, suspended

below the roof, which are used as shelves for light articles ; and the mud pillars built on the ground to serve as seats. These pillars are about a foot or eighteen inches high, and shaped as follows :—



The usual Kona bedstead is a mattress of guinea-corn stalks laid across three pillars of baked mud, thus :—



The Kona head-rests are shaped as follows :—



Most Kona women keep in their huts, suspended from the roof, one of two bundles of guinea-corn stalks, which are lit at night while the food for the evening meal is being prepared.

The huts of the Jibu are remarkable in various ways. The thatch is laid on with the heads of grass pointing downwards instead of upwards, as is usual among most tribes of Northern Nigeria. This practice, which is followed by the Okpoto, Munshi and a number of tribes in the Cameroons, gives a ragged appearance, but is quite effective. Many of the Jibu huts have two entrances or exits, in order, it is said, to permit of easy escape in cases of sudden attack. Occasionally the huts are double-storied. The floor of the upper storey is made of canes laid across poles, these horizontal poles being supported by other vertical poles stuck into the ground round the circumference of the inner side of the wall. The entrance into the second storey, which is used as a granary, is through a hole in the thatch covered

by a flap of grass-matting. The huts are usually circular, but some are rectangular. The beds are made of stalks of guinea-corn laid over a number of logs of wood.

Currency and Measurements.—In the early fifties of last century Dr. Barth stated that iron hoes were at Wukari the normal form of currency. They were called *akika*, and forty "akika" would purchase a slave. Salt or cloth was also used for barter purposes.¹ Dr. Baikie, writing about the same time, viz. 1854, described the currency of "Kororofa", i.e. of the various Jukun communities situated between Abinsi and Kona, as being in the form of a small hoe with a long spike at one end.² Iron currency shaped more or less like a hoe must have been general at one time throughout the Northern Provinces, as currency in this form has been dug up on the sites of ancient towns as far north as the area surrounding Katagum. At the present time, hoes are an integral part of the bride-price among most of the Semi-Bantu speaking tribes of the Plateau Province.

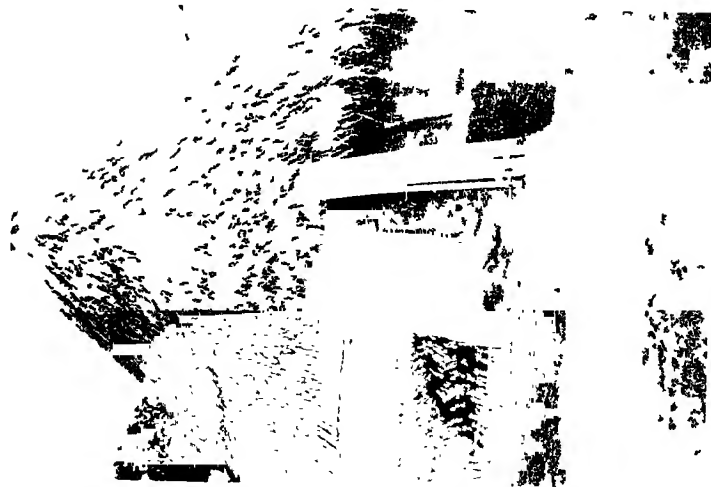
Dr. Baikie also mentioned another form of iron currency, which he described as *kantai*, remarking that 100 *kantai* was the average price of a male slave.³ It is apparent that the *kantai* were what the Kona and surrounding tribes on both banks of the Benue call *taji*. *Taji* are iron bars fourteen inches long with a central bulb which has a diameter of one inch and a thickness of quarter of an inch. A *taji* weighs half a pound. It is still at Kona an essential part of the bride-price.

Manilla rods (*akā*) were a medium of exchange at Wukari until recent times. It is probable that they were introduced during the latter half of the nineteenth century, in view of the statements of Barth and Baikie that iron hoes were the recognized currency about the middle of the nineteenth century. There were two forms of manilla, one large and one small, the large one being reckoned as worth five small ones. There was another medium of exchange, viz. a deep calabash filled with corn. This calabash, which was of a definite size, was known as *agi*, and one *agi* of corn was considered the equivalent of one large manilla. In addition there was a cup-shaped receptacle made of plaited palm fronds which, when filled with salt, was known to the Jukun

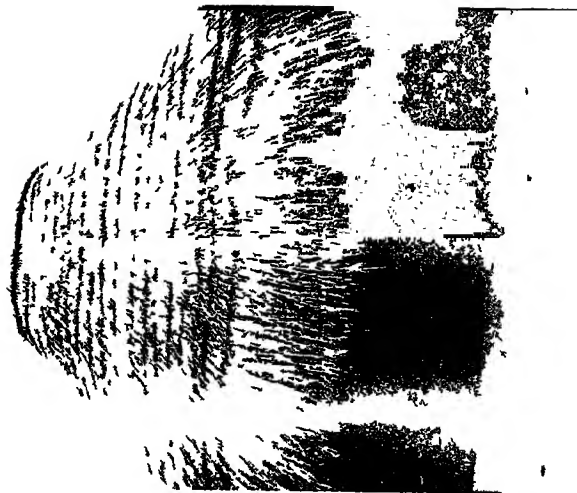
¹ *Travels in Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 580.

² *Exploring Voyage*, p. 114.

³ *Exploring Voyage*, p. 220.



A HUI HATCHED IN THE MUSHI FASHION



THE NORMAL METHOD OF HATCHING

as *baha* and to the Hausa as *kororo*. One *baha* of salt was considered the equivalent of one of the smaller manillas, i.e. five *baha* equalled one large manilla or one *agi* of corn.

I have suggested that the use by the Jukun of this *kororo* of salt is possibly the origin of the word *Kororoafa*, which, on this assumption, would have the meaning of "the salt people".

Cloth was, and is still, measured by the length of the elbow to the finger-tips, this measurement being known as *aká vo*. Mats were measured by comparison with the distance between the tips of the fingers of the left-hand and those of the right, when both hands were fully extended. This measurement was known as *avo zung*. On the other hand, matting was measured by feet (*abe*), and the diameters of houses were also reckoned in this way. Galena was used in barter, but there was no recognized scale of weights.

At the present time, corn is measured in the market by means of dishes of recognized standard. The smaller dish is known as *iko* and the larger by the Hausa name of *tasa*. Three *iko* are equal to one *tasa*.

Beer is sold in pots of recognized size. But within certain limits there may be a good deal of variation in the size, and a Jukun will frequently be heard complaining that the pot of one beer-maker is smaller than that of another, though the same price is charged by each.

As regards the reckoning of time, the day is divided roughly into the following periods. The hour before sunrise (i.e. 5 a.m.) is known as cockcrow (*akwí da nde kito*). Sunrise (6 a.m.) is *apúpú*, or *abie kyara*. *Akusha*, or "the lustration of the king", is roughly about 7 a.m. "The sun has begun to catch the body" (*anyuno vi a díra*) corresponds roughly to 9 a.m. "The sun is near the middle" (*anyuno mba wa bi yo ba*) is approximately 11 a.m., while midday is described as *anyuno ki yo ba ra*. The midday hour may also be indicated by saying *agbo anyuto*, i.e. "the time of the king's midday meal". *Anyuno ga ra*, i.e. "the sun has begun to descend", is the mode of indicating the time about 2 p.m., while *anyuno bam bati*, i.e. "the sun is at market time", would correspond roughly to 3 p.m. "The sun is cold" (*anyuno zota*) is approximately 5 p.m. The hour after sunset is indicated by saying *agbo a nyum zo zo* or *agvedi*,

i.e. "the time of the evening meal". Midnight is *ayutsi ni ra* or *ayosú бага*.

The next division of time is a period consisting of five nights and six days, i.e. five and a half days. This period is based on the amount of time taken to make a brew of beer, and is known, therefore, as a *biêshê*, i.e. "maturing of beer". The first day of this beer-period is known as *biêshê wera zhená*, i.e. "the beer is set to-day"; the second as *biêshê tutu*, i.e. "the washing of the corn of the beer"; the third as *biêshê fefe*, i.e. "the milling of the corn of the beer"; the fourth as *biêshê azu*, i.e. "the boiling of the beer"; the fifth as *biêshê wurwo*, i.e. "the beer will be ready tomorrow"; and the sixth as *biêshê biera*, i.e. "the beer is ready".¹

I have elsewhere referred to the *biêshê* of the Jukun as being a beer-week. But the use of the term "week" is misleading, as there is no system by which one *biêshê* follows another in regular succession. A *biêshê* is simply any period of five and a half days, and is in no real sense a five and a half day week, nor has it any relation to a lunar month. Its mode of use will be seen by the following examples. If a visitor to a town is asked how long he has been in the town he will reply "One *biêshê*" if he has been in the town for six days (or five nights), "Two *biêshê*" if he has been in the town for eleven days, and so on. If he intends returning home in four days, i.e. after four more nights, he will say that he is going to start on the fifth day of the brewing period.

A Jukun will say that there are five *biêshê* in a month, but this is only a rough calculation, for as already stated a *biêshê* has no connection with a month.

A month to a Jukun, is, as among all African tribes, merely the periodic month depending on the lunar phases. There is no regular system by which months are named, though certain periods of the year may be described as the month of so-and-so. Thus the period of harmattan wind may be referred to as *asô wo*, i.e. "month of wind", or the hot season before the rains may be described as *asô byetu*. There is no attempt to square months with the solar year; but the agricultural year, which is the only form of year that the Jukun are concerned with, is divided into fourteen periods,

¹ At Gwana and Kona the corresponding terms are *Shê wer*, *shê ngwir zaper*, *shê fper*, *shê zok*, *shê wuk*, *shê bye*.

each of which is roughly called a month (though it does not, except by accident, coincide with the lunar phase).

The periods of the agricultural year are :—

1. Sô shukune = first rains.
2. „ hwê inanyi = first weeding.
3. „ ba = thinning crop and planting out.
4. „ tanga = second weeding.
5. „ we tsoa nyi = month of making platforms on farms.
6. „ awadô = month of plucking leaves from guinea-corn stalks.
7. „ zuê = sprouting of guinea-corn.
8. „ dzo = month of delight.
9. „ shiye = reddening of guinea-corn.
10. „ abenza = harvest (guinea-corn).
11. „ aseza = binding.
12. „ asuenza = carrying home of corn.
13. „ nu = early part of dry season.
14. „ damasi = hot period before rains.

The seasons may be described more shortly as follows :—

Abyetu = the hot season before the rains.

Shukune or achukone = the first rains.

Adi = the wet season.

Aye = the ripening of the corn.

Anu = the dry season.

Years are reckoned by the number of harvests. Large numbers are counted by twenties. The unit of twenty is known as *dipere zung*, “an entire man”.

It may be noted that the Jukun have no special terms to indicate the points of the compass. East is indicated by the expression “The place where the sun rises”, and west by “The place where the sun sets”. There are no specific means of indicating north or south.

CHAPTER XI

THE AESTHETIC LIFE

Games.—The Jukun, like many other Nigerian tribes, play a game which is akin to backgammon. It is known as *adzua*, and is played by males and females, especially during the dry season. Males do not use a board, and the game played by them differs from that played by females (who use a board). In lieu of a board the men make thirty holes in the ground, arranged in rectangular fashion, so that one side of the rectangle has six holes and the other five. The total of thirty thus corresponds to the thirty "men" of our game of backgammon. But whereas in the English game there are fifteen "men" a side, in the Jukun game each of the two players employs twelve pieces only, so that six of the holes are left empty. Small boys play with nine holes only (three on each side), each player having four pieces. The main idea is to organise your play so that three of your pieces form a line, in which case you can confiscate one of your opponent's pieces. The right to make the initial move is a matter of agreement if there had been no preceding game; but the winner of a previous game is entitled to the first move in the succeeding game. Whoever makes the first move calls himself "the king". The pieces used are stones.

Women play on a wooden board, consisting of two lines of six holes, as illustrated in the following sketch:—



The game of the women proceeds on a different principle from that of the men. Four pieces (i.e. stones or nuts) are placed in each hole. The player who begins (by agreement) may remove the pieces from one, two, or any number of the holes, and redistribute them, following the round of the board and dropping one piece in each hole. If the player's last piece falls into an

unoccupied hole she stops, and her opponent begins her move. But if the last piece falls into an occupied hole she has the right to collect the pieces in that hole, including her own, and to continue the round. The main object is to secure that her last piece falls into a hole containing three other pieces, thus making a total of four. When this happens she collects the pieces and puts them on one side. They are her "children". If, during the round, she completes a four before coming to her final pawn, she can claim the four pieces if they are on her side of the board. But if she completes a four on her opponent's side, the latter collects the pieces, provided the four had not been completed by her opponent's last piece.

In one or two Jukun communities it was observed that stilts were used by boys. The use of stilts is common among the Okpoto-speaking peoples, and also among the Chamba, who call the stilts a "wooden horse". Among the Jukun of Donga there is also a form of hobby-horse known as *Vuna ga*, i.e. "The horse of the guinea-corn stalk". The rider sits astride of a guinea-corn stalk, the end of which is bent to represent a horse's head, and is decorated with pieces of cloth and leaves. The lads, mounted on these, race with each other.

There is also a game of hunt-the-thimble, played by boys or youths, one of whom is sent away while a ring is concealed. When he returns and attempts to find the ring he is assisted by a guitar-player who, by the music, indicates whether he is "hot" or "cold". If the youth is "cold" the guitar-player plays a tune which indicates that the seeker has "no eyes". And so on until the seeker is finally led to the spot where the ring is concealed.

The Jukun-speaking people of Donga favour another game which is known as *Ade*. There are two sides, each consisting of six youths armed with an arrow or spear. The two sides face each other. A nut or pumpkin is thrown between them, and the side which scores the greater number of hits is declared the winner. The victorious side has the right of mounting the backs of the members of the defeated side.

Some Jukun children have a form of toy which has the appearance of having been introduced by Europeans (probably missionaries). It consists of a piece of guinea-corn stalk serving as a shaft. This shaft is cut in two and re-connected by a piece

of wood. Across this connecting piece of wood is laid a strip of bamboo pith, to each end of which a piece of paper is attached. When the boy runs against the wind the cross piece of bamboo, with its paper "leaves", whirrs round and round, like the toy used by children in England.

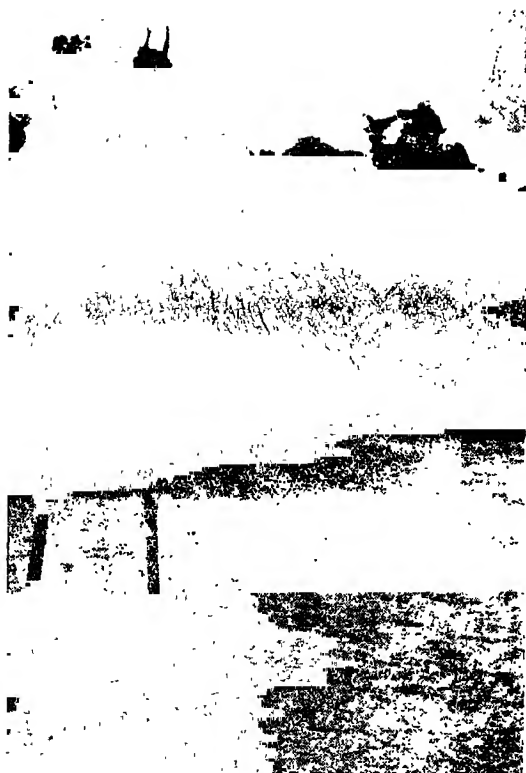
Musical Instruments.—The Jukun are not a musical people like their neighbours the Munshi. They have a fair variety of drums, including the hour-glass drum with bracing strings, various double-membrane drums, and the large single membrane drum which is beaten standing on the ground. Children also use pottery drums covered with a single membrane. The wooden gongs common in the Southern Provinces were not observed. The small iron hand-gongs which are popular among the Plateau tribes are seldom seen among the Jukun, but a few of the chiefs possess them. Among stringed instruments the three-stringed lute is common, and also the type of fiddle which is shown facing page 466. One occasionally sees also the form of harp which was common in ancient Egypt, and in Nigeria is found among the Busawa, Igbara, Chamba and Verre. An instrument intermediary between the musical bow and this type of harp was also observed. It consists of a piece of bamboo two or three feet long mounted on a gourd as a resonator. Three or four pieces of cane are slit away from the surface (except at the ends) and are raised at the centre, one above the other, on a notched bridge. The strings are tuned by means of sliding bands of cane. This instrument, which is illustrated in the accompanying photograph, appears to have been introduced among the Jukun from the Chamba or Bafum tribes. Flutes are popular, especially among the Kona. The clarinet, illustrated on page 135, is a royal instrument. Another peculiar instrument is the calabash shown opposite. One end is pressed against the calf of the leg and the other is beaten with the palm of the hand. It is known as *shintu*. Reference has been made to the use of calabash horns in connection with the cult of Buhor,¹ and of rattles made of buffalo horns with rings attached in connection with the cult of Aku-ahwâ.²

Drumming.—No close study was made of this subject, but it appeared that expert drummers are able to convey to each other messages or information dealing with specific matters of

¹ See p. 368.

² See p. 244.

PLATE LVII



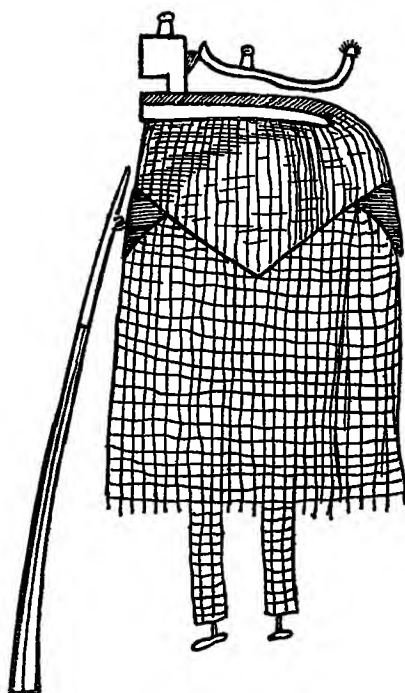
WALKING ON STILTS



CALABASH MUSICAL INSTRUMENT KNOWN AS SHINTU.



A FORM OF HARP



*View from top
(slightly concave)*



Side view

THE COSTUME AND MASK OF THE GENIUS ATUKÚ, AS DEPICTED BY A JUKUN ARTIST.

common or habitual occurrence by means of tunes, each tune being a tonal and rhythmical representation of a spoken phrase bearing a stereotyped connotation. It is not claimed that any general form of conversation can be carried on, on principles resembling the Morse Code of telegraphy. Such a system would only be possible among peoples speaking a language in which the use of tones had been developed to a special degree. Among the Wukari Jukun, who speak a language of the monosyllabic type, tones are significant, but are not yet developed to the extent found, for example, among the Yoruba or some of the tribes of the Gold Coast.

As an example of the kind of stereotyped message which can be conveyed by drum we may cite the normal tune which is, among the Hausa, an intimation that the chief is about to leave the palace and to make a public appearance. The tune is represented on the drum by two long beats, followed by four short beats and two succeeding long beats. This is a rhythmical representation of the phrase *Babu saraki sai Allah*, i.e. "There is no king save God".

In the same way among the Jukun there are recognized tunes for summoning the people to war or to work. Thus there is a special tune for summoning men for road-work. There is another tune for summoning maidens to repair the king's palace, to fetch water for a Government rest house, or to greet distinguished visitors. It is a Jukun custom that distinguished visitors are greeted on their arrival by the maidens, who are rewarded by the king with gifts of palm-oil, cloth or cash. The company of girls has a leader; and if any girl fails to answer the summons of the drummer she is severely rebuked by the leader and may suffer the confiscation of her headkerchief. The leader of the girls may appropriate all fines imposed in this way, or she may use them for giving gifts of porridge or beer to the girls under her charge. The leader is chosen usually by the head drummer, with the concurrence of the king. Girls may be summoned by drummers to the house of a bride in order to transport the bride's wedding gifts and domestic utensils to her husband's home, and for this also there is a special summons by drum.

If any unusual or untoward event happens, the whole town is informed by the old summons to war, four short beats on the

drum followed by a prolonged pressure on the membrane with the drum stick. This, in former times, brought all the men, armed with spears, to the palace of the king. The tune is still used by a ward or quarter of the town one of whose members has killed a lion or leopard.

A drummer can summon another drummer to join him quickly in order that they may both attend a feast. The tune played opens by a reproduction on the drum of the sound of the summoned man's name. Thus, if his name is Dokari, the measure beaten would represent the spoken words: *Dōkārī, ūbī mwōm mwā mwōm mwā*, i.e. "Dokari, come quickly, come quickly". In order to clinch the message the drummer may play the chant which is specially associated with Dokari; for among the Jukun every person has an individual chant. To this reference will be made later.

At Wukari drummers are expert in controlling the dancing steps of the maskers who personate the tutelary genii. If the masker is dancing too fast the drummer can, by a few notes, tell him to moderate his step. Thus, if the masker's name is Angyu the drummer will beat out notes which clearly mean to the masker, *Angyū, Angyū, Angyū, kēū rī dā*, i.e. "Angyu moderate your steps". Only those well acquainted with drum tunes and tones would know that any message was being conveyed. The drummer can also warn the masker that he is exposing parts of his body, this being taboo (especially if there are female onlookers). The warning is conveyed by a tune which represents the words *Angyu, gbeu ri da*, i.e. "Angyu, dance carefully". The masker can also be warned by drum that the chief or one of the senior officials is approaching. This warning is conveyed in order that the masker may salute the chief or official. The tune played is a representation of the words *A tsō kijī*, i.e. "There is a titled person on the ground". A drummer who is exhausted may ask a brother drummer, by a tune, to relieve him of his duties. Thus if the brother drummer's name is Agbu he will play a tune the meaning of which Agbu will at once discern. It will be *Agbū, Agbū, Agbū, kī mwōm mwā mwōm mwā, ūbī gbā bū*, i.e. "Agbu, come quickly and drum".

Apart from general messages of the character described there are special chants associated with particular individuals; and

a striking feature is, that with the spread of the Hausa language, these chants represent, in the majority of cases, sentences and epigrams spoken in Hausa and not in Jukun.

Every youth and every girl of personality and self-respect has his or her own individual summons by drum, a private arrangement between himself or herself and the drummer. In the evening dances the drummer is an autocrat. He can summon anyone before him by playing the tune personal to that individual. Thus he may summon a maiden by playing the tune which she has chosen as her own. As the tune is played the maiden comes forward and remains on bended knee before the drummer. She may then retire, but may be immediately summoned back by the continuance of the tune specially associated with her. The drummer, without dismissing the first maiden, may call up another, and in a short time he may have before him a number of maidens, all on bended knee. A youth may then come forward and seek to redeem some girl with whom he is in love. He touches the drum, and the drummer immediately begins to play the tune which is personal to the youth. The youth stops this tune by placing his hand on the drum, and asks the drummer to play the tune which is personal to his beloved. No name is mentioned, for the drummer is well aware of the individual maiden with whom the youth is in love. When the tune has been played the youth, by a gift of cash to the drummer, is able to release his beloved. The drummer is not always over-scrupulous, and he may encourage several young men to redeem one girl. A popular girl may be continually called out by a drummer in order that she may be redeemed by her admirers. Or she may be called out at the request of each of her admirers, the request being addressed to the drummer. Thus a young man may go to the drummer and demand to know the name of the youth who had previously asked that the tune assigned to his beloved should be played. The drummer will indicate the youth, and the other young man will then ask the drummer to represent on his drum the well-known Hausa tune: "*Na fi yaro; na fi aboki, sai baba*", i.e. "I am superior to people of my age, and grant precedence only to persons of a senior generation". His rival will then come forward and, touching the drum, say (in Jukun) "*Koda wa da wa, takara*", i.e. "I care naught for his claim; let him show his superiority". The first suitor will hand over all his spare cash

to the drummer for another tune, and the second will follow suit. Both minister to their own vanity, the amusement of the spectators, and the profit of the drummer. The lover whose resources enable him to defeat his rival wins the bout, and is entitled to deprive an opponent of the tune which is personal to the latter. The winner thus becomes possessed of two tunes personal to himself. It may be remarked that when the tune personal to the leader of the maidens is played all the girls present shout *Allo*, and curtsy to their leader. They also join in the chant.

As examples of the kind of personal tunes now prevalent among the younger Jukun the following may be given, as expressed in language (Hausa at the present time).

(i) "Arzikin dashin Allah, babu mai hannawa; kaka gara ta kan yi da dutsi, sai lasa sai lasa." This proverb, which is beaten out in time well recognized by all, means: "Good fortune is planted by God. No one can stay it. A termite can do nought to a stone save lick it."

(ii) "Berri kulla da samun dengi. Ka nema naka," i.e. "Rely not on the fortune of your relatives. Seek your own."

(iii) "Yayan kaji dubu; Allah ya san da zakara," i.e. "In a thousand chickens you cannot discern which is a cock. But God can." Or in other words: "Despise no man, for he may turn out to be one in a thousand."

(iv) "Asara ba ta hannu samu ba," i.e. "Past ill-luck does not mean future ill-luck".

(v) "Iska ya dauke dutsi; faifai sake magana," i.e. "If the wind carries off a stone, a winnowing tray must alter its tune". The meaning is that, if a young man (the speaker) has failed to win his suit, it is a mere waste of time for lesser men to try their hand.

The above are used by males. The following are used by females:—

(vi) "Azurfa sha wasoso." "Everyone scrambles for silver," i.e. all men run after a pretty girl.

(vii) "Ga fure, ga goro, farinchikin yan mata," i.e. "The flowers of the tobacco plant and kola nuts are the joy of a maiden's heart" (because she stains her teeth with these).

(viii) "Zama da Fatu, kanuar Nasara, da dadi; ka chi, ka sha," i.e. "It is pleasant to be a member of the household of Fatu, sister of the white man. You want not for food or drink". Fatu is the type of a rich woman.

Proverbs.—The Jukun are very apt in using proverbs, of which they have a great many. The following are some examples :—

1. Ze zu ya za mo = To exchange a full stomach for an empty one. This proverb is used like our "falling from the frying-pan into the fire". A Jukun would employ it if he had sown a crop and reaped nothing, or if he had got rid of a wife on account of her temper and found that his next wife had a worse temper.

2. Ku ya tutu u ya nde bi ; ku ma tata u ya nde kwî = In the midst of your illness you will promise a goat ; but when you have recovered a chicken will seem sufficient.

3. Agashi ma zu miê kaypê na shindo-a = When Agashi (the tutelary genius) appears in public the first thing he does is to salute the master of the household, i.e. If you want to teach others how to behave you should begin by setting a good example in your own home.

4. Kyâ kê wi ra ti = The poison is sufficient for the number of game-animals, i.e. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

5. Chi-bi fo ma ra = The goat's head (while being cooked) is conscious of the salt savouring, i.e. If you refuse good advice your refusal will rebound on your own head.

6. Kyû ri ngwô a bo mba = A visitor should not interfere with the preparation of the meal, i.e. Do not initiate a discussion on something about which you have no real knowledge.

7. Kâ zûzû ri su a nde mba = A single bracelet does not make a clatter, i.e. Two heads are better than one.

8. Tukpwe ba tukpwe ma ri da gbwa aza ku ka ka yo mba = If a mortar quarrels with a mortar, the pottery dish had better keep silence, i.e. People in glass houses should not throw stones.

9. Ngwupa pasa zona = Someone else's child is easily looked after when he is asleep (Because he dreams of his father and mother, and thinks he is in his own home). The meaning is that a young person is content with his guardians as long as they are his own kin. But when he finds that they are not he transfers his affections. The friends of childhood are not those of later life.

10. Abo ku di pa a kwe kê = An arrow-head in someone else's body is nothing but an arrow shaft, i.e. You don't appreciate another's difficulties until you have experienced them yourself.

11. Bi ze bi vopa ri da bi hi mba = You need not take someone else's hand in order to crush a sand fly, i.e. Do not make a mountain out of a mole-hill.

12. Ndo ki yaya ki kitiriko = However broken down is the spirit's shrine, the spirit is there all the same, i.e. Appearances are deceitful.

13. Ahê ni wa wuwa ni wa gbwa hwâ = Medicine may be difficult to swallow, but you can always pour it on the ground, i.e. Do your best.

14. Apyu ni soa agbwazo ka pyena mba = Fire does not burn a blind man twice, i.e. A burnt child dreads the fire.

15. Ato kari nji kaga, abene nji kakû = The bow breaks and becomes a walking-stick, the hoe gets worn out and only the handle remains, i.e. How are the mighty fallen !

16. Uma ji bu ki ujizezu, ki mari mbya tswê uri ta ke = If you eat the deadly thing and fill yourself, death prepares the load and you prepare the porter's pad, i.e. As you make your bed, so you lie on it.

17. Afye pa ba bungyi atswi ka ba wekû = Ground-nuts for the toothless, yams for the leper (The leper has no hands to enable him to dig up yams), i.e. Carrying coals to Newcastle.

18. Atofyi ta dibe = Let rats shoot arrows at each other, i.e. Mind your own business.

19. Ngwu wa nya chî wa mwamwa, u hwê ku ba pyu = If the boy wants a speedy shave, shave him with fire, i.e. Good workmanship requires time ; the more hurry the less speed.

20. Pihîri ka hî = A shrub may grow into a tree, i.e. Despise no one.

21. Kwî ma te ngwu a be ku te gbwug gba mba = A hen may tread on its chicken, but that won't kill the chicken, i.e. Do not take the trials of life too seriously.

22. Atswê ma nda u ra, u ka zaji yi ke mba = If the load is too heavy for you, don't blame your head pad, i.e. The bad carpenter blames his tools.

23. Fu ri gbâ ba ri zâ = The dish of porridge falls and breaks right in front of the dog's nose, i.e. Lucky dog !

24. Bî keke adû jiji = The goat does the crying, the ram does the eating, i.e. One man does the talking and the other does the work.

25. Pa shusho ri ngwazu a dindî mba = A man cannot get away from his own shadow, i.e. You cannot avoid the inevitable.

26. Sukô bu ngwu kû kû vo bu yo a = Let a child's umbilical cord fall into the hands of its mother, i.e. Stew in your own juice.

27. Ka ze fye ta zo dô mba = Do now sow ground-nuts in front of the monkey's eyes, i.e. You are asking for trouble.

28. Kû ma ni shu ku a we miô = Even in time of drought one may still see dew, i.e. Half a loaf is better than no bread.

29. Agu sâ nyunu chê = The big pot comes into its own on the day of a beer-feast, i.e. Every dog has his day.

30. Winyi zô do ? = Does an elephant feed on benniseed ?

31. U hwê ni ti na ti ? = If you have had no luck in a market, are you going to make your bed there ? i.e. Once bitten, twice shy.

32. Chu ta kâ zû zû ri gbâ a vê mba = The first shower of rain does not smash down the granary, i.e. A single swallow does not make a summer.

33. Zo mbya shu apunu fyô na = It is when the eye falls on the mat that the owner begins to feel sleepy, i.e. What the eye does not see the heart does not desire.

34. Nu zwi gbâ zwi = It is the mouth of the worm that causes the worm's destruction, i.e. Dog eat dog.

35. Bye-jâ jâ vî wa sê be nyena, pyî mbye mi wa sê be apyina ? = If the horse, a four-footed animal, slipped, how can a two-footed animal (like myself) expect to keep his feet ?

36. Fyu a baba ri sô vo = Bad soup burns the hand, i.e. What can you expect from a pig but a grunt.

37. Fyu a sâsâ ri vuni, a ba ki mba = Good soup is always finished before the porridge, i.e. Whom the gods love die young.

38. Ka bwa to ta yi nyifi ji ? = Is it anything more than "What the bow has shot the vulture eats ?" i.e. It is no use crying over spilt milk.

39. U ma kyâ zu u nu ra mba u ka tso ngwu numi che mba = Don't abuse the crocodile's offspring until you are out of the river, i.e. He laughs best who laughs last.

40. Pa ba ku a ka ze ba ? = Does a man attach himself to the king in order to be a porter ? i.e. I am not giving something for nothing.

41. Nyo a tashuma se bi dzwa ku kwâ ba chî â = The harmless snake is devoured head and all, i.e. The man of interminable patience is despised by all.

42. Andi nyu ngwa a ra mba do ri ji ke ? = Is the baboon going without food simply because the locust-bean tree is not bearing ? ; i.e. Be content with your lot.

43. Angwunitsa be ba nua nua = The shade of a fan-palm looks good at a distance, i.e., Distance lends enchantment to the view.

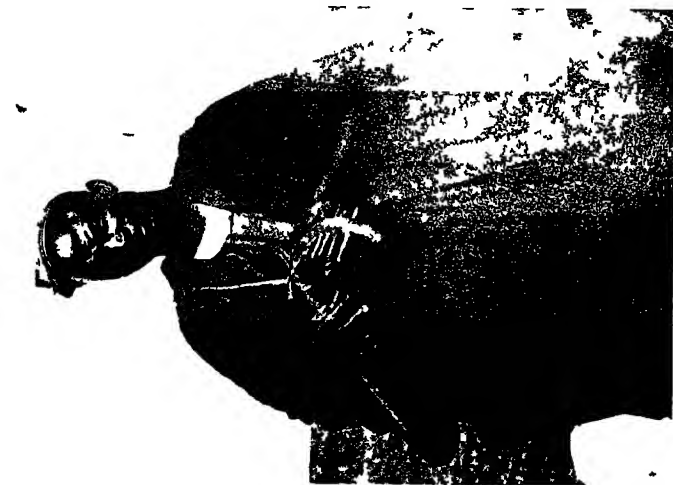
44. U ma ba ngwu tishe ji fye, ku bi dâ u pu kô a du = If you eat nuts with a junior, he'll want you to peel the skins for him, i.e. Give a person an inch and he'll want an ell.

45. Dâ wa vya ju ri ku ka hyu = The ram that is over fond of food falls and breaks its horn, i.e. Too much of a good thing !

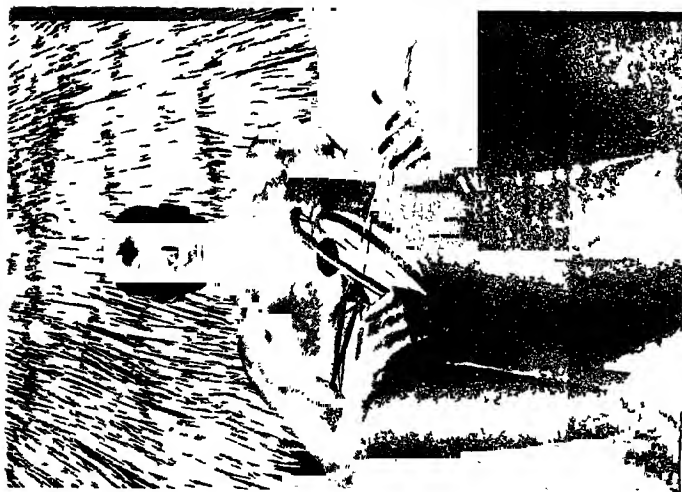
46. Bi ze jâ ri gêbi wa na mbo mba = Don't offer beer to one who had not dined the night before (for he will consume it all).

47. Chêa zûzô ri byê bye agu wa titi = Beer matures even in a small pot, i.e. One can learn even from a child.

48. Angwu hi byê di hi mba = A young partridge follows in the crafty steps of its parents, i.e. Like father, like son.



^ HARI



^ FIDDI

49. Uma bau ba fyô ki fi mba obi zû zi kyâ wa o wa wa mba = If you have no evil in your body you will not be afraid of drinking poison, i.e. A guilty conscience!

50. Ka ta wa zô fye ra ku wa jape mba = You need not advise the eater of "gurjia" nuts to drink water. (Gurjia nuts are thirst-producing), i.e. Teach your grandmother to suck eggs.

51. Vo nyi ri hweâ ti mba = An empty-handed man cannot engage in trade, i.e. Beggars cannot be choosers.

52. Vi wa kape ri wa jâ ji mba = The first horse does not drink dirty water, i.e. The early bird catches the worm.

53. Adda dama asa zu zota = Blood does not flow unless there has been an injury, i.e. No smoke without fire.

54. Angwu wa se hwâ iya cho wa nono mba = The child who is being carried is unaware of the length of the journey, i.e. Appearances are deceitful.

55. Pa we kû shia bî mba = The man with leprosy does not refuse goat's flesh, i.e. Beggars cannot be choosers.

56. Bie shu wa kumi vo su tu vo wunu; vo wunu tu vo su = In life the right hand washes the left, and the left washes the right, i.e. Everything squares in the long run.

57. A gbazo ra ka sake ba zore zo ri nufi = The blind man says, "What is the use of eyes? They only smell," i.e. Sour grapes.

58. Adudu bu ku, po yinu bu wi = The chair of the chief begins the day of the feast, i.e. When the chief takes his seat on the judgment seat someone is going to die, and there will be a funeral feast, i.e. No smoke without fire.

59. She nyimi yebo = You run away from a crocodile, but eat crocodile stew, i.e. You should act up to your principles.

60. Vyû vyo ka ta shê ki = Give gifts and then go and weep, i.e. You have nobody to blame but yourself.

61. Ka kpâ jo bu tsi ba biu mba = Do not make a friendship like that of a yam with palm-oil (The combination of a yam and palm-oil looks suitable, but there is no real intermixture), i.e. Do not make friends with a person whom you only know superficially.

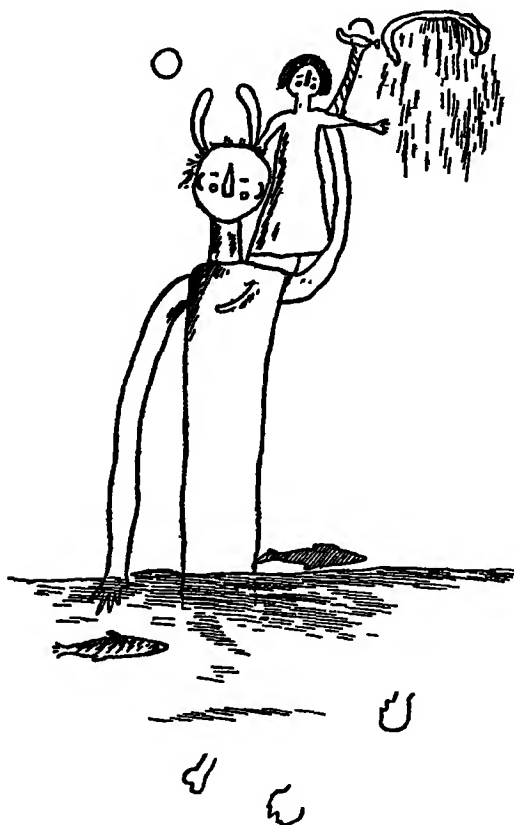
62. Ja ta bâ ze vo yiu kunake mba = Do not throw a stone and hide your hand afterwards, i.e. Do not make an accusation which you are not prepared to substantiate.

FOLKLORE

The King and the Chameleon

Once upon a time there was a great king called Koki. And among his subjects was a woman who was with child. The woman went to the bush to collect firewood. But she lost her

way; and, being overcome with thirst, she vowed that if she found water she would dedicate her child to the spirit of the water. Soon afterwards she came to a river, and having quenched her thirst she renewed her search for a path leading homewards, and found it. In due course she bore a female child, and remembering her oath called the child Wajape, i.e. wife of the



A WATER-SPIRIT, AS DEPICTED BY A JUKUN ARTIST.

river, and dedicated her to the spirit of the river. But when the child grew up the king heard of her beauty, and forbade the mother to give her to any in marriage save himself. The mother was forced to agree. When the king's men came to claim the girl the mother warned them not to use her name of Wajape while crossing the river. But the men forgot and used her name; and straightway the river spirit seized the maiden. When the

king heard the news he called to him all the animals of the bush and bade them recover the maiden, offering half his kingdom to the one which succeeded. All failed save the chameleon, which found the girl, tied her up in his tail, and brought her to the bank. The king rejoiced greatly and conferred half of his kingdom on the chameleon.

The Hare and the Elephant

Once upon a time a hare took his bag and went for a walk. In his bag was a razor and a poison whose secret name was Basa. He came upon an elephant working on his farm. The elephant was suffering from elephantiasis of the scrotum. So the hare addressed the elephant saying, "Uncle, I perceive that you have a serious disease. Why have you not sent for me?" The elephant replied, "But have you a remedy for this dreadful disease?" The hare replied, "I have; and now that I am here I will free you of the whole thing at once." The elephant said: "I place myself in your hands gladly." So the hare led the elephant to the foot of a large tree, and made him lie down in order that he might examine him. He then said: "I am going to give you medicine for this. If you feel it burning you must keep calling out "Basa, Basa." The elephant agreed; and the hare took out his razor and made some incisions in the scrotum. Into these he rubbed the poison. The elephant howled with pain, but the hare bade him be brave and call out "Basa, Basa" and he would soon be healed. So the elephant kept calling out "Basa" until he died. The hare then said, "Basa has killed him and I have got what I was looking for." So he ran home and called his wife and children, and they skinned the elephant and took the flesh and cooked it and ate it. Even in times of famine the hare will never starve.

The Origin of Many Foods and of the Whip

One day a hare went to a forest to weave for himself a basket of palm fronds. On his shoulder he carried a small bag filled with ground-nuts. He worked away at his weaving until he grew tired, and then he climbed a tree beside a lake in order to eat his ground-nuts. When he was about to eat the very last nut it slipped out of his paws and fell into the water. He determined to recover the nut, and, laying aside his garment, plunged

into the pool. As he felt about at the bottom for the nut he touched something made of woven grass, and on lifting it saw that it was a *hwôshê* (i.e. the basket used to cover sacred things, especially sacrificial foods).¹ He opened the *hwôshê* and found a small wooden spoon inside. Addressing the spoon he said: "What manner of thing are you?" The spoon retorted, "And what are you?" The hare said, "I am a hare that makes its bed amongst leaves." The spoon replied, "I am a (the) creator of foods, and I give thereof to the king (to eat), and I give also to the Abô."² The hare replied, "And I am the hare that leaps about from place to place." The spoon said, "Well, let us see what you can do." The hare thereupon skipped about from one spot to another, and returned and said, "Now, let me see what you can do." The spoon straightway produced from himself one kind of food after another. The hare jumped about with joy and proceeded to eat the foods, and though he ate to repletion there was an abundance of food left over. The spoon then said, "Have you had enough?" The hare replied, "More than enough." The spoon then caused all the remaining foods to disappear into himself. The hare replaced the spoon in the *hwôshê* and carried it off to his home. As he neared his home he called out to his wife, "Waki, Waki, come quickly and take my load." His wife ran out and took the load into their home. The hare then assembled all his family and told them to ask the thing he had brought home what he was and what he could do. This they did, and the spoon then asked the children of the hare who they were and what they could do? When they had shown him how they could skip about, they asked the spoon to show them what he could do. The spoon then produced upon himself an infinite variety of foods of which the mother hare and her children freely partook. All night the hare and his family danced with joy to the beating of drums, and at daybreak he delivered a message to the people of the village that they could pull up the crops they had sown as he had found a source of food which would last them all for ever. So everyone went out to his farm and dug up his crop. The hare also went to his farm to destroy his crops, and he took with him his wife and the older children. But before he went he deposited the *hwôshê* in his granary and told his two youngest sons to remain behind and guard the house.

¹ See p. 320.

² *Mama buju, mai kuji mai Bô ji.*

Now an elephant had heard the sound of the drums during the night, and so he came to the house of the hare soon after dawn and asked the two young sons of the hare the cause of the previous night's merriment. The sons replied: "Yes, we danced, because our father brought back something which produces an unending supply of food." The elephant said: "Indeed! where is this thing?" The children said: "It is in the granary." The elephant said: "Bring it to me to see." One of the children then brought the *hwôshê* and disclosed the spoon. The elephant said: "But how do you get food from this?" One of the children replied: "You must say to the spoon—'what are you?'" So the elephant said to the spoon: "What are you?" The spoon replied: "But what are you?" The elephant replied: "I am a great person, who in his passage overturns trees and houses." The spoon said: "I am the creator of all kinds of foods." Said the elephant: "Indeed! Let me see." Said the spoon: "Let me first see how you uproot trees and houses." The elephant thereupon charged round, destroying many trees and houses. He returned and said: "I have done my turn, now do yours." The spoon then proceeded to produce an unceasing flow of various kinds of food, all of which the elephant swallowed. In his greed the elephant chewed up the spoon itself, but a fragment of the spoon fell out of his mouth. The elephant then went his way, but the children of the hare picked up the fragment of the spoon, placed it in the *hwôshê* and hid the *hwôshê* in the granary.

In the evening the hare with his wife and family returned from the farm, and when he saw the trees uprooted and many of the huts destroyed, he asked the cause of this devastation. The young children replied: "An elephant came here to inquire the reason of our drumming and dancing last night, and we told him that it was because of the thing which you brought home yesterday. So he demanded to see the thing and we showed him." "And which of you showed the thing?" said the angry father-hare. Thereupon each of the children began to blame the other, and after recounting how the elephant had swallowed the spoon as well as the food they revealed that a piece of the spoon had been preserved. The father-hare then entered the granary and went through the ritual of asking the spoon what he was. But the fragment of the spoon was only able to produce a fragment of food, quite insufficient for the wants of the hare and

his family. In his wrath the hare thrashed his foolish children, and then ordered his wife to fry some more ground-nuts, as he said he must return to the pool where he had found the spoon. He went to the forest and weaved, and when he was tired he climbed up the tree beside the pool and ate his ground-nuts. When he came to the last nut he threw it deliberately into the pool, and then dived down and felt about. Again he found a *hwóshé* and brought it to the surface. He opened it and found a wooden thing as before. He said : " What are you ? " The thing replied : " What are you ? " The hare said : " I am the thing that can jump about hither and thither." The other replied : " I am the thing that fears neither the king nor his Abô." The hare said : " Well, let me see." The wooden thing replied : " I will, when you have first shown me." The hare showed his skill in skipping, and then asked the thing to show his powers. Suddenly the hare found himself bound with ropes and being beaten unmercifully with a whip. The hare howled for help, and a bird sitting on a tree spoke to him and said : " If you call out 'Angya, your chieftainship excels that of all' you will be saved." The hare straightway called out : " Angya, your chieftainship excels that of all," and immediately the whip fell down and the thongs that bound him dropped to the ground.

The hare then took the thing, replaced it in the *hwóshé*, and went his way homewards. When he reached his home he called out to his wife : " Waki, Waki, come quickly and take from me my load." His wife ran forward and took his load. He then called his family together and told them to inquire of the thing he had brought what it was. This they did, and in due course all of them found themselves bound in thongs and being beaten unmercifully. The hare then shouted that they must call out : " Angya, Angya, your chieftainship excels that of all," and when they did this they were all released. That night they all danced and beat drums in order to attract the elephant. At dawn the hare and his wife and family went to their farm, but the hare left the two youngest children as before, telling them that if the elephant came and inquired the cause of the merriment they were to say that they had found a wonderful thing, but that when the elephant asked to see the thing and was then bound and beaten they were not to tell him to cry out " Angya." In due course the elephant arrived and inquired the reason for the last night's drumming

and dancing. The children replied that they had been making merry because their father had brought home a wonderful thing. The elephant asked to see the thing ; so the children brought the *hwôshê* and showed the thing. The elephant said to the thing : " What are you ? " The thing replied : " You must tell me first what you are." The elephant replied : " I am a mighty thing that in its passage overturns trees and houses." Said the thing : " Indeed, let me see you perform." So the elephant charged about, destroying many trees and houses. Then he returned and said to the thing : " Now let me see what you can do." And immediately he was bound with thongs and beaten unmercifully. The children remembered their father's instructions, and did not disclose the " password ", with the result that the elephant was beaten to death. In the evening the hare and his family returned and found the dead body of the elephant. They skinned the body, cooked the flesh, and ate sumptuously. When all were satisfied, and there was still a surfeit of food, the father-hare said : " This thing is too great for me. What shall I do ? I must take it to the king of Wukari." So he started off for Wukari. On the road he came on a crowd of peasants doing co-operative work on the farm of a friend. He went to the tree underneath which they had laid their supplies of beer, and called on the workers to come at once and give him a drink. They replied : " We will come presently, when we have finished the work." He replied : " Come immediately, for I am on my way to see the king of Wukari." But they paid no attention. When they had finished their work they came to him and offered him some beer. But the hare refused saying : " You ignored me when I called, knowing nothing of my circumstances. Ask this thing here what he is." The peasants obeyed, and soon found themselves bound in thongs and being beaten unmercifully. In the midst of the beating the hare called out : " Say ' Angya, your chieftainship exceeds that of all '." The peasants obeyed, and were immediately released. The hare then had a drink of beer, and proceeded on his way to Wukari. Having told the whole of his story he handed over the wonderful thing to the king, who rewarded him with numerous gifts. And thus it is that the kings of Wukari became possessed of whips, but if the whipped subject calls out " Angya " he is spared from further whipping.

This story is of ethnological interest, for it seems to refer

to an invasion by peoples who introduced new forms of agriculture coupled with kingship and the discipline which kingship involves.

The story of the He-goat, the Lion, and the Hyena

One day a lion, weary of hunting, went and sat down under a fine big shady tree. Anon a hyena came along, and when she saw the lion under the tree she was at a loss what to do. For she could not pass the lion hurriedly, neither could she run off by the way she had come. So she came crawling on her belly to the lion and saluted the lion, saying: "Hail to thee, oh king! lord of the bush lands!" And she sat down at the lion's feet, for the lion was sitting on a chair.

After a little, a he-goat came along the road from a place where honey is found. And when he saw the lion and the hyena, and perceived that they had seen him, he knew that he could not slink away by some other path. So he summoned his courage and went forward to greet them. But he first hid the honey he had picked in his bag. And as he drew near he heard the hyena saying to the lion: "Here is a he-goat coming. He would make you an excellent meal. If I could have his head and feet I'd be very well content." And as he approached them closer still he again overheard the hyena saying: "Here is a he-goat coming. It would be lovely if his head and feet were given to me to devour."

When the he-goat reached the tree, he made his salutations, and the lion answered with a grunt. Then the he-goat said to the lion: "My lord, how comes it that you are sitting idly thus? Can it be that you are unwell to-day?" The lion replied, "Yes, I am not feeling very well, and perhaps you have some medicine which you can give me?" The he-goat replied: "I have indeed a splendid medicine that will cure you of all your ills, but the thing that must be mixed with it is very hard to obtain." The lion said: "And what is it that must be mixed with it? If you will tell me, I will seek it out, wherever it is." The he-goat replied: "The thing that must be mixed with it is hyena's flesh!"

On hearing this, the hyena did not know what to do. She looked at the skies and saw that they were far away; she looked at the ground, but knew she could not enter there. Then the lion turned his head to the hyena and said: "Hyena, let me

have a small slice of meat that we may make medicine with it." The hycna replied "Very well!", and she cut a small slice from her thigh and gave it to the lion, who handed it to the he-goat. The he-goat put the meat in his bag and soaked it in the honey, and then gave it to the lion saying: "Chew this well." As the lion chewed the meat he was delighted with the flavour and said: "Hem! I see that this medicine is going to do me a lot of good."

When he had finished it he said: "He-goat, I must have another dose of that medicine." The he-goat replied "Yes, that is so". The lion then said to the hyena: "Let me have another small slice of meat, please." "Alas!" said the hyena to herself, "this will be the death of me!" But she plucked up her courage and cut off another slice from her thigh and gave it to the he-goat, who soaked it in honey as before, and gave it to the lion. The lion ate it up, and soon again said to the hyena: "Hyena, let me have one more slice." At this the hyena jumped up and ran away at full speed. And the lion ran after her. The he-goat then seized his bag and ran for his life the other way. The lion overtook the hyena and felled her with his paw and killed her and tore off all her flesh. He took the flesh back to the shady tree, but found that the he-goat had gone. So he said: "That he-goat is more wily than I am." And this is why the Jukun say that if a man seeks to do evil to another, the evil will rebound on to his own head.

*The story of the Chief, the Dove, the Hare, and the
Chameleon*

Once upon a time a dove made a magnificent house for herself. It was an iron house: the walls were of iron, the roof was of iron, and the whole house glittered everywhere.

One day a hare went out to the bush to collect grass for the chief's horses, and he came across the dove's iron house and marvelled at its beauty. So he returned home at once and told the chief, saying: "I have seen a very beautiful house belonging to a dove, and if you do not go and take it, then I will, for the house is far too good for a dove. It is built wholly of iron and glitters inside and out."

Then the chief said: "Truly a house like this should be included among the houses of the chief's compound." So he

set a brew of beer and gave orders that all the people should assemble in order to go and bring the house to him. When the beer was ready, all assembled—elephants, buffaloes, roan antelopes, haartebeests and all the other animals of the bush. And when they had drunk up all the beer, they went off to bring the iron house to the chief. But when they had lifted the house a little into the air the dove began to sing, saying: "House of mine, house of mine, are you going away to leave me and become a house among strangers?" And when he heard this song, the house descended again to the ground. And though the people tried with all their might to raise the house they could not. So they went home.

Now a chameleon came late to the assembly, and when he arrived he asked for his share of the beer. But they all mocked him, saying: "Fie upon you! If the mighty ones have failed, what can an insignificant thing like you do?" And with difficulty the chameleon was able to obtain a few dregs of beer. After that the chameleon went to the house of the dove, and he climbed to the roof and put his tail round the house, and the house began to rise into the air. Then the dove began to sing her song in order that the house might descend again to the ground, but although she sang until she was tired the house remained in the air; for the chameleon had gripped it firmly with his tail. And the chameleon carried the house away to the chief's compound. When he reached the chief's compound, he did not immediately set the house on the ground, but hovered with it in the air. But when the chief came out of his porch the chameleon lowered the house on to the ground, and then went and threw dust on his shoulders before the chief. And the chief said to him: "Is it really you who have brought this house to me, when all the mighty ones failed?" And the chameleon said: "Angya, it is indeed I." The chief then wished to give him money, but the chameleon refused the money. So the chief said: "Tell me what you desire and I will give it to you." The chameleon replied: "Give me but one green cloth and that will suffice me." So the chief gave him a new green cloth, and the chameleon clothed himself with the cloth. And that is the reason why the chameleon's body is green.

On that day the dove swore an oath saying: "From now onwards never again will I build a magnificent house, but will

make for myself a little house of grass ". And that is the reason why doves never sleep inside houses like swallows, but always in their own nests.

The story of the Dodo, the Maiden, and the Dove

There was once a comely maiden, and she excelled all other maidens in comeliness. And her name was Fatsumate. Now it came to pass, that her father and mother went on a journey and left her behind with her mother's rival-wife. But before they went away, they mixed up various kinds of seeds with clay, and told their daughter that she must pick out the seeds one by one and place all those of the same kind together. This they did to prevent her from wandering about with other maidens.

One day her girl-friends came to her and asked her to go with them to the bush to obtain firewood. (For it is the duty of girls to obtain firewood for their parents.) But the comely maiden said : " My parents gave me certain work to do, and it is not yet finished, so I cannot accompany you." Then the other girls replied : " If we help you to finish your work, then will you accompany us ? " And she answered " Yes ". (The other girls said this because they were jealous of her beauty and wished to play her a trick.) So they summoned ants to help in the work, and soon all the seeds were separated and arranged in piles.

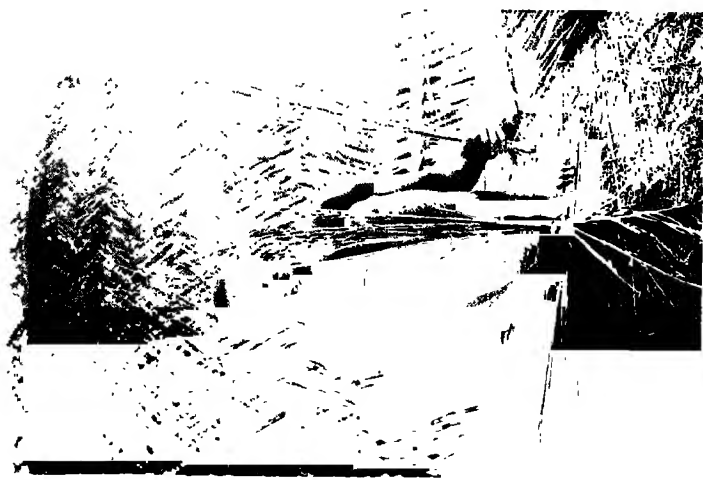
After that they all went off to the bush to collect firewood, and the comely maiden went with them. When they had finished their work the Dodo suddenly appeared, and they all threw their loads down and climbed a tree. So the Dodo kept guard at the bottom of the tree to catch anyone who tried to escape. Anon one of the maidens came down the tree, and when she was close to the ground she began to sing, saying : " Dodo, Dodo, allow me to pass, for I am not Fatsumate. Fatsumate is up above." The Dodo replied : " Very well, you can come down and be off." So she descended and went her way. Another of the girls did likewise and went her way. And soon all the girls had escaped except Fatsumate, the comely one. She also descended the tree a little and began to sing ; but the Dodo said : " Come down on to the ground that I may devour you." So she climbed back to the very top of the tree and began to weep. Then she descried a hawk and besought the hawk to take her away ; but the hawk refused, saying : " Nay, for some time ago I wanted to seize

one of your father's chickens and you drove me off." Then she saw a vulture and besought him to take her away, but the vulture refused, saying: "Some time ago I wanted to eat some offal in your garden and you drove me away." Then she descried a dove, and she asked the dove to take her away. But the dove replied: "You Jukun are a difficult people. If I take you away you will work me some mischief." The maiden replied: "Never, as long as I live." So the dove took away all her garments, and her girdle and necklace and other ornaments. And the maiden descended the tree and began to sing: "Dodo, Dodo, let me come down and go on my way, for I am not Fatsumate. Fatsumate is up there with all her necklaces and fine ornaments." And the Dodo replied: "Come down and begone." So she descended and went on her way. Then the dove began to sing as the maidens had sung, but the Dodo replied: "Come down quickly that I may devour you." The dove then dropped a stick on the Dodo's head and flew away. The Dodo followed her on the ground, keeping his eyes always towards the skies. And he fell into a river and was drowned. And if it had not been for the dove the Dodo would still be roaming the world, devouring people.

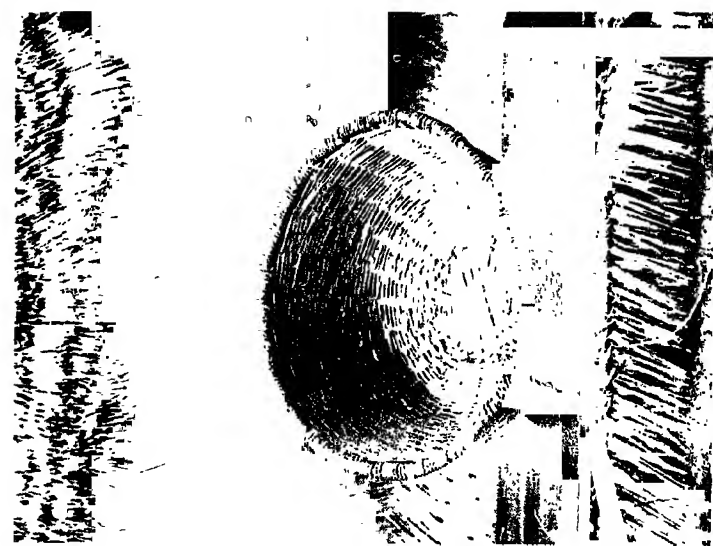
The dove flew away to the house of Fatsumate and gave her back all her clothes and ornaments. And Fatsumate said to her: "Dove, name all the things you desire and I will give them to you because of the great kindness you have shown to me." But the dove replied: "I have no desire for anything save a black thread." So Fatsumate tied a black thread round the dove's neck. And that is why doves have black rings round their necks to this day.

The Story of the Hare and the Dog

A dog went and made a new farm on the farther side of a forest. And a hare went and did likewise. Every day they walked to their farms together, and they followed a roundabout road, for they were afraid to go through the forest. One day at sowing time they went out at early dawn and they worked all day. By the time they had finished sowing their crops the sun had nearly set, and as they were both very tired and hungry the hare said to the dog: "This evening we must take the short road home, past the leopard's house." But the dog said: "No, I will not follow that route, for dogs and leopards do not agree



MAT-MAKING



THE BASKET KNOWN AS ATISIE

(See p. 434)

with one another." The hare said: "Nevertheless we must take the short road home, for we are both dying of thirst." The dog replied: "Very well, I will consent if you will hide me in your bag, so that the leopard may not catch sight of me."

So the hare put the dog into his bag, and as they went along the road the dog kept gnawing at the bag. The hare said to him: "What is that sound you are making?" The dog replied: "It is nothing but your farming tools rubbing against my body." And soon the dog had bitten a hole in the bag and was able to look out.

After a while they came to the grass hut of the leopard, and as they were passing it the bag rubbed against the wall of the hut. The leopard shouted out: "Who is that who dares to trifle with me?" The hare replied: "Does that mean that you, the leopard, are at home, and that you do not wish me to pass with this dog?"

At the mention of the dog the leopard bounded out of the hut. The hare then threw his bag on the ground and ran off at full speed. The dog jumped out of the hole he had made in the bag and ran after the hare. The leopard pursued them both, but they both escaped. The dog continued to follow the hare, and overtook him, and felled him and ate him. And that is the reason why dogs are the enemies of hares to this day. After that the dog refused to dwell with other animals in the bush and came to dwell with human beings in a town.

The Story of Koki and of his son Adi, and of the origin of Thunder and Lightning

Koki was a chieftain, and he had ten wives, and the tenth wife was the daughter of a chieftain. Red sorrel was their only food. Their porridge was made of red sorrel, their stew was made of red sorrel and their beer was made of red sorrel.

And it came to pass that all the wives found themselves to be with child, and they were all told to go to the homes of their parents that they might bear their children there. So each wife went to her own home in Koki's town, but the daughter of the chieftain had nowhere to go, for she knew no one in the town, much less had a home there. So she stood under a tree and wept. And an old woman saw her and came to her and said, "Why are you weeping?" and she replied: "We have all been

told to go and bear our children in our own homes, and I have neither a father's home nor a mother's home in this town, so that is why I am weeping." The old woman said: "Dry your eyes and come with me to my home."

So the old woman took the chieftain's daughter home and gave her a grain of rice. And when the chieftain's daughter cooked the grain of rice it filled the food-pot full, and the two ate together heartily.

In due course all the wives gave birth, and the old woman took the child of the chieftain's daughter and put him in an old dye-pit. And she took a hoe-handle and wrapped it up in rags and gave it to the mother, saying: "If you suckle this you will be suckling your child in the dye-pit."

Now among all the wives of Koki no one bore a human child save the chieftain's daughter. All the others gave birth to animals. One bore a vulture, one a cockroach, and the others various kinds of insects.

When the time came for the wives to return to their husband, Koki had a brew of beer set to celebrate the naming ceremony; and on the day when the beer was ready the old woman took the child out of the dye-pit and gave him to his mother. And the child was seen to be an exceedingly beautiful boy. The old woman also gave a male slave and a female slave to the chieftain's daughter, saying: "To-day you are returning to your husband and I bid you good-bye. But of one thing I warn you—you must not wash in the company of the other wives."

When the chieftain's daughter returned to her husband's home she forgot the old woman's warning, unloosed the child from her back, laid him on the ground and went and washed in the company of the other wives. And when she came out she found that one of the other wives had stolen her son and left a vulture instead. So she took the vulture and tied it on her back and said nothing. But when they were all seated together the child descried his mother and cried loudly, and tore himself out of the arms of the other woman and made for his mother. When he reached his mother he drove away the vulture and rested in her arms and was suckled.

All the people assembled, and names were given to each of the offspring of Koki's wives, one being called Agbu, one Ato, one Tsokwa, and so on. But when the child of the chieftain's

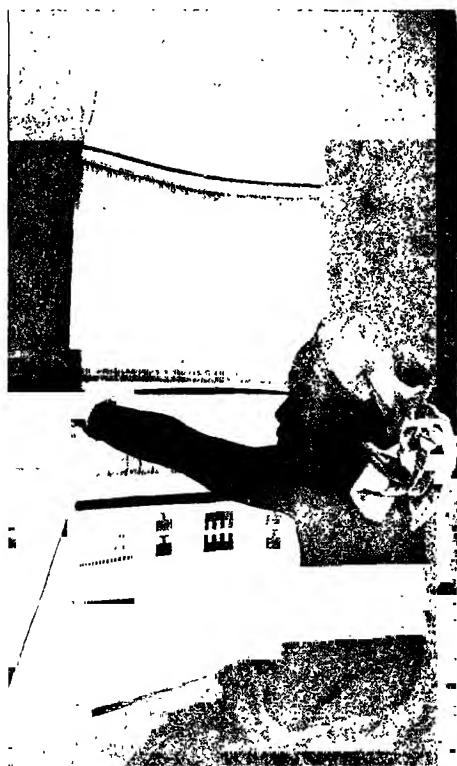
daughter was brought to be named all called out in wonder : " This child is marvellously beautiful ; there is none other in the world so beautiful. We must let the Hare choose his name." So they called out " Hare, come hither and bestow a name on this child." The hare then came forward, and, taking the child in his arms, he turned to the people and said : " This child's name shall be " *Adi-sâ-ka-Koki* ", that is to say, ' *Adi* is more beautiful than *Koki*.'" When *Koki* heard this he was filled with shame and wrath, and he determined to destroy the child, because they had said that he was more beautiful than himself. One day when the child had grown up, and had become wise beyond his years, his father said to him : " Come here and shave me." So *Adi* took a head of millet and gave it to his father, saying : " Keep rubbing this grain in your hands that I may have something to eat as I shave you." Now *Koki* had resolved to kill his son that day, and when the shaving was finished he said to him : " Good ! Now restore to my head the hair as it was before. *Adi* replied : " If you will replace the millet grain as it was on the stalk before, I will replace your hair." *Koki* was at a loss what to reply, and so told *Adi* to be gone about his business.

On another day *Koki* gave some bundles of corn to his wives to make into beer. But he only gave one head of corn to the chieftain's daughter, the mother of *Adi* ; and he ordered her to finish her brewing in a single day.¹ So *Adi*'s mother began to weep ; and when *Adi* asked her the cause of her tears she said : " Your father has told me to make beer in one day from a single head of corn. Has anyone ever heard of beer being made from a single head of corn and in a single day ? " *Adi* said to her : " Dry your tears and leave the matter to me." Then he went and took a single ear of corn and put it into a pot and immediately the pot became full of sprouting corn, like corn which sprouts during brewing. Next he took a single seed of the calabash plant and went to his father and said : " Sow this and let it produce a calabash this very day, and cut the calabash in two and send half of it to my mother that she may use it to ladle out the beer." *Koki* was at a loss what to reply ; so he said : " Very well ! your mother can make her beer in five and a half days, like the other women."

¹ The process of brewing requires five and a half days.

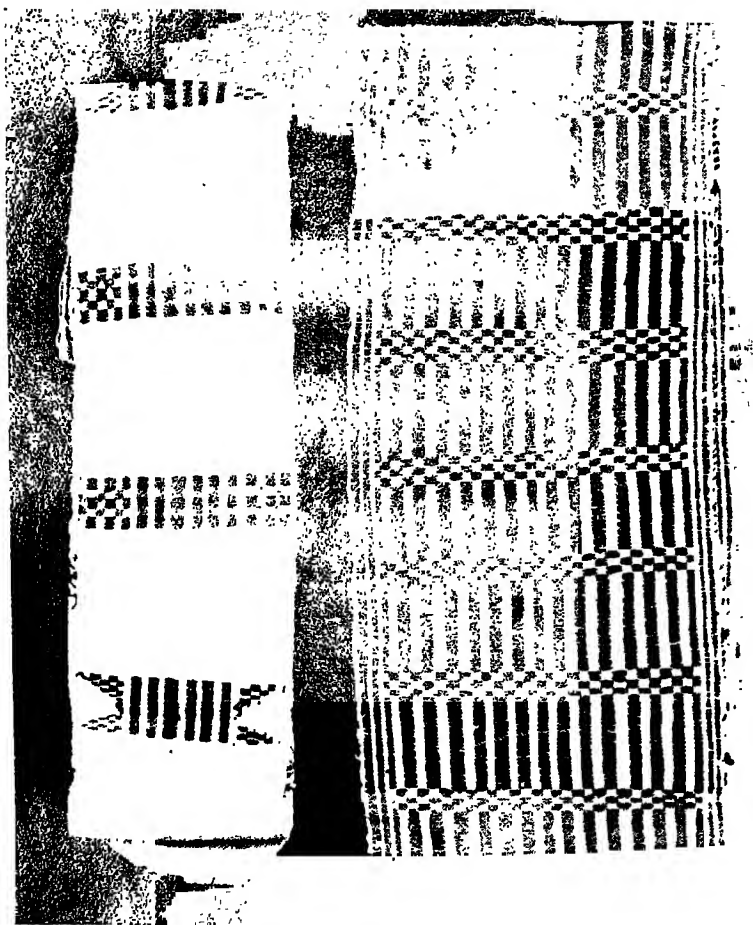
On the day that the beer of the various wives matured the hare was told to go and test it. He went to the kitchen of one wife, tasted the beer and found that it was sour; he went to another kitchen and found that there also the beer was sour. And wherever he went the beer was sour. But when he tasted the beer of the mother of Adi he said: "Since I was born I have never tasted beer of a quality so fine as this." So this beer alone was taken to the chieftain (Koki), the beer of the other wives being left for the servants to drink.

In course of time a war broke out; and Koki gave a horse to each of his children (the vulture, cockroach and others). But to Adi he only gave a ram to ride, and he also gave him a blunt spear covered with bells. Nevertheless in the battle Adi captured three men and speared the leader of the enemy, leaving the spear in his body. After the battle Adi took the three captives to his father; but his father said: "I do not require slaves, I want my spear." So Adi arose and went to seek the spear, but on the road he stumbled and fell and burst into tears. But the daughter of Stumbling came forth and said: "What ails you?" And he replied: "I stumbled and fell." She said: "If I call my father and he gives you medicine and heals you, will you marry me?" And Adi said: "I will." So she called her father, and he came forth and healed Adi, and Adi married his daughter. And they continued the journey together. But on the road Adi was bitten by a snake and fell and wept. And his wife wept also. Then the daughter of the Snake appeared, and she was very beautiful. And she said to Adi: "If I call my father to heal you, will you marry me?" And he said: "I will." So he was healed, and went on his way with his two wives. As they journeyed they came to a broad river, and, being unable to cross it, they fell to weeping. But the beautiful daughter of the ferryman came and said to Adi: "If I call my father to take you across the river, will you marry me?" Adi said he would; and when he was taken across the river he married the ferryman's daughter. At last they came to the town where Adi had killed the chieftain, and he burst out into loud lamentation. And the chieftain's daughter came and asked him why he lamented. Adi said to her: "We made war on this town, and I killed the chieftain with my spear, and verily I must recover my spear." So the chieftain's daughter said: "It was my father whom you



VERTICAL LOOMS

(The lower photograph was kindly given by Mr. Fleming)



JUKUN WEAVING DESIGNS
(*British Museum photograph*)

killed. But if your wives will agree that I also become your wife then at midnight I will go and take the spear from my father's body and bring it to you." And all the wives of Adi said they agreed. At midnight she took a strip of cloth and went to her father's body, and tied the cloth tightly round the bells on the spear so that no one might hear any sound when the spear was withdrawn. And she took the spear to Adi and became his wife. And Adi gave the spear to his father, and said to his father that he was going away to found a home for himself and his four wives. So they went away, and Adi's mother went with them. Adi took with him three eggs, and when they reached a certain place in the bush he broke one of the eggs, and immediately a town sprang up. And he broke another and many men appeared with drummers. And he broke the third and women came out. Thus Adi became the chieftain of a town.

One day the hare went to collect grass for Koki's horses, and he saw a narrow path and said: "I will follow this path wherever it leads me." So he came to the town of Adi-sâ-ka-Koki. And Adi received the hare joyfully, and took him into his enclosure and gave him beer to drink, more than enough. He also gave him a cloth and sent him on his way rejoicing.

When the hare returned home he did not give the grass to Koki's horses, but threw it on the ground and entered his hut and lay down. When Koki called him he shouted back: "What do you want?" Koki said: "What means this rude reply?" The hare answered: "I am tired of red sorrel, and will eat no more of it. Good gracious me! There is no chieftain here worthy of the name. But a real chieftain lives yonder." Koki said "Indeed, I will send my Kû Nako¹ (personal attendant) to go yonder and see." The hare led the Kû Nako to the town of Adi, and when Adi saw the Kû Nako he took him into the enclosure and gave him beer, more than enough, to drink. And the Kû Nako was rejoiced with his entertainment and said: "I will not return home to-day, but will stay until the morrow." Adi answered: "But how can a Kû Nako thus absent himself? Who will look after the chieftain in your absence?" So he brought a black cloth, and gave it to the Kû Nako, and sent him on his way rejoicing.

¹ i.e. Akû Nako. See p. 155.

When the Kû Nako reached home he went to the hare's house and lay down. And Koki called out : " What ! Has the Kû Nako not yet returned ? " The Kû Nako replied : " What do you want ? " Thereat the hare burst out laughing, clapped his two hind legs together, and shouted to Koki : " Aha ! You said I answered you rudely. Why even your Kû Nako refuses to come to you. Look at him lying here ! I told you there was no chieftain here, but only yonder."

So Koki told his Kinda, and his Abô Zikê, and his Abô Achuwo, and the other principal men to go and seek out the truth of the matter. And when they arrived at Adi's town they were received with many gifts, so that on returning home they began to despise their own chieftain Koki.

Then Koki became aware that the rival chieftain was none other than his own son Adi. And he sent a message to Adi to come at once to him as the Aku-ahwâ (ancestral spirits) had caught him (Koki) and it was necessary that Adi should attend the rites of propitiation. Thereupon Adi caused a rat and ground-squirrel to dig a tunnel from his town to the house in Koki's town, which Koki had appointed for Adi's use. Adi also made his men take with them many bags full of water-melons. And when they arrived at Koki's town Koki ordered many mud puddings to be made, and one or two puddings of flour ; for there was little millet in Koki's town. And when the puddings were ready he told his son to choose his food. And Adi chose the puddings of flour and left the mud puddings for his father.

Koki then gave orders that all the women must hide themselves, as the Aku-ahwâ (ancestral spirits) were coming. When Adi's wives had entered the hut prepared for Adi's use, Koki told Adi to enter too in order to seal up all openings (for if women peer at the Aku-ahwâ they die an instant death). While Adi was inside with his wives and followers, Koki set fire to the hut. Immediately the followers of Adi threw the water-melons on the ground, and all entered the tunnel that led to Adi's town. Adi was the last to leave. The fire took hold of the house and it blazed, and the heat of the fire caused the water-melons to crack loudly as they burst. And when Koki heard the cracks he said : " Splendid ! I have destroyed Adi and his people. I hear their bodies cracking in the fire." But anon there came the sound of distant drumming, and the hare said : " Do you hear that

drumming? Adi and his people have reached their town in safety."

After a few days Adi, in his turn, sent to his father and said : "The Aku-ahwâ who formerly caught you have now caught me. Come, I beseech you, that I may offer rites of propitiation." Thereupon Koki told a frog to burrow a tunnel from his town to the house in Adi's town which had been prepared for him. The frog began to dig the tunnel, but when he had dug a short distance he grew tired and went to sleep.

Koki and his men then betook themselves to Adi's town, and Adi gave them all puddings of flour and beer without measure. When it became dark Adi said to his father : "Tell your wives to enter the hut, for the Aku-ahwâ are coming. And do you enter also to see that there are no holes through which the women can peer, lest they see the Aku-ahwâ and die." And when they were all inside Adi set fire to the hut. Koki and his men fled into the tunnel made by the frog, but when they had gone a very short way they found they could go no further. So Koki said to the frog : "Frog, what is the meaning of this delay ? We must proceed at once." But the frog said : "The tunnel goes no further. I only dug out sufficient earth to make an abode for myself." Meanwhile the hut was blazing. But before he had set fire to the hut Adi had said : "Let not the fire kill the people ; let it not kill my father Koki ; but may it burn all the hair on his head, and his eyelashes, and his beard, and also his lips." And so it happened. On the following day Koki and his people were brought out of the hole, and water was thrown over them and they recovered their senses. And Adi began singing : "Koki, the chief of the land, the hairless one, the lipless one, I am going to leave the land of my father and found a new kingdom for myself." Thus Adi became a mighty chief, and his mother became the Angwu Tsi.

Thereafter Koki ascended up into the skies with one of his wives. And they became Thunder and Lightning. And when Koki remembered the doings of his son he caused terrific peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, saying that he would destroy the entire world. But his wife said to him : "Nay, Thunderer, restrain yourself ! Formerly you were enraged with your son only, and are you going to destroy the whole world because of him ? " So the Thunderer desisted from his thundering.

*The Story of the Hyena, Hare and Lions, and of the Origin of
Smithing among Men*

Once upon a time there was a great famine in the world. And during the famine a hare went for a walk one day and came upon a huge house built wholly of iron. So he stood in a corner and gazed at the house in astonishment. After a little he heard a movement inside the house, and he watched carefully to see what would happen. Soon he heard voices say: "Po wî," and immediately the door of the house opened slowly and many lions came out. And when they had all come out they said: "Ba gâ," and the door shut with a bang. The lions then went off hunting.

Now the hare had listened carefully and had heard the very words which the lions had used; so he went to the door of the iron house and said: "Po wî," and immediately the door opened slowly. The hare entered and then said: "Ba gâ," and the door closed with a bang. The hare looked about him and saw the whole place littered with meat, raw meat and dried meat, the flesh of men and of animals. He began to eat hurriedly, and when he was satisfied he selected as many fine steaks as he could carry and then went to the door and shouted: "Po wî." The door opened, and he passed through; and then he said: "Ba gâ," and the door closed with a bang. He took the meat home, and he and his wife and children fared sumptuously. Every day he went to the lions' house and did likewise.

One day a hyena sent her son to the hare's house to fetch a firebrand. When the son returned with the firebrand his mother said to him: "Did you notice if there was any cooking going on in the hare's home?" The son replied: "I saw the hare cutting up slices of meat and giving them to his wife to make into a stew." The mother-hyena, on hearing this, immediately extinguished the light of the firebrand and told her son to go and fetch another firebrand. When the son returned with the second firebrand his mother said to him: "And what are they doing now?" The son replied: "They are preparing to eat their meal." The hyena then said: "If I drive you away from here, will you run to the place where the hare and his family are eating their food?" The son said he would. So the mother-hyena drove out her son, and then followed him at full speed.

When she reached the place where the hare and his family were eating she said to her son : " You worthless person ! I sent you a long time ago to bring me a firebrand and you have been sitting here playing all the time." She then made as though to depart ; but the hare said : " Nay, my friend, come hither and join us ; we are in the midst of a meal." So the hyena and her son sat down and joined in the meal ; and because of their ravenous hunger they took tremendous mouthfuls. And when they had finished, the hyena began conversing with the hare and said : " This is magnificent. May I tell you that for several days there has not been a scrap of food at my house ? Now tell me, my friend, the means you use to fare so well." The hare replied : " Ah ! Are we of the male sex ever at a loss for means ? " The hyena then began beseeching him to tell her, but the hare said : " Nay, if I tell you, you will take advantage of me." But the hyena replied : " Never as long as I live." " Very well," said the hare, " to-morrow we will go to a certain place together. You can go home now." So the hyena went home, but she soon returned and said to the hare, " Well, what about going to this place ? " But the hare said : " Oh, but it is not dawn yet." So the hyena went home again, but all through the night she kept coming back to the hare, and the hare refused to set out before dawn. At the first peep of dawn the hare led the hyena to the lions' house, and they waited outside until the lions had gone off hunting. Then the hare went up to the door and said : " Po wî," and the door opened, and they entered, and he said again : " Ba gâ " and the door closed. And when they looked around they saw a heap of meat beside them. And the hyena said to the hare : " This is all for me ; don't you touch any of it," and she walked round and round the meat, guarding it. So the hare went on further and found a few scraps of meat, and when he had made a load as big as he could carry he said to the hyena : " Hyena, it is time we were off." But the hyena was very busy eating and replied : " You can go off ; I will follow later." The hare said : " Very good. But note carefully the words I use." He then said : " Po wî " and the door opened and he went outside. Then he said : " Ba gâ " and the door closed. But the hyena did not listen carefully, for she was busy eating and she only heard the words : " Ba gâ."

When the hyena had filled herself full of meat she made

up a heavy load of steaks and went to the door and said : " Ba gâ." But, instead of opening, the door closed tighter. The hyena then shouted " Ba gâ " louder than before, and the door tightened further. And the hyena kept on shouting " Ba gâ " until she was exhausted. So she threw her load on the ground and began to eat once more.

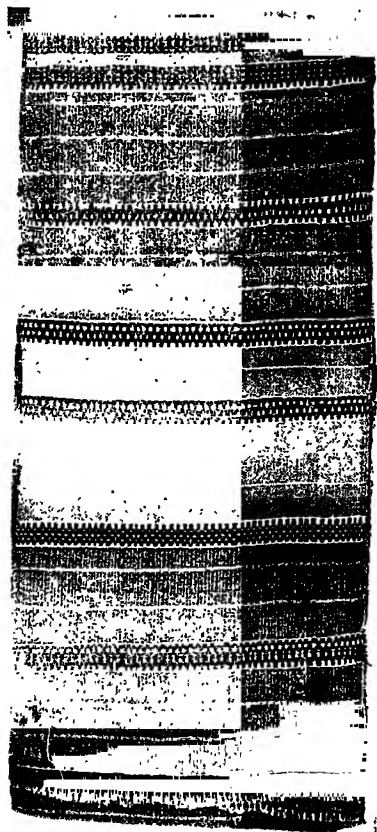
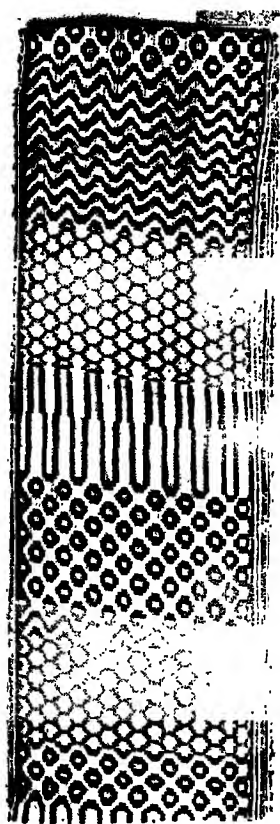
After a while the lions returned from their hunting, bearing vast quantities of meat taken from the animals they had killed. And when the hyena heard them approaching she crept off into a corner. The lions said : " Po wî," and the door of their house opened, and they entered. And the hyena said to herself : " Good gracious ! If I had only known those words I should not be in this predicament."

When they had entered their house the lions all exclaimed : " There's a strange smell here to-day. We must look into this." So they scoured the house and found the hyena and killed her and skinned her. And they cut the skin into two large pieces, and sowed each piece together to make a pair of bellows for smithing.

The hare went home and waited ; and when the hyena did not return he knew that she had been killed by the lions.

Next day the lions did not go out hunting. They remained at home all day fashioning numerous utensils of iron. Anon the hare arrived, discreetly, and he saw that the lions were engaged in smithing and that a young lion was working a pair of bellows made from a hyena's skin. He approached them and saluted them, and after a little he said to the young lion : " Friend, let me work the bellows and do you rest awhile." So he took the young lion's place, and as he worked he sang : " M nyo nyo ra nyo ' Po wî ', u nyo nyo ra nyo ' Ba gâ ' " (which means : " I told you to say " Po wî ", but you kept on saying " Ba gâ ").

The lions were delighted with this song, and they all began to dance. And they danced away to some distance, and then came back again. So the hare sang louder and louder, and the lions danced further and further away. When they were at the furthest point the hare quickly seized all the smithing implements, and bound them together so as to make one load. But when he tried to put the load on his head he could not, for it was too heavy. Then a ring-necked dove spoke to him, saying : " Put the load on your knees." The hare put the load on his knees.



JUKUN WEAVING DESIGNS
(*British Museum photograph*)

The dove said : " Now bring it to your chest," and the hare obeyed. The dove said : " Now bring it to your shoulders," and the hare obeyed. Finally the dove said : " Now put it on your head," and the hare put it on his head and hurried towards his home. But as he neared his home the hare bethought himself and said : " I am the hare, the wileful one ; and a thing of no account, a mere pigeon, instructs me in the art of wiliness. Can you agree to that ? For shame ! Verily I can rise above such things." So he cast his load on the ground, and the smithing implements were scattered in all directions. Afterwards human beings found them and took them to their town. And thus the hare is the cause of smithing among men ; for in former times smithing was known only to bush-animals.

(It will have been observed that the above story bears a close resemblance to the Arabian tale of Ali Baba and the forty thieves.)

The Hare and the Other Animals

One day a lion went out for a stroll and he came to a beautiful glade. He said to himself : " This place would make an ideal home for me." So he chose a site for his house, cleared the grass, and went on his way, having resolved to return as soon as possible. Next day a leopard was prowling round ; and, on coming to the same spot, he said : " This glade is delightful ; I must build a house here in this open space." So he brought his hoe and continued the work which the lion had begun, and then went his way. On the following day a jackal was wandering, and he came to the glade and said : " This place will suit me well." So he dug up some clay and began building a house for himself. And he went his way. When he had gone a snake crawled to the site, and on seeing it said : " I must take up my abode here." So he added water to the earth collected by the jackal and went his way. A hyena came and said : " I must build a house here." He took the wet clay and laid the foundations of the walls of a house, and departed. Next day a hare came and said : " Here is the very place I have been searching for." He continued the building and pursued his way.

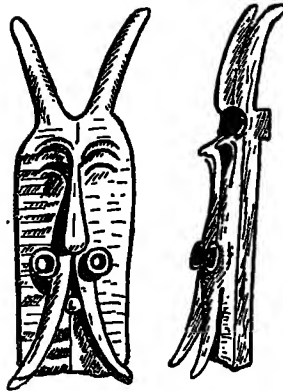
In due course the lion returned, and when he saw how things had progressed he exclaimed : " Good, I have been helped." He completed the building of the walls and departed. The leopard

returned and said: "Splendid! I am being helped and am grateful." He collected grass for thatching and went his way. The jackal returned and said likewise. He collected bamboos for roofing, and departed. He was followed by the snake who said: "This is beyond expectation. Someone is assisting me." So he collected guinea-corn stalks for the lining of the roof and went his way. The hyena came and beheld, and gave thanks for the assistance he had received; and he procured string for binding the thatch and departed. Finally the hare returned, and when he saw what had been done he gave thanks. He completed the binding of the sheaves and went his way.

The lion completed the thatching. But on that afternoon all the animals assembled to take possession of the new home. And there they slept that night. Next morning the lion said: "We must take it in turns to provide food for the company." All agreed. The lion set the example, and brought home flesh, of which all partook. The others followed suit. But always when it came to the hyena's turn the hyena had no fortune, and all the animals went supperless that night. But on the following day the hare, by its resource, was able to provide a splendid meal. He would go to the bush with his bag, and if he saw some partridge or guinea-fowl he would address them, saying: "Good afternoon. What has happened to you birds?" They would reply: "Nothing, why do you ask?" The hare would say: "You have dwindled so in numbers. Why, in my father's time you were twice as numerous as you are to-day." They would reply: "We are more numerous to-day than ever." The hare would say: "But where are you all? Come down from the trees and let me have a look at you." So the birds would descend, and the hare would say: "Do you see this bag? In my father's time you could fill this bag full." They would reply "Oh, but we can do that now." The hare would say: "Well, let me see." So the birds would enter the bag, and be captured by the hare, who would put them to death with his stick.

One day the hare went forth, and he came across a red-monkey who was about to perform religious rites in his sacred enclosure. When the monkey saw the hare he said: "You have come at an opportune moment: you can perform the rites on my behalf." The hare said: "Certainly, but we require the presence of someone else." The monkey said: "Of whom?"

The hare replied : " You must go and fetch an elephant." But the elephant was too large to enter the sacred enclosure ; and so the hare said it would be sufficient if the elephant sat outside and put his foot through the matting. The hare then shouted



THE COSTUME AND MASK OF THE GENIUS AKUMA, AS DEPICTED
BY A JUKUN ARTIST.

from within that he was now about to begin the rites, and that the elephant must not stir, The hare placed the elephant's foot on a log of wood, and seizing an axe cut it off. The elephant fell back dead. The hare then went out with the monkey and

skinned the elephant. He gave some of the flesh to the monkey, but kept the rest. He tied a string between two trees and fastened to it a number of bells. This he called "the rat's bow". Then he went home and summoned all the animals to come and take their share of the meat. When they arrived they proceeded to cut the meat to fit their bags; but they were astonished at the amount and began to give expression to exclamations of fear. The hare then bade them be silent, for if they kept muttering he would cause the rat's bow to discharge arrows at them. Suddenly he pulled the string and all the bells began to ring. The animals fled in terror, and the hare kept shouting out: "Rat's bow, cut them off!" And the animals never returned to the neighbourhood. The hare summoned his wife and children, and they carried the meat home and ate. Verily the hare is the wildest of all animals.

Greetings and Etiquette.—The Jukun, though a reserved and taciturn people, attach the utmost importance to matters of social etiquette and have an elaborate system of greetings. Thus, on meeting anyone in the morning a Jukun says: *U kyabye ra* ? i.e. "Have you risen in good health?" The answer is, *Mhum! kyabye toto ma* ? i.e. "Yes—and you?" Or he may say: *Na sâ ra* ? or *Wuna toto* ? i.e. "Have you slept well?" The answer is: *Mhum! na toto ma; u na ni ba di* ? i.e. "Yes, very well; and how are you?" The other answers: *To ba*, i.e. "Very well."

In the evening the form of salutation is: *Ku nyunu ra* ? i.e. "Have you had a good day?" The answer is: *Ku nyunu toto* ? i.e. "And have you had a good day?" If a man meets another walking or making a journey he salutes by saying: *Mbagye ba kyô* i.e. "Hail to you on your journey." Or if he comes across someone working he says: *Mbagye u ba butso*, i.e. "Hail to you in your work." The salutation to a person who is sitting down doing nothing is *Mbagye u ba byechu*, i.e. "Hail to you on resting." The arrival of anyone is greeted by *Mbagye u ba kyû*, i.e. "Hail to you on your arrival." If a person is engaged in the work of harvesting it is improper to salute him with the ordinary greeting, presumably because a farmer does not want attention drawn to the work upon which he is engaged. There is a special form of salutation, viz. *Atubagye*. This was said to mean "May the corn increase", but it is hard to see how the

expression can bear this meaning. It is probably some cryptic expression. The answer is *Shatanaku*, i.e. "May it be so". It is noteworthy that during harvest the work must be carried out quietly; there must be no singing or whistling. The idea appears to be that noise will attract evil spirits who will feed on the harvested crops. As twins and people with twelve fingers are believed to be attended by spirits, if one or other of these appears on a farm during harvesting, he has to be given a gift of two bundles of corn. Even if twins or twelve-fingered people do not appear it is customary to forestall their possible presence and evil influence by depositing a few heads of corn on the path leading to the farm and covering them with earth. If twins and twelve-fingered people pass this barrier no evil will result: the gift that had been offered will have pacified the attendant spirits.

If a Jukun meets a person carrying a load he salutes him by saying: *Mbagye ba tswê*, i.e. "Hail to you with your load". The final salutation at night is *Se kyê*, i.e. "Well, until tomorrow".

There is a special salutation accorded to the king of Wukari, viz. *Angya* (combined with touching the ground and placing the hands on the shoulders). This expression is also used to allay the displeasure or wrath of some senior brother, a father or uncle. Juniors normally treat seniors with the utmost deference, partly because the curse of a senior man is fraught with dire consequences, and partly because the senior man may have charge of the cults. To incur his displeasure is to incur the censure of the gods. It may be noted that the supreme sign of displeasure is for the king or any senior man to strike the ground, a custom which is probably in origin to be connected with the cult of the Earth-deity.

On entering another's compound a Jukun calls out: *M bi ma base ndo?* i.e. "May I come in, people of the house?" The householder replies: *Bi ma*, i.e. "Enter". If the householder is a person of high position he sends a son or nephew to ascertain who the visitor is. Otherwise he goes himself to the porch of the compound to greet the visitor. The visitor is always the first to salute, by saying: *Mbagye, mbagye*, inclining his head slightly if his host is his social equal, but inclining it very much if his host is his social superior. In the latter case he may even throw dust on his shoulders. If the visitor is the social

superior he sits down on the chair which his host presents, the host sitting on the ground. But if the host is the social superior the host seats himself in a chair, allowing his guest to sit on the ground. The host begins the conversation by a stereotyped remark. "It is you who have come." The latter replies: "It is I." The host says: "And do you come in good health?" The visitor replies: "In excellent health." The host then enquires after the health of the various members of his guest's household, and the visitor makes similar enquiries about the members of his host's household. After these formalities the host may enquire if all is really well with his guest, and the latter will say that all is really well and that he has merely come to offer his salutations. On the other hand, he may say that he is disturbed by this or that, and that he has come to seek his friend's counsel. In either case the host would usually invite his guest to accompany him into his private enclosure, directing a junior male member of the household to bring a pot of beer. The boy attendant hands a flask of beer to the guest, who must always punctiliously leave some beer at the bottom of the flask for consumption by the boy who had attended him. If the host hands his visitor the beer himself, and the host is the social superior of the visitor, the latter must receive the flask with both hands. To receive it with one hand would be a social outrage. But a senior man may receive anything from the hands of a junior with one hand.

It is worthy of remark that no person, not even a younger brother by the same mother, would ever enter the compound of his senior with sandals on his feet. An elder brother will, however, show deference to a younger who is the bearer of an official title. But even in this case the younger brother will, in the normal domestic relations, defer to his elder brother on account of the latter's age-seniority. A senior man will always offer his chair to a junior who is the holder of an official title; but the junior will normally refuse the offer, recognizing that in the eyes of Ama the elder man is greater than himself.

Just as a Jukun must never look the king or a chief in the face, so a social inferior must never look a social superior in the face. He must avert his eyes. A junior, moreover, must always receive an order from a senior in a stooping position. To stand upright would be highly impertinent. Similarly, if a Jukun



A JUKUN CHAIR

passes on the road anyone who is senior by age or rank to himself he must bend down slightly. Children always receive commands from their parents or guardians either in a kneeling or a bending position. A young wife always bends when she receives anything from a husband who is considerably her elder. A younger brother may have been successful in life and acquired riches ; but this would not, normally, affect his attitude of respect for an elder brother who had been less successful. No young person is permitted to give an opinion on any matter under discussion unless he is specially invited to do so. Nor may he rise and leave the assembly unless the senior men have indicated that he is permitted to go. If the head of the household is late for a meal, the others, however hungry, would not think of beginning the meal until the head of the household had arrived. If a junior meets a senior relative carrying a load he must always assume the load. Even if the senior is no relative he may take the load and be rewarded by the senior's blessing. It is said that if a man shows respect to his seniors he will be shown similar respect by his juniors. There are, of course, exceptional cases ; for if an important man visits a compound and finds a social junior occupying the position of honour, viz. a chair, he may waive his right to displace the other and sit on the ground, remembering the Jukun proverb which says " A stone from above cannot break one lying on the ground ".

In the chapter on social organization it was shown that a man may be on familiar terms with his elder brother's wife. This familiarity is due to the practice of levirate marriage. But a man may not be on terms of familiarity with the wife of his younger brother. Nor may he treat any of his father's wives, however young, with any degree of familiarity, as this would be considered as showing familiarity towards his own father. Marriage with the paternal uncle's widow is taboo to a Jukun. But marriage with the widow of the maternal uncle is permissible. Reference has also been made to the custom which demands the utmost deference to parents-in-law ; and it need only be added that if a man on horseback meets his father-in-law on the road (the latter being unmounted) he must disappear into the bush. If he happens to be on terms of exceptional friendship with his father-in-law he may remain on his horse, and bow his head as he passes his father-in-law.

We may conclude with a few remarks on the general character of the people as it appeared to me.

The Jukun are not a free and easy people like the Hausa or the Semi-Bantu speaking pagans. They are engrossed with, and, in fact, obsessed by their religion. They are wholly devoted to the doctrine of the divine kingship ; and the hardships of the last century, coupled with the disappearance of their political and religious authority, have accentuated their antipathy to all outsiders, whether they be Muslims or Europeans. This antipathy is shown in countless ways. Like the Chinese they regard all foreigners as devils, and they do not even open their hearts to the Abakwariga, with whom they have long been associated, and with whom they have freely intermarried. They discourage their children from going abroad, and their religious taboos prevent senior men from engaging in trade or other occupations which would cause them to mix with foreigners or to be absent from home for any length of time. They do not even welcome foreign traders, and at Kona the attempt to encourage trade by the building of a market which would induce Hausa and other traders to come to Kona was successfully boycotted by the people. They are not ready to accept the new conditions, as those conditions would entail the break-up, sooner or later, of their religious system. The new conditions, if accepted wholeheartedly, would mean not merely the curtailment and eventual destruction of all the spirituality which dominates the life of a Jukun, but also of all the social restraints which are largely based on his religious conceptions. They would entail also the abandonment of the doctrine of the divinity of their king, a doctrine which is the pivot of their psychological life and with which is bound up the belief that the king's personality is the *origo et fons* of the material welfare of the people. The Jukun government was highly centralized ; and under existing conditions the British Administration is unable to give recognition to an army of officials, or even to a proportion of the army. Under these circumstances the Jukun resolved long ago to offer a passive resistance to all external authority, acceding only to the minimum of the requirements of the Government. The centre of this opposition has not been the king himself, but his counsellors and the priests, who foresaw that the reduction of the king to the position of an executive officer of the British Administration

would entail their own reduction to the position of peasants. The only way of combating this opposition is to show a whole-hearted sympathy for and understanding of their position, to endeavour to maintain as long as possible the full dignity of the king, and to secure the allegiance of the senior officials by providing an outlet in the form of responsible administrative work. At the same time it will be necessary to indicate that persistent refusal to advance with the times will result in social and religious destruction. Their own children will refuse any longer to be bound by traditions, the continued rigorous following of which must lead to economic ruin.

The Jukun is kind-hearted to his own people ; and as an instance of the character possessed by many Jukun we may quote the case of one of the highest officials of the late king's court. It is said that this man was so tender-hearted that if his dog took his chair he would, even though sick or tired himself, sit on the ground. If he was required to go to Ibi to see the British Resident, and on the journey perceived that his horse had become tired, he would get down and walk. He could not bear to see anything suffer, a child beaten, or a chicken slain. Once, when his son had captured an oribi, he ordered him to release it, to the consternation of all. He said that the oribi's mother would be crying for her young. He sold a lame goat, but bought it back lest the goat should be neglected because of its disability. He was one of the judges of the court, but could not bear to see a sentence of thrashing carried out. Some said he had little sense, but many said that "if a man cares for a sick son why should he not care for a sick dog ? " All recognized that in any judicial proceedings he was incapable of giving an unjust decision ; and though he has been dead many years his name is remembered with reverence by most of the people of Wukari.

SCHEDULES OF WORDS AND PHRASES OF THE VARIOUS JUKUN DIALECTS

I

THE WUKARI DIALECT

<i>English</i>	<i>Jukun</i>	<i>Jukun</i> (International system of transcription)
1 Head	Achî	atʃi
2 Hair	Ajî (of head), ahwe	adʒi, ahwe
3 Eye	Azo	a:zo
Two eyes	Azo apyina or azo apiina or azo pina	a:zo apjina or a:zo apiina or a:zo pina
4 Ear	Atsô	a:tsô
Two ears	Atsô pyina	artsô pjina
5 Nose	Ashine	aʃine
6 One tooth	Anyi azûzû	anji azûzû
Five teeth	Anyi atsuana or anyi tsôana	anyi atsuana or anji tsôana
7 Tongue	Anene	anene
8 Neck	Ahwâ	a:hwâ
9 Breast (woman's)	Ami	a:mi
10 Heart	Akî	akî
11 Belly	Adzu or ambifu	ardzu or ambifu
12 Back	Anyakê or anakê	anjakê or anakê
13 Arm	Avo (forearm = akâ vo, upper arm = adzivo)	avo
14 Hand	Atatavo	atatavo
Two hands	Atatavo pina	pina
15 Finger	Anyivo or anggivo	anjivo or anggivo
Five fingers	Anyivo atsuana	anjivo atsuana
16 Nail finger	Akyî-vo or aki-vo	akjivo or akivo
17 Leg	Abé	abé
18 Knee	Akunube	akunube
19 Foot	Atatabe	atatabe
Two feet	Atatabe apyina	atatabe apjina
20 (Man person)	Apa	apa
Ten people	Apa adzwe or apa jukû adzwe	apa adzwe or apa dzukû adzwe
21 Man (not woman)	Awunu	awunu
Two men	Awunu pyina or abawunu pina	awunu pjina or abawunu pina
22 Woman	A'uwa or wuwa	aʃuwa or wuwa
Two women	A'uwa pyina or bauwa pina	aʃuwa pjina or bauwa pina
23 Child	Angwu tishe or angwu	anjwu tife or anjwu
24 Father	Ata	ata
25 Mother	Ayo	ajo

26 Slave	Anya	anja
27 Chief	Aku	a:ku
28 Friend	Ajo	a:dʒo
29 Smith	Angyu <i>or</i> apang yûyu	anjju <i>or</i> apañ jûju
30 Doctor	Awa sa ganti <i>or</i> wasê- hê <i>or</i> apa dado	awa sa ganti <i>or</i> wasê- hê <i>or</i> apa dado
31 One finger	Anggivo zûzû	anggivo zûzû
32 Two fingers	Anggivo apiena <i>or</i> apina <i>or</i> apyina	anggivo apiena <i>or</i> apina <i>or</i> apjina
33 Three fingers	Anggivo atsara	anggivo atsara
34 Four fingers	Anggivo anyena	anggivo anjena
35 Five fingers	Anggivo atsuana <i>or</i> atswana <i>or</i> atsôana	anggivo atsuana <i>or</i> atswana <i>or</i> atsôana
36 Six fingers	Anggivo ashinje <i>or</i> ashingzhê	anggivo afindʒe <i>or</i> afînzê
37 Seven fingers	Anggivo atsumpyê <i>or</i> atsôpyê	anggivo atsumpje <i>or</i> atsôpjê
38 Eight fingers	Anggivo atsintsa	anggivo atsintsa
39 Nine fingers	Anggivo atsinyo <i>or</i> atsungyo	anggivo atsinjjo <i>or</i> atsunjo
40 Ten fingers	Anggivo adzue <i>or</i> adzwe	anggivo adzue <i>or</i> adzwe
41 Eleven fingers	Anggivo adzue ngwa zûzû <i>or</i> wa adzû	anggivo adzue gwa zûzû <i>or</i> wa adzû
42 Twelve fingers	Anggivo adzue ngwa pyina <i>or</i> piana	anggivo adzue gwa pjina <i>or</i> piana
Thirteen fingers	Anggivo adzue ngwa tsara	anggivo adzue gwa tsara
43 Twenty fingers	Anggivo adizû	anggivo adizû
44 A hundred fingers	Anggivo adipa atswana	anggivo adipa atswana
45 Two hundred fingers	Anggivo adipa adzue	anggivo adipa adzue
46 Four hundred fingers	Anggivo adipa adizû	anggivo adipa adizû
47 Sun	Anyunu <i>or</i> anyinu	anjunu <i>or</i> anjinu
God	Achidô	atfidô
48 Moon	Asô	a:sô
Full moon	Asô wa mbumbu	a:sô wa mbumbu
New moon	Asô wa pye	a:sô wa pje
49 Day	Anyunutu	anjunutu
Night	Afutse <i>or</i> afitse	afutse <i>or</i> afitse
Morning	Apumpum <i>or</i> apûpû	apumpum <i>or</i> apûpû
50 Rain	Achu	atfu
51 Water	Ajape	adzape
52 Blood	Asa	a:sa
53 Fat	Asoa <i>or</i> atswa	asoa <i>or</i> atswa
54 Salt	Ama	ama
55 Stone	Abâ	abâ
Iron	Asho	afo

56 Hill	Agôndô	agondô
57 River	Anu	anu
58 Road	Nyacho <i>or</i> acho	njatfo <i>or</i> atfo
59 House	Atâ (compound = aff ndo <i>or</i> ando)	atâ (affindo <i>or</i> ando)
Two houses	Atâ apiena	atâ apiena
Many houses	Atâ sunuma (<i>or</i> atâ su)	atâ sunuma (<i>or</i> atâ su)
All the houses	Atâ kata	atâ kata
60 Roof	Azo tâ (<i>or</i> chîtâ)	azo tâ (<i>or</i> tjitâ)
61 Door	Anyakyô	anjakjô
62 Mat	Achû	atfu
63 Basket	Atikishe <i>or</i> atishe	atikife (<i>or</i> atife)
64 Drum	Gangâ	gangâ
65 Pot	Ape	ape
66 Knife	Akwî	akwî
67 Spear	Atso	atso
68 Bow	Ahinto (<i>or</i> ato)	ahinto (<i>or</i> ato)
69 Arrow	Abo	abo
Five arrows	Abo atswana	abo atswana
70 Gun	Apyu	apju
71 War	Akê	akê
72 Meat (animal)	Awi	awi
73 Elephant	Awinyi	awinji
84 Buffalo	Awiji	awidzi
75 Leopard	Afyi	afji
76 Monkey	Aberegu (black), adô (red)	aberegu, adô
77 Pig	Aigo <i>or</i> igo	aigo <i>or</i> igo
78 Goat	Abî	abî
79 Dog	Abâ	abâ
80 Bird	Anyi	anji
Feather	Asô bu nyi <i>or</i> asô nyi	asô bu nji <i>or</i> asô nji
81 Parrot	Awane	awane
82 Crocodile	Anomi <i>or</i> anumi	anomi <i>or</i> anumi
Fowl	Akwî	akwî
83 Eggs	Akyenkwi <i>or</i> akê kwî	akjen kwî <i>or</i> akê kwî
84 One egg	Akyenkwi a zû	akjen kwî a zû
85 Snake	Anyû <i>or</i> anyo	anju <i>or</i> anjo
86 Frog	Adzwi	adzwi
87 Horse	Avî	avî
Cow	Anna	anna
88 Fly	Akî	akî
89 Bee	Adê	adê
Honey	Abyu dê (<i>or</i> abyu bu dê)	abju dê (<i>or</i> abju bu dê)
90 Tree	Ahî <i>or</i> aihî	ahî <i>or</i> aihî
Ten trees	Ahî adzwe	ahî adzwe
91 Leaf	Ajebu	adzebu
92 Guinea-corn	Aza jukwî	aza dzukwî
93 Maize	Azankpa	azankpa
94 Ground nut	Afyekê	afjekê

95 Oil	Abyu	abju
96 The tall woman	Uwa wa gôgô	uwa wa gôgô
The tall women	Bauwa ba gôgô (or uwa ba gôgô)	bauwa ba gôgô or uwa ba gôgô
97 Large dog	Aba wa chuwo (or aba wa hwehwe)	aba wa tjuwo or aba wa hwehwe
98 Small dog	Aba atiti	aba atiti
99 The dog bites	Aba wa dzô anyi	aba wa dzô anji
100 The dog bites me	Aba ri dzwâ mi	aba ri dzwâ mi
101 The dog which bit me yesterday	Aba wa dzwâ mi ana	aba wa dzwâ mi ana
102 I flog the dog	M da ba	m da ba
103 The dog which I have flogged	Aba wan da ra	aba wan da ra
104 I see him	M bya kú (m bya kû = I see the chief)	m bja kú
I see her	M bya kú	m bja kú
He sees you	Ku bya u or ku bi au	ku bja u or ku bi au
He sees us	Ku bia-i	ku bia i
We see you (plural)	I bia ni	i bia ni
We see them	I bia be	i bia be
105 Beautiful bird	Anyi wa tsâtsâ (pl. ba)	anji wa tsâtsâ
106 Slave	Anya	anja
My slave	Anya mi	anja mi
Thy slave	Anya u	anja u
Our slaves	Anya i	anja i
107 The chief's slave	Anya bu kú or anya kú	anja bu kú (or anja kú)
His slave	Anya a or anya bu a	anja a (or anja bu a)
108 We see the slave	I bi anya (or i bia anya)	i bi anja (or i bia anja)
109 We call the slave	I ba nya nde	i ba nja nde
110 The slave comes	Anya ri bi	anja ri bi
111 He came yesterday	Ku bi ana (or ku bi nâ)	ku bi ana (or ku bi nâ)
He is coming to-day	Ku ri bi jîna	ku ri bi dzîna
He will come to-morrow	Ku ri bi kê	ku ri bi kê
112 The slaves go away	Azhenya she ya ra (have run away)	azɛnja ʃe ja ra
113 Who is your chief?	A kani akú u ri? or Aku u akani?	a kani akú u ri? or aku u akani?
114 The two villages are making war on each other	Tswê pina be ri nukê ba di be	tswê pina be ri nukê ba di be
115 The sun rises	Anyunu ri pwa zu ra (is rising)	anjunu ri pwa zu ra
The sun sets	Anyunu ri ko ra	anjunu ri ko ra
116 The man is eating	Apa ri ji bu (or apa ri ji buju)	apa ri dji bu (or apa ri dji budzu)

117 The man is drinking	Apa ri wa jape (<i>or</i> apa ri wa zhâ)	apa ri wa dzape (<i>or</i> apa ri wa zâ)
118 The man is asleep	Apa ri nana	apa ri nana
119 I break the stick	M ta ka aga	m ta ka aga
The stick is broken	Aga ka ra (<i>or</i> aga kazu ra)	aga ka ra (<i>or</i> aga kazu ra)
This stick cannot be broken	Aga wara nga wa kaka	aga wara nga wa kaka
Break this stick for me	Ta ka mi aga wara	ta ka mi aga wara
120 I have built a house	M mi tâ	m mi tâ
121 My people have built their houses yonder	Abando mi be mi tâ bu be ki vahû	abando mi be mi tâ bu be ki vahû
122 What do you do everyday?	Abutso kake u ri tsa ko nyunu wani?	abutso kake u ri tsa ko njunu wani?
I work on my farm	M di tsa butso ki da mi	m di tsa butso ki da mi
123 I am going away	M di bi ya	m di bi ja
I am hoeing	M di nane	m di nane
I am going away to hoe	M di bi-a nane	m di bi a nane
I am going away to my farm	In di ya ki da mi	in di ja ki da mi
124 The woman comes	Uwa ri bi	uwa ri bi
She comes	Ku ri bi	ku ri bi
The woman laughs	Uwa ri viêviô	uwa ri viêviô
The woman weeps	Uwa ri kunde	uwa ri kunde
125 I ask the woman	M mbiye uwa (<i>or</i> m mbie uwa)	m mbije uwa (<i>or</i> m mbie uwa)
126 Why do you laugh?	Ki chí ke u ri viêviô?	ki tʃi ke u ri viêviô
127 Why do you cry?	Ki chí ke u ri kunde?	ki tʃi ke u ri kunde
128 My child is dead	Angwu mi hu ri	angwu mi hu ri
129 It is not dead	Ku hu a mba	ku hu a mba
130 Are you ill?	U fo vya mba?	u fo vja mba?
131 My children are ill	Azhenzemi be fo be vya mba	azenʒemi be fo be vja mba
132 Her child is better	Angwu a fo vya ra	angwu a fo vja ra
133 Yes	M	m
No	M'm' (<i>or</i> é)	mʼmʼ (<i>or</i> é)
134 A fine knife	Akwî wa sâsâ	akwî wa sâsâ
Give me the knife	Yi mi kwî	ji mi kwî
I give you the knife	M yi u kwî	m ji u kwî
135 I am a European	Ami nasara	ami nasara
You are a black man	Au apa wa pepe	au apa wa pepe
You are a Wapa	Au Wapâ	au Wapâ

136 Name	Azê	azê
My name	Azêmi	azê mi
Your name	Azê u	azê u
What is your name ?	Azê-u dâ ke ?	azê u dâ ke ?
137 There is water in the gourd	Ajape chi kî bu kwî	adzape tîi kî bu kwî
The knife is on the stone	Akwî chi kî chi bu abâ	akwî tîi kî tîi bu abâ
The fire is under the pot	Apyu chi ki ngwo bu pe	apju tîi ki ngwo bu pe
The roof is over the hut	Achî bu tâ wa bâbâ ki dô (or Achîtâ ki dô ki chî tâ)	atîi bu tâ wa bâbâ ki dô (or atîitâ ki dô ki tîi tâ)
138 You are good	Au sâsâ	au sâsâ
This man is bad	Apara sâ mba (or aparu ba)	apara sâ mba (or aparu ba)
139 The paper is white	Takarda wa mbumbu	takarda wa mbumbu
This thing is black	Abu wara awa pepe	abu wara awa pepe
This thing is red	Abu wara awa nyonnyo	abu wara awa njonnjo
140 This stone is heavy	Abâ wara wa ndanda (or nda)	abâ wara wa ndanda (or nda)
This stone is not heavy	Abâ wara nda a mba	abâ wara nda a mba
141 I write	M di tsa takarda (or m di ba takarda)	m di tsa takarda (or m di ba takarda)
I give you the letter	N yi u takarda	n ji u takarda
Carry the letter to the town	Nde takarda wara ya ki fi ka	nde takarda wara ja ki fi ka
142 Go away	Ya, or yia, or ya ku vahû	ja, or jia, or ja ku vahû
Come here	Bi ki re	bi ki re
143 Where is your house ?	Ando u ki ni ?	ando u ki ni ?
144 My house is here	Ando m ki re	ando m ki re
My house is there	Ando m ki bahû or ando m ki vahû	ando m ki bahû or ando m ki vahû
145 What have you to sell	U chi ba a ke wa hwêhwê	u tîi ba a ke wa hwêhwê
146 I want to buy fish	M di chô m hwê je	m di tîô m hwê dze
147 The fish which you bought is bad	Aje wa u hwê ra sâ â mba (or aje wa u hwe ra a wa baba)	adze wa u hwê ra sâ â mba (or adze wa u hwê ra a wa baba)
148 Where is the man who killed the elephant ?	Apa wa buâ winyi ra ki va ni ?	apa wa buâ winji ra ki va ni ?
He has killed many elephants	Ku buâ winyi sunuma	ku buâ winji sunuma

- | | | | |
|----------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| How | many | Awinyi apana be ná | awinji apana be ná |
| elephants were | | buâ ? | buâ ? |
| killed yester- | | | |
| day ? | | | |
- 149 Untie it Fêfâ ku fêfâ ku
 Tie this rope Tse ju wara tse dzu wara
 Make the boy un- Yi ngwu ra kú ya fê ji ngwu ra kú ya fê
 tie the goat bí ra bí ra
- 150 My brothers and I, Am ba zhenzem i ba am ba zenzem i ba
 we are going but ya ri vani ja ri vani
 no one else
- Brothers, let us go Zhenzemi, chi kpwo i zenzem, tji kpwo i
 and tell the ya dâ yi aku ja dâ ji aku
 chief
- 151 This tree is bigger Ahî wa ki kara ka ahî wa ki kara ka
 than that wahû ba hwe wahû ba hwe
152. Last night I was in my house with a white man ; we heard a
 movement outside ; he said " you hear that ; they are thieves ;
 let us go and see ". We went and I said " who are you ? ",
 and they answered " nothing " ; but I said " you are thieves ;
 so we called the Police and put them in prison.
- Ana fise inchi ki ndom ba bature wazû ; i fo abu ri ndedi kimi ;
 Ana fise intji ki ndom ba bature wazû ; i fo abu ri ndedi kimi ;
 ku dâ " u fo wara ra ; abevyu ; chi kpo i kpwazu i biya ". i
 ku dâ " u fo wara ra ; abevju ; tji kpo i kpwazu i bija ". i
 kpwazu, am dâ " Ani bani ? " be zende dâ " bu zû bani " ; am dâ
 kpwazu, am dâ " ani bani ? " be zende dâ " bu zû bani " ; am dâ
 " ani vju " ; ki chi wara i ba dan sanda, i hwo be we ki prisna.
 " ani vju " ; ki tji wara i ba dan sanda, i hwo be we ki prisna.

II

ABINSI DIALECT

1 Head	Shina	jina
2 Hair	Azhi	aji
3 Eye	Zu	zu
Two eyes	Zu ipye	zu ipje
4 Ear	Tsuchu	tsutju
Two ears	Tsuchu ipye	tsutju ipje
5 Nose	Shine	jine
6 One tooth	Anyin zupô	anjin zupo
Five teeth	Anyi tsô	anji tsô
7 Tongue	Anene	anene
8 Neck	khuna	xuna
9 Breast (woman's)	Amie	amie
10 Heart	Angu	aju

11 Belly	Adzô	adzô
12 Back	Niki	niki
13 Arm	Vo	vo
14 Hand	Vo	vo
Two hands	Vo ipye	ipje
15 Finger	Ajevo	adže vo
Five fingers	Ajevo itsô	adže vo itsô
16 Finger nail	Akivo	akivo
17 Leg	Ba	ba
18 Knee	Akunuba	akunuba
19 Foot	Apataba	apataba
Two feet	Baipyé	baipje
20 Man (person)	Apa	apa
Ten people	Apa ede	ede
21 Man (not woman)	Wunu	wunu
Two men	(Aba) wunu ipye	wunu ipje
22 Woman	Owa wunu	owa wunu
Two women	Owa pye	owa pje
23 Child	Angwu tifi	anjwa tifi
24 Father	Ada	ada
25 Mother	Ayi	aji
26 Slave	Awungya	awunjja
27 Chief	Kû	kû
28 Friend	Anô	anô
29 Smith	Angyû	anjju
30 Doctor	Apa adofi	apa adofi
31 One finger	Ajevo zupô	adževo zupô
32 Two fingers	Ajevo ipye	adževo i pje
33 Three fingers	Ajevo isâ	adževo i sâ
34 Four fingers	Ajevo ini	adževo i ni
35 Five fingers	Ajevo itsô	adževo i tsô
36 Six fingers	Ajevo ishenji	adževo i fendži
37 Seven fingers	Ajevo itsôpye	adževo tsô pje
38 Eight fingers	Ajevo itsôsâ	adževo i tsô sâ
39 Nine fingers	Ajevo itsôgyo	adževo i tsô gjo
40 Ten fingers	Ajevo ide	adževo i de
41 Eleven fingers	Ajevo ide azû	adževo i de azû
42 Twelve fingers	Ajevo ide azepye	adževo i de azepje
Thirteen fingers	Ajevo ide azesâ	adževo i de azesâ
43 Twenty fingers	Ajevo ide zû	adževo i de zû
44 A hundred fingers	Ajevo ide kpatsô	adževo i de kpatsô
45 Two hundred fingers	Ajevo ide kpade	adževo i de kpade
46 Four hundred fingers	Ajevo ide kpa dizû	adževo i de kpa dizû
47 Sun	Nyiunu	njiunu
God	Shidong	fidong
48 Moon	Sô	sô
Full moon	Sô mbo	sô mbo
New moon	Soa pyo	soa pjo

49 Day	Nyiunu	njiunu
Night	Asunɔ	asuno
Morning	Apunɔ	apuno
50 Rain	Shu (a i dɔŋ)	fu
51 Water	Lape	lape
52 Blood	Asá	asá
53 Fat	Aso	aso
54 Salt	Ma	ma
55 Stone	Agɔ	agɔ
Iron	Ashɔ	aʃɔ
56 Hill	Aguna	aguna
57 River	Numbwe	numbwe
58 Road	Nyashɔ	njaʃɔ
59 Hut	Ta (Compound = indó)	ta (Indo)
Two houses	Ta ipye	ta i pje
Many houses	Tanabe	tanabe
All the houses	Ta sasa	ta sasa
60 Roof	Shitɔna	ʃitona
61 Door	Nyikyɔ	njikjɔ
62 Mat	Sho	ʃo
63 Basket	Atikishe	atikishe
64 Drum	Ganggá	ganga
65 Pot	Pá	pá
66 Knife	Kwea	kwɛa
67 Spear	Atsungu	atsungu
68 Bow	Tɔ	tɔ
69 Arrow	Butá	buta
Five arrows	Butá etsɔ	buta etsɔ
70 Gun	Abishingga	abifinga
71 War	Ká	ká
72 Meat (animal)	We	we
73 Elephant	Wunyi	wunji
74 Buffalo	Wuji	wudʒi
75 Leopard	Bufyi	bufji
76 Monkey	Abagú	abagú
77 Pig	Aruma	aruma
78 Goat	Bi	bi
79 Dog	Anggubé	anggubé
80 Bird	Anyi	anji
Feather	Asanyi	asanji
81 Crocodile	Anumi	anumi
82 Fowl	Kú	kú
83 Eggs	Keekú	keɛ kú
84 One egg	Keekú zú	keɛ kú zú
85 Snake	Busu	busu
86 Frog	Adzi	adzi
87 Horse	Vyi	vji
Cow	Ne	ne
88 Fly	Aki	aki

89 Bee	De	dɛ
Honey	Lape de	lape dɛ
90 Tree	Fi	fi
Ten trees	Fi de	fi dɛ
91 Leaf	Jefi	dʒefi
92 Guinea-corn	Zuku	zuku
Gero	Zumya	zumja
93 Maize	Zakwa	za kwa
94 Ground-nut	Fya akpa	fja akpa
95 Oil	Byu	bju

III

WASE TOFA DIALECT

1 Head	Shin	ʃin
2 Hair	Mwanjin	mwandʒin
3 Eye	Zo	zo
Two eyes	Zo pina	zo pina
4 Ear	Sung	suŋ
Two ears	Sung pina	siŋ pina
5 Nose	Nuan	nuan
6 One tooth	Ngin zung	ŋin zuŋ
Five teeth	Ngin soâ	ŋin soâ
7 Tongue	Nam	nam
8 Neck	Ngwai	ŋwɛi
9 Breast (woman's)	Mi	mi
10 Heart	Akin	akɪn
11 Belly	Zu	zu
12 Back	Nyakin	njakɪn
13 Arm	Vo	vo
14 Hand	Funvo	funwo
Two hands	Funvo pina	funvo pina
15 Finger	Kwaivo	kwɛivo
Five fingers	Kwaivo soâ	kwɛivo soâ
16 Finger nail	Kîvo	kîvo
17 Leg	Bar	bar
18 Knee	Ading gu bar	adɪŋ gu bar
19 Foot	Fin bar	fɪn bar
Two feet	Fin bar pina	fɪn bar pina
20 Man (person)	Aper <i>or</i> aper jukû	aper <i>or</i> aper dzukû
Ten people	aper dup	aper dup
21 Man (not woman)	Ngwunu	ŋwunu
Two men	Bawunu pina	bawunu pina
22 Woman	Uwa	uwa
Two women	Bawa pina	bawa pina
23 Child	Ngwu	ŋwu
24 Father	Nta	nta
25 Mother	Ayo (<i>or</i> za)	ajo (<i>or</i> za)

26 Slave	Anyam	anjam
27 Chief	Nkir	nkir
28 Friend	Anjau	andzəu
29 Smith	Aper iyau	aper ijəu
30 Doctor	Aper sanyi	aper sanji
31 One finger	Kwaivo zung	kwəivo zʊŋ
32 Two fingers	Kwaivo pin <i>or</i> pina	kwəivo pin <i>or</i> pina
33 Three fingers	Kwaivo sara	kwəivo sara
34 Four fingers	Kwaivo nyinang	kwəivo njinaŋ
35 Five fingers	Kwaiva sɔna <i>or</i> soâ	kwəivo sɔna <i>or</i> soâ
36 Six fingers	Kwaivo shinzhi	kwəivo ʃinzi
37 Seven fingers	Kwaivo senpin	kwəivo senpin
38 Eight fingers	Kwaivo sensa	kwəivo sensa
39 Nine fingers	Kwaivo sennyô	kwəivo sennjo
40 Ten fingers	Kwaivo adup	kwəivo adup
41 Eleven fingers	Kwaivo adu zenzung	kwəivo adu zenzʊŋ
42 Twelve fingers	Kwaivo adu zenpin	kwəivo adu zenpin
Thirteen fingers	Kwaivo adu zensa	kwəivo adu zensa
43 Twenty fingers	Kwaivo adi zung	kwəivo adi zʊŋ
44 A hundred fingers	Kwaivo azɔŋ gu zung	kwəivo azɔŋ gu zʊŋ
45 Two hundred fingers	Kwaivo azɔŋ gu pin	kwəivo azɔŋ gu pin
46 Four hundred fingers	Kwaivo azɔŋ gu nyi	kwəivo azɔŋ gu nji
47 Sun	Nyinung	njinuŋ
God	Shidɔŋ	ʃidɔŋ
48 Moon	Asô	asô
Full moon	Soa mimbur	soa mimbur
New moon	Sô pie	sô pie
49 Day	Nyinutu	njinutu
Night	Afwi	afwi
Morning	Timpung	timpuŋ
50 Rain	Ashu	aʃu
51 Water	Japer	dʒaper
52 Blood	Asa	asa
53 Fat	Asuap	asuap
54 Salt	Aman	aman
55 Stone	Abâ	abâ
Iron	Ashau	aʃəu
56 Hill	Agundɔŋ	agudɔŋ
57 River	Ajam	adʒam
58 Road	Piung	piuŋ
59 House	Atung	atuŋ
Two houses	Atung pina	atuŋ pina
Many houses	Atung nanan	atuŋ nanan
All the houses	Atung bang	atuŋ baŋ
60 Roof	Akan	akan
61 Door	Nakyô	nakjô
62 Mat	Ashu	aʃu
63 Basket	Atu	atu

64 Drum	Gangga	gangga
65 Pot	Apar	apar
66 Knife	Akun	akun
67 Spear	Asau	asəu
68 Bow	Intau	intəu
69 Arrow	Atau	atəu
Five arrows	Atau soâ	atəu soâ
70 Gun	Apyu	apju
71 War	Akan	akan
72 Meat (animal)	Awi	awi
73 Elephant	Awunyi	awunji
74 Buffalo	Awojir	awodʒir
75 Leopard	Afye	afje
76 Monkey	Adəng	adɔŋ
77 Pig	Zu	zu
78 Goat	Abi	abf
79 Dog	Bai	bəf
80 Bird	Anyen	anjen
Feather	Ashî	afî
81 Crocodile	Anomi	anomi
82 Fowl	Akun	akun
83 Eggs	Akî	akî
84 One egg	Akî zung	akî zung
85 Snake	Angwu	anjwu
86 Frog	Azoin	azoin
87 Horse	Avuin	avuin
Cow	Anai	anəi
88 Fly	Ashî	afî
89 Bee	Adaî	adəî
Honey	Adaî	adəî
90 Tree	Anyin	anjin
Ten trees	Anyin dup	anjin dup
91 Leaf	Ajai	adʒəi
92 Guinea-corn	Za	za
93 Maize	Za kpa	za kpa
94 Ground-nut	Afiokpa	afiokpa
95 Oil	Abyu	abju
Hausa	Amakpa	amakpa
Fulani	Biratta	biratta
Jukun	Wapa or Jukû	wapa or dzukû

IV

DONGA DIALECT

1 Head	Shina	fina
2 Hair	Hwe shina	hwe fina
3 Eye	Yizo	jizo
Two eyes	Yizo piena	jizo piena

4 Ear	Sq	só
Two ears	Sq piena	só piena
5 Nose	Shine	fine
6 One tooth	Ngana azúzú	ɲana azúzú
Five teeth	Ngana asona	ɲana asona
7 Tongue	Nine	nine
8 Neck	Ahwá	ahwá
9 Breast (woman's)	Mina	mina
10 Heart	Mikina	mikina
11 Belly	Mifi	mifi
11 Back	Naké	naké
13 Arm	Avq (savo = upper arm, hivo = fore- arm)	avo
14 Hand	Titavo	titavo
Two hands	Titavo piena	titavo piena
15 Finger	Nggirivo	ɲgirivo
Five fingers	Nggirivo sona	ɲgirivo sona
16 Finger nail	Kinvo	kinvo
17 Leg	Bara	bara
18 Knee	Kunube	kunube
19 Foot	Titabara	titabara
Two feet	Titabara a piena	titabara a piena
20 Man (person)	Pe Jukú (or pere jukú)	pe dzukú (or pere dzukú)
Ten people	Pere dzwe (or pere jukú adzwe)	pere dzwe (or pere dzukú adzwe)
21 Man (not woman)	Ngunu	ɲunu
Two men	Ngunu ka piena	ɲunu ka piena
22 Woman	Uwa	uwa
Two women	Uwa ka piena	uwa ka piena
23 Child	Ngwu titi	ɲwu titi
24 Father	Ata	ata
25 Mother	Ayo	ajo
26 Slave	Afo	afo
27 Chief	Kuru	kuru
28 Smith	Ngyu	ɲju
29 Friend	Azo	azo
30 Doctor	Pere ganti	pere ganti
31 One finger	Yirivo azúzú	ɲirivo azúzú
32 Two fingers	Yirivo apiena	ɲirivo apiena
33 Three fingers	Yirivo asara	ɲirivo asara
34 Four fingers	Yirivo angnyena	ɲirivo anɲjena
35 Five fingers	Yirivo asona	ɲirivo asona
36 Six fingers	Yirivo ashinje	ɲirivo afindze
37 Seven fingers	Yirivo asumpyé	ɲirivo asumpjê
38 Eight fingers	Yirivo asumtsa	ɲirivo asumtsa
39 Nine fingers	Yirivo asumnyo	ɲirivo asumnjo
40 Ten fingers	Yirivo adzwe	ɲirivo adzwe
41 Eleven fingers	Yirivo adzwe ngwa zú	ɲirivo adzwe ɲwa zú

42 Twelve fingers	Yirivo adzwe ngwa piena	jirivo adzwe nwa piena
Thirteen fingers	Yirivo adzwe ngwa sara	jirivo adzwe nwa asara
43 Twenty fingers	Yirivo adi zû	jirivo adi zû
44 A hundred fingers	Yirivo adi pere a sona	jirivo adi pere a sona
45 Two hundred fingers	Yirivo adi pere a adzwe	jirivo adi pere a adzwe
46 Sun	Nyuno or nyiuno	njuno or njiuno
47 Moon	Sona	sona
Full moon	Sona mbumbu	sona mbumbu
New moon	Sona pye	sona pje
48 Day	Annyun tutu	annjun tutu
Night	Fise	fise
Morning	Apumpum	apumpum
49 Rain	Asu	asu
50 Water	Zape	zape
51 Blood	Asa	asa
52 Fat	Suaba	suaba
53 Salt	Mana	mana
54 Stone	Bana	bana
Iron	Asho	afo
55 Hill	Gondô	gondô
56 River	Ninga	nija
57 Road	Nyaso	njaso
58 House	Tana (compound = ndo)	tana
Two houses	Tana piena	tana piena
Many houses	Tana huhwe	tana huhwe
All the houses	Tana kata	tana kata
59 Roof	Shintana	fintana
60 Door	Nya kyô	nja kjô
61 Mat	Su	su
62 Basket	Tishe	tife
63 Drum	Gâgâ	gâgâ
64 Pot	Para	para
65 Knife	Kuna	kuna
66 Spear	So	so
67 Bow	Hinto	hinto
68 Arrow	Tika	tika
Five arrows	Tika sona	tika sona
69 Gun	Pyura tita	pjura tita
70 War	Kana	kana
71 Meat (animal)	Uwi	uwi
72 Elephant	Ngwinyi	ngwinji
73 Buffalo	Ngwiji	ngwidji
74 Leopard	Fyi	fji
75 Monkey	Domgbo	domgbo
76 Pig	Gaduru	gaduru

77 Goat	Bina	bina
78 Dog	Be	be
79 Bird	Nyinibu	njinibu
Feather	Hwe nyinibu	hwe njinibu
80 Crocodile	Nimi	nimi
81 Fowl	Kuna	kuna
82 Eggs	Kyen kuna	kjen kuna
83 One egg	Kyen kuna zû	kjen kuna zû
84 Snake	Bushi	bufi
85 Frog	Busa	busa
86 Spider	Tansa	tansa
87 Fly	Kî	kî
88 Horse	Vuna	vuna
Cow	Nne	nne
Sheep	Dunga	duŋa
89 Bee	Dê	dê
Honey	Zape dê	zape dê
90 Tree	Hina	hina
Ten trees	Hina ka dzwe	hina ka dzwe
91 Leaf	Zhebu	zêbu
92 Banana	Kpɔkpɔno	kpɔkpɔno
93 Maize	Zakpa	zakpa
94 Ground nut	Fyikê	fjikê
95 Oil	Byuru	bjuru
96 Hausa	Sôka	soka
Fulani	Pule	pule
Jukun	Kpâzo	kpâzo
97 The tall woman	Uwa wan gô-gô	uwa wan gôgô
The tall women	Uwa ka gô-gô	uwa ka gôgô
98 Large dog	Be wa kwaki	be wa kwaki
99 Small dog	Be wa titi	be wa titi
100 The dog bites	Be (wara) ri zô nyi (or be shi ba nyi a zôzô)	be ri zô nji (or be fi ba nji a zôzô)
101 The dog bites me	Be ri zôm	be ri zôm
102 The dog which bit me yesterday	Be wa zôm ana ni	be wa zôm ana ni
103 I flog the dog	M da be (m di da be = I am beating the dog)	m da be
104 The dog which I have flogged	Be wa mda ni	be wa mda ni
105 I see him or her	M me ku ra	m me ku ra
He sees you	Ku me u ra	ku me u ra
He sees us	Ku me i ra	ku me i ra
We see you (pl.)	I me ni ra	i me ni ra
We see them	I me bi ra	i me bi ra
106 Beautiful bird	Nyinebu wa tsâtsâ	njinebu wa tsâtsâ
107 Slave	Fo	fo (bilabial f)
My slave	Fom	fom
Thy slave	Fou	fou
Our slaves	Foi	foi

108 The chief's slave	Fo kuru (or fo bu kuru)	fo kuru
109 We see the slave	I me fo	i me fo
110 We call the slave	I ba fo	i ba fo
111 The slave comes	Fo ribi	fo ribi
112 He came yesterday	Ku bi ana	ku bi ana
He is coming to-day	Ku ri bi zhená	ku ri bu zena
He will come to-morrow	Kwa bi akyin	kwa bi akjin
113 The slaves go away	Fo ka ya ra	fo ka ja ra
114 Who is your chief?	Anni kuru bu ní?	anni kuru bu ní?
115 The two villages are making war on each other	Sônâ ká pyena ri nu kana ba di bi	sonâ ka pjena ri nu kana ba di bi
116 The sun rises	Nyunu ri pòzu	njunu ri pòzu
The sun sets	Nyunu ri ku	njunu ri ku
117 The man is eating	Pere ri ji bu ji	pere ri dži bu dži
118 The man is drinking	Pere ri wa zape	pere ri wa zape
119 The man is asleep	Pere ri nā ná	pere ri nā ná
120 I break the stick	M ta gbâ aga	m ta gbâ aga
The stick is broken	Aga gbâ ra	aga gbâ ra
This stick cannot be broken	Aga wara nga wa gbâ gbâ	aga wara ŋa wa gbâ gbâ
Break this stick for me	Ta gbâm ri aga ni	ta gbâm ri aga ni
121 I have built a house	M mi tana	m mi tana
122 My people have built their houses yonder	Bandomka bi mi tana bubi kû	bandomka bi mi tana bubi kû
123 What do you do every day?	U ri sake ko nyuno wani?	u ri sake ko njuno wani?
I work on my farm	M di sa buso ku daram	m di sa buso ku daram
124 I am going away	M ba ya	m ba ja
I am hoeing	M di na dara	m di na dara
I am going to my farm	M ba ya ku daram	m ba ja ku daram
125 The woman comes	Uwa ri bi	uwa ri bi
She comes	Ku ri bi	ku ri bi
The woman laughs	Uwa ri viê viêna	uwa ri viê viêna
The woman weeps	Uwa ri kende	uwa ri kende
126 I ask the woman	M biye uwa	m biye uwa
127 Why do you laugh?	Adiji bu ke uri viê viêna?	adidži bu ke uri viê viêna?
128 Why do you cry?	Adiji bu ke uri kende?	adidži bu ke uri kende?

129	My child is dead	Ngwum hu ra	ɲwum hu ra
130	It is not dead	Ku hua mba	ku hua mba
131	Are you ill ?	U fou via ma ? (or á u' fo via má)	u fou via má ?
132	My children are ill	Zhen kam fo be via ma	ʒen kam fo be via ma
133	Her child is better	Ngwa fo via ra	ɲwa fo via ra
134	Yes	M	m
	No	M'M (or E)	m'm (or e)
135	A fine knife	Kuna tsátsá	kuna tsátsá
	Give me the knife	Yi im kuna	ji im kuna
	I give you the knife	M yi u kuna	m ji u kuna
136	I am a European	Am nasara	am nasara
	You are a black man	Au pere a pepe	au pere a pepe
	You are a Jukun	Au Jukun	au dʒukun
137	Name	Zhê	ʒê
	My name	Zhem	ʒem
	Your name	Zheu	ʒeu
	What is your name ?	Zheú ra ke ?	ʒeu ra kɛ ?
138	There is water in the gourd	Zape shi ku funa bu buna	zape ji ku funa bu buna
	The knife is on the stone	Kuna shi ku shina bu bana	kuna ji ku fina bu bana
	The fire is under the pot	Pyuru shi kungwo para	pjuru ji kujwo para
	The roof is over the hut	Shintana shi ku shina bu tana	fintana ji ku fina bu tana
139	You are good	Au sâ ra	au sâ ra
	This man is bad	Pere ara sâ mba (or per ara sâ mba)	pere ara sâ mba (or per ara sâ mba)
140	The paper is white	Takarda a mbumbu	takarda a mbumbu
	This thing is black	Bu ara pepe	bu ara pepe
	This thing is red	Bu ara anyônyo	bu ara anjônjo
141	This stone is heavy	Bana ra indora (or bana ra shi bandora)	bana ra indora
	This stone is not heavy	Bana ra indo amba	bana ra indo amba
142	I write	Indi ba bwa	indi ba bwa
	I give you the letter	M yi u takarda	m ji u takarda
	Carry the letter to the town	Ze takarda ra ya ku fingka	ze takarda ra ja ku fɪŋka (fɪŋ = inside, jaku = going)
143	Go away	Yia	jia
	Come here	Bi kere	bi kere
144	Where is your house ?	Indou shi kune ?	indou ji kune ?
145	My house is here	Indom shi kere	indom ji kere
	My house is there	Indom shi kum	indom ji kum

146 What have you to sell ?	U shi bake wa hwê hwê ?	u ji bake wa hwê hwê ?
147 I want to buy fish	M di shô m hwê zhê	m di jô m hwê ze
148 The fish which you bought is bad	Zhe wa u hwê ni sâ mba	ze wa u hwê ni sâ mba
149 Where is the man who killed the elephant ?	Pere wa gbâ wunyi ni shi kuni ?	pers wa gbâ wunji ni ji kuni
He has killed many elephants	Ku gbâ wunyi huhwe	ku gbâ wunji huhwe
How many elephants were killed yesterday ?	Wunyi apana be gbâ ana ?	wunji apana be gbâ ana ?
150 Untie it	Fê fâ ku	fê fâ ku
Tie this rope	Se zuru wara	se zuru wara
Make the boy untie the goat	I yi ngwu titi ku fê fâ bina	iji gwu titi ku fêfâ bina
151 My brothers and I, we are going but no one else	Bam ba ngwuzanka i yaya ai vini	bam ba gwuzanka i jaja ai vini
Brothers, let us go and tell the chief	Ngwuzanka da fâ i ya dâyi kuru	gwuzanka da fâ i ja daji kuru
152 This tree is bigger than that	Hina wara kô kani wa kû ni	hina wara kô kani wa kû ni

JIBU DIALECT

1 Head	Ishin	ifin
2 Hair	Izhin	izim
3 Eye	Izo	izo
Two eyes	Izo piena	izo piena
4 Ear	Isô	isô
Two ears	Isô piena	isô piena
5 Nose	Inon	inon
6 One tooth	Ngen zong	ngen zong
Five teeth	Ngen asoana	ngen asoana
7 Tongue	Inam	inam
8 Neck	Ingwai	igwai
9 Breast (woman's)	Mien	mien
10 Heart	Kin	kin
11 Belly	Biefu	biefu
12 Back	Kuop	kuop
13 Arm	Evo	evo
14 Hand	Akinvo	akinvo
Two hands	Akinvo piena	akinvo piena

15 Finger	Akinvo or epwaevu	akinvo epwaevu
Five fingers	Pwaevu soana	pwaevu soana
16 Finger nail	Akienvo	akienvo
17 Leg	Ebar	ebar
18 Knee	Akidô	akridô
19 Foot	Ikinbar	ikinbar
Two feet	Ikinbar piana	ikinbar piana
20 Man (person)	Mpere	mpere
Ten people	Mper dap	mper dap
21 Man (not woman)	Ngwunu	gwunu
Two men	Ngwunu piana	gwunu piana
22 Woman	Owa	owa
Two women	Owa piana	owa piana
23 Child	Nguwshai	gwufai
24 Father	Ta	ta
25 Mother	Na	na
26 Slave	Ifau	ifau
27 Chief	Ekur	ekur
28 Friend	Angwa	ajwa
29 Smith	Iyau	ijau
30 Doctor	Mpere si ganti	mpere si ganti
31 One finger	Pwaevu zû	pwaevu zû
32 Two fingers	Pwaevu piana	pwaevu piana
33 Three fingers	Pwaevu sara	pwaevu sara
34 Four fingers	Pwaevu ingyina	pwaevu injina
35 Five fingers	Pwaevu sôna (or soana)	pwaevu sôna (or soana)
36 Six fingers	Pwaevu soanji	pwaevu soandzi
37 Seven fingers	Pwaevu sompiena	pwaevu sompiena
38 Eight fingers	Pwaevu angwonyi	pwaevu ajwonji
39 Nine fingers	Pwaevu azhendubi	pwaevu azendubi
40 Ten fingers	Pwaevu dap	pwaevu dap
41 Eleven fingers	Pwaevu da gbâ zô	pwaevu da gbâ zô
42 Twelve fingers	Pwaevu da gbâ piana	pwaevu da gbâ piana
Thirteen fingers	Pwaevu da gbâ sara	pwaevu da gbâ sara
43 Twenty fingers	Pwaevu dizû	pwaevu dizû
44 A hundred fingers	Pwaevu diba soana	pwaevu drbê soana
45 Two hundred fingers	Pwaevu diba dap	pwaevu drbê dap
46 God	Shidô	fidô
47 Sun	Angyun	anjun
48 Moon	Ison	isôn
49 Rain	Ishu	ifu
50 Water	Zapir	zapir
51 Salt	Man	man
52 Stone	Abâ	abâ
53 Iron	Ashau	afau
54 Hill	Mur	mur
55 River	Ning	niŋ
56 Road	Owoup	owoup

30 Doctor	Peranyen	per anjen
31 One finger	Akenvo zinzo	akenvo zinzo
32 Two fingers	Akenvo apiena	akenvo apiena
33 Three fingers	Akenvo isara	akenvo isara
34 Four fingers	Akenvo inyina	akenvo injina
35 Five fingers	Akenvo isona	akenvo isona
36 Six fingers	Akenvo asinje	akenvo asindze
37 Seven fingers	Akenvo ashimpyen	akenvo afimpjen
38 Eight fingers	Akenvo angwunyi	akenvo angwunji
39 Nine fingers	Akenvo ajinduwi	akenvo adzinduwi
40 Ten fingers	Akenvo idup	akenvo idap
41 Eleven fingers	Akenvo idup gba inzinzo	akenvo idap gba inzinzo
42 Twelve fingers	Akenvo idup gba impiana	akenvo idap gba impiana
Thirteen fingers	Akenvo idup gba asara	akenvo idap gba asara
43 Twenty fingers	Akenvo adizu	akenvo adizu
44 A hundred fingers	Akenvo dipere sona	akenvo dipere sona
45 Two hundred fingers	Akenvo dipere dup	akenvo dipere dap
46 God	Shidong	jidong
47 Sun	Anyun	anjun
48 Moon	Soan	soan
Full moon	Soan imbau	soan imbau
New moon	Soan api	soan api
49 Day	Anyun	anjun
Night	Afise	afise
Morning	Pumpum	pampam
50 Rain	Isu	isu
51 Water	Za	za
52 Blood	Sa	sa
53 Fat	Soap	soap
54 Salt	Imam	iman
55 Stone	Iban	iban
Iron	Asho	afo
56 Hill	Ngê	ngê
57 River	Ninga (stream = zape)	niga (zape)
58 Road	Baba	baba
59 House	Tana	tana
Two houses	Tana apiena	tana apiena
Many houses	Tana wera	tana wera
All the houses	Tana tite	tana tite
60 Roof	Ayer tana	ajer tana
61 Door	Nikyô	nikjô
62 Mat	Isu	isu
63 Basket	Pinâ	pinâ
64 Drum	(e)kô	(e)kô
65 Pot	Para	para
66 Knife	Kuna	kuna

67 Spear	So	so
68 Bow	Nyito	njito
69 Arrow	Tika	tika
Five arrows	Tika asona	tika asona
70 Gun	Inaka	inaka
71 War	Kana	kana
72 Meat (animal)	Ibusho	ibufu
73 Elephant	Tamkwon	tamkwon
74 Buffalo	Wuje	wudze
75 Leopard	Fye	fje
76 Monkey	Zo	zo
77 Pig	Gadiri	gadri
78 Goat	Bina	bina
79 Dog	Be	be
80 Bird	Nyimbwa	njimbwa
Feather	We	we
81 Parrot	Wanai	wanai
82 Fowl	Kuna or kun	kuna or kun
83 Eggs	Kin kuna	kin kuna
84 One egg	Kin kuna azinzo	kin kuna azinzo
85 Snake	Bushuwe	bufuwe
86 Frog	Azin	azin
87 Spider	Tafyi	tafji
88 Fly	Ki	ki
89 Bee	Ade	ade
Honey	Zape ba de	zape ba de
90 Tree	Nyina	njina
Ten trees	Nyina idup	njina idap
91 Leaf	Jibwa	jibwa
92 Banana	Gogô	gogô
Guinea-corn	Za	za
93 Maize	Amau	amau
94 Ground-nut	Fi	fi
95 Oil	Biru	biru
96 The tall woman	Uwa gogô	uwa gogô
The tall women	Uwa ka gogô	uwa ka gogô
97 Large dog	Be na kôra	be na kôra
98 Small dog	Be wa titi	be wa titi
99 The dog bites	Ba zong ana	be zong ana
100 The dog bites me	Be na zom	be na zom
Cow	Inne	inne
Crocodile	Animi	animi
Horse	Vuna	vuna
Fulani	Pul	pul
Jukun	Kpazon	kpazon

VII

KONA DIALECT

1 Head	Kini <i>or</i> jini	kini (<i>or</i> dzini)
2 Hair	Hwai	hwai
3 Eye	Zo	zo
Two eyes	Zo piena	zo piena
4 Ear	Sô	sô
Two ears	Sô piena	sô piena
5 Nose	Nôri	nôri
6 One tooth	Ngari zong	ngari zong
Five teeth	Ngari soana	ngari soana
7 Tongue	Nama	nama
8 Neck	Hwai	hwai
9 Breast (woman's)	Miena	miena
10 Heart	Bakini	bakini
11 Belly	Fini	fini
12 Back	Ya kunu	ja kënu
13 Arm	Vo	vo
14 Hand	Fari vo	fari vo
Two hands	Fari vo a piena	fari vo a piena
15 Finger	Û vo	û vo
Five fingers	Ajanna vo soana	adzanna vo soana
16 Finger-nail	Akyena	akjena
17 Leg	Sai	sai
18 Knee	Akading	akading
19 Foot	Sai	sai
Two feet	Sai piena	piena
20 Man (person)	Mper	mper
Ten people	Mper dup	mper dup
21 Man (not woman)	Wuno	wuno
Two men	Wuno piena	wuno piena
22 Woman	Wuruwa	wuruwa
Two women	Wuruwa piena	wuruwa piena
23 Child	Û	û
24 Father	Da	da in 1st and 2nd person sing.
	Shee	fee in 3rd sing. and all plurals
25 Mother	Ya	ja in 1st and 2nd person sing.
	Za	za in 3rd sing. and all plurals
26 Slave	Fau	fau
27 Chief	Kuru	kuru
28 Friend	Jau	dʒəu
29 Smith	Kayau	kajəu
30 Doctor	Adabe daro	adabe daro
31 One finger	Û vo zô	û vo zô

32 Two fingers	Ajanna vo piena	adzanna vo piena
33 Three fingers	Ajanna vo sara	adzanna vo sara
34 Four fingers	Ajanna vo ye	adzanna vo je
35 Five fingers	Ajanna vo soana	adzanna vo soana
36 Six fingers	Ajanna vo sunje	adzanna vo sundze
27 Seven fingers	Ajanna vo sum piena	adzanna vo sum piena
38 Eight fingers	Ajanna vo hu hun ye	adzanna vo hu hun je
39 Nine fingers	Ajanna vo zo hwande	adzanna vo zo hwande
40 Ten fingers	Ajanna vo dup	adzanna vo dup
41 Eleven fingers	Ajanna vo dup gbanawa zû	adzanna vo dup gbana wa zû
42 Twelve fingers	Ajanna vo dup gbana piena	adzanna vo dup gbana piena
Thirteen fingers	Ajanna vo dup gbana sara	adzanna vo dup gbana sara
43 Twenty fingers	Ajanna vo diri zong	adzanna vo diri zong
44 A hundred fingers	Ajanna vo diri soana	adzanna vo diri soana
45 Two hundred fingers	Ajanna vo diri dup	adzanna vo diri dup
46 God	Inû (or Anû)	inû (or anû)
47 Sun	Inû (or anû)	inû (or anû)
48 Moon	Sanu	sanu
Full moon	Amage sanu	amage sanu
New moon	Sanu pewa	sanu pewa
49 Day	Inû (or anû)	inû (or anû)
Night	Tsenin	tsenin
Morning	Tanu	tanu
50 Rain	Shu	fu
51 Water	Zaper	zaper
52 Blood	Asa	asa
53 Fat	Biru	biru
54 Salt	Mana	mana
55 Stone	Abâri	abâri
Iron	Tarung	tarung
56 Hill	Kumber	kumber
57 River	Zâ a hwai	zâ a hwai
58 Road	Pinu	pinu
59 House	Tanu	tanu
Two houses	Tanu piena	tanu piena
Many houses	Tanu nanan	tanu nanan
All the houses	Tanu aba	tanu aba
Compound	Kao	kao
Town	Nau	nau
60 Roof	Peep tanu	peep tanu
61 Door	Nû tanu	nû tanu
62 Mat	Shu	fu
63 Basket	Tâu	tâu
64 Drum	Gangga	gangga
65 Pot	Pari	pari
66 Knife	Kwini	kwini

67	Spear	Sauu	səuu
68	Bow	Tao	tao
69	Arrow	Abonu	abonu
	Five arrows	Abonu soana	abonu soana
70	Gun	Piru (i.e. fire)	piru
71	War	Karî	karî
72	Meat (animal)	Wi	wi
73	Elephant	Wiyi	wiji
74	Buffalo	Wujiri	wudziri
75	Leopard	Fee	fee
76	Monkey	Zong	zong
77	Pig	Zo mushi	zo mufi
78	Goat	Bini	bini
79	Dog	Bai	bai
80	Bird	Shî a hini	ʃi a hini
	Feather	Shihini	ʃihini
81	Crocodile	Jimini	dʒimini
82	Fowl	Kwuni	kwuni
83	Eggs	Kê	kê
84	One egg	Kê zong	zong
85	Snake	Dof	dof
86	Frog	Azuni	azuni
87	Spider	Atafi	atafi
	Horse	vâri	vêri
	Cow	Nai	nai
	Sheep	Adinga	adiŋa
88	Fly	Shî	ʃi
89	Bee	Daî	daî
	Honey	Zâ daî	zâ daî
90	Tree	Hini	hini
	Ten trees	Hini dup	hini dup
91	Leaf	Jii	dʒii
92	Banana	Ayaba	ajaba
	Guinea-corn	Za	za
93	Maize	Zakeim	za keim
94	Ground-nut	Shijai	ʃi dʒei
95	Oil	Biru	biru
96	The tall woman	Wuruwa a nõdnõd	wuruwa a nõdnõd
	The tall women	Ba wuruwa ba nõdnõd	ba wuruwa ba nõdnõd
97	Large dog	Bai ahwaihwei	bai ahwaihwei
98	Small dog	ŋ bai (or bai a ri shî)	ŋ bai (or bai a ri ʃi)
99	The dog is biting	Bai ra zom zom	bai ra zom zom
100	The dog is biting me	Bai da zom mai	bai də zom mæi
101	The dog which bit me yesterday	Bai a zom mai nan	bai a zom mæi nan
102	I am flogging the dog	N dap bai	n dap bai
103	The dog which I have flogged	Bai a n dapku	bai a n dapku

104 I see him or her	N wai ku	n wai ku
He sees you	Ku wai wu	ku wai wu
He sees us	Ku wai yii	ku wai jii
We see you (pl.)	Yi wai ning	ji wai nŋ
We see them	Yi wai bak	ji wai bək
105 Beautiful bird	Ahini a sansan	ahIni a sansan
106 Slave	Fau	fəu
My slave	Fau mai	fəu mæi
Thy slave	Fau wu	fəu wu
Our slaves	Fau yii	fəu jii
107 The chief's slave	Fau kuru	fəu kuru
His slave	Fauo	fəuo
108 We see the slave	Yi wai fau	ji wai fəu
109 We call the slave	Yi bar fau	ji bar fəu
110 The slave comes	Fau ri bai	fəu rə bai
111 He came yesterday	Ku bai nan	ku bai nan
He is coming to-day	Ku ri bai jan	ku rə bai dʒan
He will come to-morrow	Ku ri bai akiŋ	ku rə bai akiŋ
112 The slaves go away	Fau bai ya rig	fəu bai ja rig
113 Who is your chief?	Kuru nâ ane re ?	kuru nâ ane re ?
114 The two villages are making war on each other	Nou piana ri nô kanni bug diri bug	nou piana rə nô kanni bug diri bug
115 The sun sets	Inû ku ri zu lik (or inû ku ruk zu lik)	inû ku ri zu lik
The sun rises	Inû ku ri ku lik (or inû re zu re)	inû ku ri ku lik
116 The man is eating	Mper ri ji bu	mper ri dʒi bu
117 The man is drinking	Mper ri wa zaper	mper ri wa zaper
118 The man is asleep	Mper ri na si na	mper ri na si na
119 I break the stick	N kab gari	n kab gari
The stick is broken	Gari kab dik	gari kab dək
This stick cannot be broken	Gari aha nan kabba kab	gari aha nan kabba kab
Break this stick for me	Kan gari aha jiri moi	kab gari aha dʒiri moi
120 I have built a house	N mi tanu	n mi tanu
121 My people have built their houses yonder	Ba-mno mi tanu bug abo	ba-mno mi tanu bug abo
122 What do you do every day?	A ri sa kai re ko made ino kô	a ri sa kai re ko made ino kô
I work on my farm	N ri sa busau a da ri moi	n ri sa busəu a da ri moi

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 123 | I am going away | N ya re wa | n ja re wa |
| | I am hoeing | N re nam noi | n re nam noi |
| | I am going away | N re ya noi nam ne | n re ja noi nam ne |
| 124 | The woman comes | Uruwa ri bai rik | uruwa rə bai rik |
| | She comes | Ku re bai rik | ku re bai rik |
| | The woman laughs | Uruwa nik vyen
vyennu | uruwa nək vjen
vjennu |
| | The woman weeps | Uruwa nik chan kai | uruwa nək tʃan kai |
| 125 | I ask the woman | N kat uruwa | n kat uruwa |
| 126 | Why do you
laugh ? | Jikai a vyen vyennu
le re ? | dʒikai a vjen vjennu
le re ? |
| 127 | Why do you cry ? | Jikai a chan kai le re ? | dʒikai a tʃan kai le re ? |
| 128 | My child is dead | Ū mai ku rik | ū mai ku rik |
| 129 | It is not dead | Ku hu bemang | ku hu bamang |
| 130 | Are you ill ? | A gʷam ma ? | a gʷam ma ? |
| 131 | My children are ill | Janna mai gʷam mang | dʒanna mai gʷam mang |
| 132 | Her child is better | Ū o dik gʷama dik | ū o dək gʷama dək |
| 133 | Yes | n̩ | n̩ |
| | No | o'o | o'o |
| 134 | A fine knife | Kuni a sansan | kuni a sansan |
| | Give me the knife | Yi mai kuni | ji mai kuni |
| | I give you the knife | N yi mu kuni | n ji wu kuni |
| 135 | I am a European | M mai bature | m mai bature |
| | You are a black
man | Awu mper a pirsir | awu mper a pirsir |
| | You are a Kona | Awu Jiba re | awu dʒɪbə re |
| 136 | Name | Jini | dʒini |
| | My name | Jini mai | dʒini mai |
| | Your name | Jini wu | dʒini wu |
| | What is your
name ? | Jini wu a kai re ? | dʒini wu a kai re ? |
| 137 | There is water in
the gourd | Zaper sayai a fini akū
ni | zaper sajai a fini akū
ni |
| | The knife he is on
the stone | Kuni sad a kini abani | kuni sad a kini abani |
| | The fire is under
the pot | Piru sad a miri pari re | piru sad a miri pari re |
| | The roof is over
the hut | Achu piebi sad a kini
tanu | atʃu piəbi sad a kini
tanu |
| 138 | You are good | A san bai | a san bai |
| | This man is bad | Mper ha san mung | mper ha san mung |
| 139 | The paper is white | Afarbu a magafu | afarbu a məgafu |
| | This thing is black | Ba ha a pirsir | ba ha a pirsir |
| | This thing is red | Ba ha a gbana ban | ba ha a gbana ban |
| 140 | This stone is heavy | Abani aha nɔavɲɔb | abani aha nɔavɲɔb |
| | This stone is not
heavy | Abani aha nɔap mang | abani aha nɔap mang |
| 141 | I write | N nik bad bu | n nək bad bu |
| | I give you the
letter | N yi wu afarbu | n ji wu afarbu |

	Carry the letter to the town	Zig afarbu ya bo kai	zæg afarbu ja bo kai
142	Go away	Ya	ja
	Come here	Bai ake	bai ake
143	Where is your house ?	Nau wu sane ?	nau wu sane ?
144	My house is here	Nau mai sak ke	nau mai sak ke
	My house is there	Nau mai sag bo	sag bo
145	What have you to sell ?	A zik bu hunni kai be re re ?	a zæk bu hunni kai be re re ?
146	I want to buy fish	N zum hun jai	n zum hun dzai
147	The fish which you bought is bad	Jai a hun ha san mung	dzai a hun ha san muŋ
148	Where is the man who killed the elephant ?	Mper a gbâ winyi sa ne re ?	mpër a gbâ winji sa ne re ?
	He has killed many elephants	Ku gbâ winyi nannan	ku gbâ winji nannan
	How many elephants were killed yesterday ?	Big gbâ winyi pan nan re ?	bæg gbâ winji pan nan re ?
149	Untie it	Fin ba kai	fɪn ba kai
	Tie this rope	Sit jiru aha	sət dʒiru aha
	Make the boy untie the goat	Dang ku aku fin bini kai	dəŋ ku aku fɪn bini kai
150	My brothers and I, we are going but no one else	Big mai big janza mai yi ri ya de zû yi	bæg mai bæg dʒanza mai ji ri ja de zû ji
	Brothers, let us go and tell the chief	Jana zam fam i a i dang yi kur	dʒana zam fam i a i dʒəŋ ji kur
151	This tree is bigger than that	Hini aha kav aso	hini aha kav aso
	Chamba =	Dakha	daga
	Fulani =	Kwati	kwati
	Beriberi =	Zana	zana
	Hausa =	Amakpa	amakpa

VIII

GWANA DIALECT

1	Head	Kini	kini
2	Hair	Jini	dʒini
3	Eye	Zo	zo
	Two eyes	Zo piana or zowu piana (or piening)	zo piana or zowu piana (or pienɪŋ)

4 Ear	Song	sɔŋ
Two ears	Song wu piana	sɔŋ wu piana
5 Nose	Ngɔri	ŋɔri
6 One tooth	Ngiri zong	ŋiri zɔŋ
Five teeth	Ngiri soana	ŋiri soana
7 Tongue	Nami	nami
8 Neck	Hwai	hwaɪ
9 Breast (woman's)	Mena	mena
10 Heart	Zɔmale	zɔmale
11 Belly	Firi	firi
12 Back	Kinhwari	kinhwari
13 Arm	Vo	vo
14 Hand	Yu firing vo	ju firing vo
Two hands	Yu firing vo piana	ju firing vo piana
15 Finger	Fwai vo	fwai vo
Five fingers	Fwai vo soana (or soaning)	fwei vo soana (or soaning)
16 Finger nail	Akeni vo	akeni vo
17 Leg	Tsaɪ	tsaɪ
18 Knee	Akendinga	akendinga
19 Foot	Bari	bari
Two feet	Bari piana	bari piana
20 Man (person)	Mpere	mpɛrə
Ten people	Mper dup	mper dup
31 Man (not woman)	Ngwunu	ŋwunu
Two men	Ba wunum piana	ba wunum piana
22 Woman	Wura	wura
Two women	Ba wuri piana	ba wuri piana
23 Child	Mutua tilukho	mutua tilugo
24 Father	Baba (or she)	baba (or ʃe)
25 Mother	Aya (or za)	aja (or za)
26 Slave	Fau	fau
27 Chief	Akuru	akuru
28 Friend	Jau	dʒəu
29 Smith	Kun nyarenyô	kun njarenjô
30 Doctor	Kusa kena	kusa kena
31 One finger	Fwai vo zung	fwai vo zung
32 Two fingers	Fwai vo piening	fwai vo piening
33 Three fingers	Fwai vo sara	fwai vo sarə
34 Four fingers	Fwai vo nyie	fwai vo njie
35 Five fingers	Fwai vo soaning	fwai vo soaning
36 Six fingers	Fwai vo sunjê	fwai vo sundʒê
37 Seven fingers	Fwai vo sunpiening	fwai vo sunpiening
38 Eight fingers	Fwai vo hû rî ine	fwai vo hû rî ine
39 Nine fingers	Fwai vo thiau	fwai vo θiau
40 Ten fingers	Fwai vo dup	fwai vo dup
41 Eleven fingers	Fwai vo ghanzung	fwai vo ghan zung
42 Twelve fingers	Fwai vo ghan pienung	fwai vo ghan pienung
Thirteen fingers	Fwai vo dup ghan sara	fwai vo ghan sarə

43 Twenty	Fwai vo kefiening	fwai vo kefiening
44 A hundred fingers	Fwai vo aso zung	fwai vo aso zung
45 Two hundred fingers	Fwai vo aso pining	fwai vo aso pining
46 Four hundred fingers	Fwai vo aso nyie	fwai vo aso njie
47 Sun	Nyunung	njunung
God	Kyidong	kjidong
48 Moon	Sano	sano
Full moon	Amuga sano	amugə sano
New moon	Apyu sano	apju sano
49 Day	Nyunung	njunung
Night	Bie piri	bie piri
Morning	Ti funu	ti funu
50 Rain	Kyo	kjo
51 Water	Zapere	zaperə
52 Blood	Asa	asa
53 Fat	Sabo	sabo
54 Salt	Mana	mana
55 Stone	Asung	asung
Iron	Tanung	tanung
56 Hill	Agonu	agonu
57 River	Pai	pai
58 Road	Pimpinung	pimpinung
59 House	Tanung	tanung
Two houses	Tan pining	tan pining
Many houses	Tan nanan	tan nanan
All the houses	Tan kining	tan kining
60 Roof	Kin tanung	kin tanung
61 Door	Nunokho	nunoko
62 Mat	Shiu	jiu
63 Basket	Angau	ajau
64 Drum	Agangan	agangan
65 Pot	Tobo	tobo
66 Knife	Kwirî	kwirî
67 Spear	Sau	səu
68 Bow	Tau	təu
69 Arrow	Abuna	abuna
Five arrows	Abun soaning	abun soaning
70 Gun	Piru	piru
71 War	Kâri	kâri
72 Meat (animal)	Wi	wi
73 Elephant	Wingi	wigi
74 Buffalo	Wigiri	wigiri
75 Leopard	Fiai	fiəi
76 Monkey	Zumu	zumu
77 Pig	Zo	zo
78 Goat	Bini	bini
79 Dog	Bai	bai

80 Bird	Angyini	anjini
Feather	Shing nyini	ſiſſ njini
81 Crocodile	Nimini	nɪmini
82 Fowl	Kûri	kûri
83 Eggs	Kyê kûri	kjê kûri
84 One egg	Kyê kûri zung	kjê kûri zun
85 Snake	Dõing	dõing
86 Frog	Azuni	azuni
87 Horse	Vîri	vîri
Cow	Nai	nai
88 Fly	Shî	ſî
89 Bee	Daî	daî
Honey	Za daî	za daî
90 Tree	Bî (<i>or</i> hini)	bî, (<i>or</i> hini)
Ten trees	Bî dup	bî dup
91 Leaf	Apagi	apagi
92 Guinea-corn	Za	za
93 Maize	Zakim	zakim
94 Ground-nut	Shi zhan	ſi zan
95 Oil	Biru	biru
96 The tall woman	Wura gongong	wura gongong
The tall women	Ba wurup ba gongong	ba wurup ba gongong
97 Large dog	Bai ahwe	bai ahwe
98 Small dog	Bai atulokha	bai atuloga
99 The dog is biting	Bai te zuam ngiri	bai te zuam ngiri
100 The dog is biting me	Bai te zuami	bai te zuami
101 The dog which bit me yesterday	Bai ngining na zuami	bai te nginɪſſ na zuami
102 I am flogging the dog	N te dab bai ngining	n te dab bai nginɪſſ
103 The dog which I have flogged	Bai ngining n dab ku	bai nginɪſſ n dab ku
104 I see him or her	N wai ku	n wai ku
He sees you	Ku wai u	ku wai u
He sees us	Ku wai yi	ku wai ji
We see you (pl.)	Yu wai nin	ju wai nin
We see them	Yu wai bak	ju wai bək
105 Beautiful bird	Angyin san	anjɪn san
106 Slave	Fau	fau
My slave	Faumi	fau mi
Thy slave	Fauwu	fau wu
Our slaves	Faiyi	faiji
107 The chief's slave	Fau kuru	fau kuru
His slave	Fau a	fau a
108 We see the slave	I wai fau	i wai fau
109 We call the slave	I bar fau	i bar fau
110 The slave comes	Fau ri bi	fau ri bi
111 He came yesterday	Ku bi naan	ku bi naan
He is coming to-day	Ku ri bi janing	ku ri bi dʒanɪſſ

He will come to-morrow	Ku ke bi aki	ku kə bi aki
112 The slaves go away	Fau ru wamping	fəu ru wampɪŋ
113 Who is your chief?	Mare kuru na rire?	mare kuru na rire?
114 The two villages are making war on each other	Tan kining piening gbe no kâri be deri bak	Tan kɪnɪŋ piɛnɪŋ gbɛ no kâri bə deri bək
115 The sun rises	Nyunu zu	njunu zu
The sun sets	Nyunu ku	njunu ku
116 The man is eating	Mpere ku ri ji bu	mperɛ ku ri dʒi bu
117 The man is drinking	Mpere tu wa zapere	mperɛ tu wa zapɛrɛ
118 The man is asleep	Mpere ki na zina	mperɛ ku na zɪna
118 I break the stick	N kan sanda	n kab sanda
The stick is broken	Sanda ka kan zu	sanda kə kab zu
This stick cannot be broken	Sanda ngining kin-gang kabi	sanda ŋɛnɪŋ kɪŋaŋ kabi
Break this stick for me	Kab sanda yim	kab sanda jɪm
120 I have built a house	N mi tanu	n mi tanu
121 My people have built their houses yonder	Janumi ba mi tanbu aping	dʒanumi bə mi tanbu apɪŋ
122 What do you do every day?	Zum tin yinako a sanaka	zum ti nɪmako a sanaka
I work on my farm	N sa sɔmo ndat	n sa sɔmo ndat
123 I am going away	In ti yak	ɪn ti jak
I am hoeing	In ti nam nɔi	ɪn ti nam nɔi
I am going away to hoe	In ti yakho nɔi	ɪn ti jago nɔi
I am going to my farm	In ti yakhom ndat	ɪn ti jagom ndat
124 The woman is coming	Wura te bi	wura tɛ bi
She is coming	Ku ri bi	ku ri bi
The woman is laughing	Wura te vien vienung	wura tɛ vien vienɪŋ
The woman is weeping	Wura te shan	Wura tɛ ʃan
125 I ask the woman	Nim te bib wura	nɪm tɛ bɪb wura
126 Why do you laugh?	Ar vienvien na jir ka?	ar vienvien na dʒɪr ka?
127 Why do you cry?	Jir ka ar shan ne?	dʒɪr ka ar ʃan ne?
128 My child is dead	Ngwumi hu	ŋwumi hu
129 It is not dead	Ku ru ho	ku ru ho
130 Are you ill?	Dirim tu gbama?	dɪrɪm tu gbama
131 My children are ill	Janum dada	dʒanum dada

132 Her child is better	Ngwo o ku ban lafiya dirra	ngwo o ku ban lafiya dirra
133 Yes	O	o
No	Aa	a'a'a
134 A fine knife	Kûri a sansana	kûri a sansana
Give me the knife	Ya kûri yim	ja kûri jim
I give you the knife	M ya kûri yu	m ja kûri ju
135 I am a European	Mi nasara	mi nasara
You are a black man	Vu mpera pirzima	vu mpera pirzima
You are a Gwana	Vu a Jemtuk	vu a džemtuk
136 Name	Zeni	zeni
My name	Zenmi	zen mi
Your name	Zenwu	zen wu
What is your name?	Zen wunaka ?	zen wunaka ?
137 There is water in the gourd	Zaper a ya akûri (low tone)	zaper a ja akûri
There is a knife lying on the stone	kûri a kin sung	kûri a kin suŋ
There is fire under the pot	Piru a yang ngan tɔbɔi	piru a jaŋ ŋan tɔboi
138 You are good	A sanu ani	a sanu ani
This man is bad	Mper ngginung a te sana	mper ŋginuŋ a tɛ sana
139 The paper is white	Takarda a migi tera	takarda a migi tɛra
This thing is black	Bingining a pirzima	bɪŋɪnɪŋ a pɪrzima
This thing is red	Bingining a gɔangingo	bɪŋɪnɪŋ a gɔaŋɪŋo
140 This stone is heavy	Asung nggining nabnu ani	asuŋ ŋgɪnɪŋ nabnu ani
This stone is not heavy	Asung nggining tin na ba	asuŋ ŋgɪnɪŋ tɪn na ba
141 I am writing	N ti ba takarda	n ti ba takarda
I give you the letter	In tan takarda yu	ɪn tan takarda ju
Carry the letter to the town	Ze takarda iyak a tan	zɛ takarda ijak a tan
142 Go away	Yakha	jaga
Come here	Bi ki	bi ki
143 Where is your house?	Tanu wo ane ?	tanu wo ane
144 My house is here	Tami a sarik	tami a sarik
My house is there	Tami a pun	tami a pun
145 What have you to sell?	Asana kai tu hwu ne ?	asana kai tu hwu ne ?
146 I want to buy fish	M zom jai hwuni	m zom džai hwuni
147 The fish which you bought is bad	Jai ayo hwuning te sana	džai ajo hwuniŋ tɛ sana

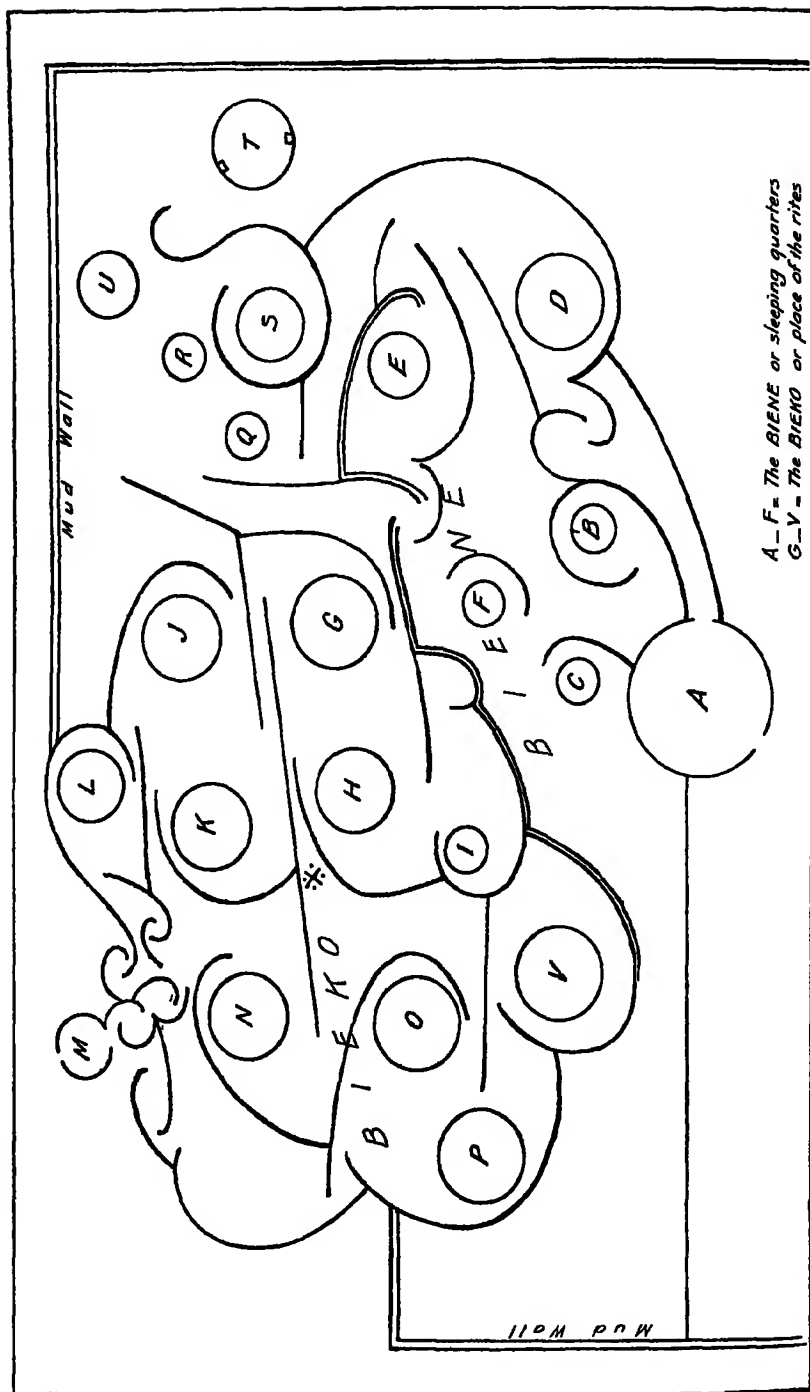
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|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 148 | Where is the man
who killed the
elephant
He has killed
many elephants
How many
elephants were
killed yester-
day? | Mpera gban ngwingi
ane ?

Ku gban ngwingi na
nan
Ngwingi e gbina gbana
pana ? | mpera gban ngwiŋi
ane

ku gban ngwiŋi na nan
ngwiŋi ɛ gbina gbana
pana ? |
| 149 | Untie it
Tie this rope
Make the boy un-
tie the goat | Fini ku
Din ngiru ngining ari
Dâ ya ngwutum a ku
fin bini | fini ku
din ngiru nginɪŋ ari
dâ ja ngwutum a ku
fin bini |
| 150 | My brothers and I,
we are going but
no one else
Brothers, let us go
and tell the chief | I bi janiyai miri yakhe
bang wiŋi

Janiyai mai mi yak
mi dâ yi kuru | i bi dʒaniŋjai miri jage
baŋ wiŋi

dʒaniŋjai mæi mi jak
mi dâ ji kuru |
| 151 | This tree is bigger
than that | Bing ngining hwai
kaba pining | biŋ nginɪŋ hwæi kaba
pinɪŋ |



APPENDIX IX

The accompanying plan of the sacred enclosure of the new king of Wukari was obtained recently (January 1930), during its construction, by Captain Emberton, the District Officer.

KEY TO PLAN

- A = The hut by which the sacred enclosure is entered from the palace.
- B = Hut occupied by the Ajiff.
- C = Shrine of the *jô* (spirits).
- D = The king's drawing-room.
- E = The king's bedroom.
- F = The hut of the hyæna (meaning not disclosed).
- G = The king's sitting-room.
- H = Hut of the *jô* (spirits) where the daily rites are performed.
- I = Hut of the Abakwariga official known as the Sangari.
- J = Hut occupied by the Kinda and his assistants.
- K = The king's reception room.
- L = The hut occupied by the various Kû.
- M = The hut in which the various officials assemble for the daily rites.
- N = The hut occupied by the various Katô.
- O = The hut occupied by the Abô and his assistants.
- P = The hut occupied by the various Awei.
- Q = The hut occupied by the royal fiddler.
- R = The hut occupied by the Abakwariga official known as Sheru.
- S = The shrine of the Aku (royal ancestors).
- T = The shrine of Asho.
- U = The hut occupied by the Abakwariga official known as Mallam Baba.
- V = The hut of Abô ta (meaning not disclosed).
- * Indicates the spot at which the Iche stands when he gives the cry known as "the barking of the dog".
- A-F = The *Biene* or sleeping quarters.
- G-V = The *Bishe* or place of the rites.

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